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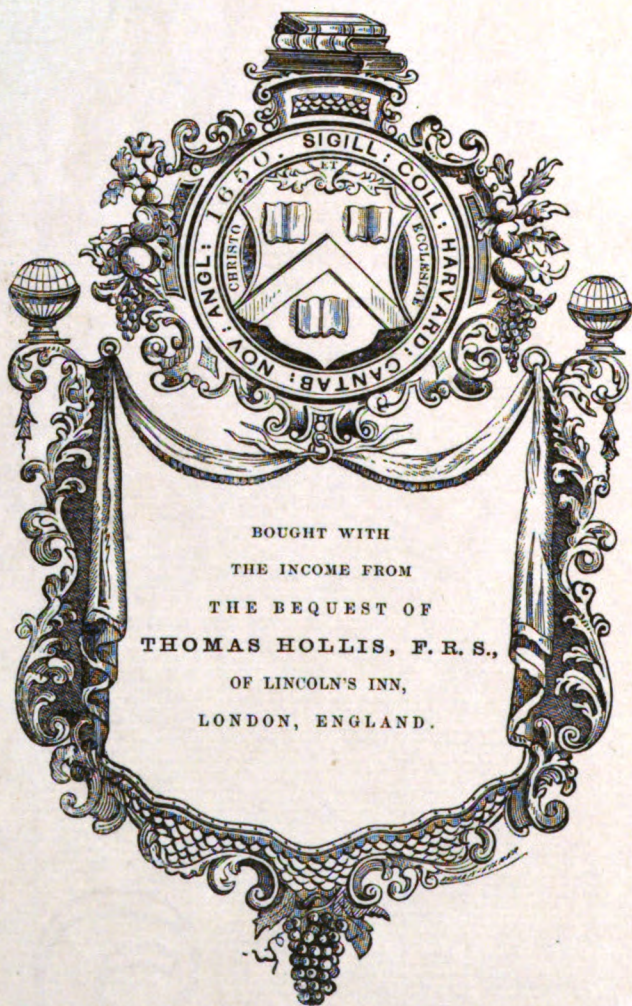
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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

3 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CXXIV.

**COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF JUNE
TO THE SEVENTH DAY OF JULY, 1903.**

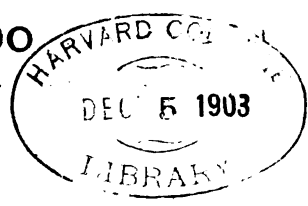
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mittee of Selection, That the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*) be
proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said
Bills in the place of the Earl Powis; read, and agreed to 2

Gosport, Fareham, and Cosham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Bolton be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Crawshaw; read, and agreed to	3
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order): Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3 ^a to-morrow ...	3
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3 ^a on Thursday next	3
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill .—House in Committee (according to Order): Amendment made; Standing Committee negatived: the Report of the Amendment to be received on Thursday next	3
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill .—Read 3 ^a (according to Order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons	3
Naval Works Provisional Order Bill .—House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3 ^a to-morrow	3
Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee, (according to Order): The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made: Further Amendments made; Standing Committee negatived; the Report of the Amendments to be received To-morrow	3

PETITIONS.

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION .—Petitions for abrogation of: of Roman Catholics in Plymouth (4); Devonport (2); Axminster; Barnstaple; Bideford; Chudleigh (2); Buckfastleigh; Dartmoor, Prince Town; Dartmouth; Exmouth; Honiton; Ilfracombe; Newton Abbot (2); Paignton; Sidmouth; Teignmouth; Tiverton; Torquay, St. Mary Church; Totnes; Bridport; Chidecock; Dorchester; Lyme Regis; Marnhull and Gillingham; Portland; Shaftesbury; Sherborne; Shottisbury; Staplehill and Wimborne; Swanage; Weymouth; Bodmin; Canborne; Falmouth; Launceston; Liskeard; Penzance; St. Ives; Saltash; Polperro; Truro; the Lizard; St. Columb and St. Magnus; and Gosport. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table	4
DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].—Petitions in favour of: of persons signing (30); read, and ordered to lie on the Table	4

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS—ANNUAL SERIES.

- No. 3001. United States (Philadelphia).
- No. 3002. Bulgaria.
- No. 3003. Turkey (Erzerum).

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No. 3004. China (Nanking).	
No. 3005. ...France (New Caledonia).	
Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table	4
SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury Minute, dated 16th June, 1903, granting a retired allowance to Henry Upton, sorter, Post Office, London	4
CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—List of all pensions granted during the year ended the 31st March, 1903, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901	4
FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).—Abstract of the Accounts of Fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks, for the year 1901	4
DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.—Accounts of receipts and expenditure under the Act, for the year 1902	5
FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.	
Special Exception : Overtime, Christmas Card-making.	
Order, dated 18th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with regard to the overtime employment of women in the making of Christmas and New Year cards	5
(Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries.)	
I. Report to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department by Chester Jones, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, on the draft regulations (October, 1902) proposed to be made for factories and workshops in which the process of file-cutting by hand is carried on.	
II. Regulations, dated 19th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 19 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, for the process of file-cutting by hand.	
Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table	5
MUNICIPAL TRADING.—The evidence taken before the Joint Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out except to members of the Committee, and to such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 124.)	5
ARMY REGULATIONS.	
Lord Heneage	5
Moved to resolve that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, in the interests of the Service, that opportunities should be given to a larger number of officers to pass through the Staff College for a shorter period than at present ; that all officers on the Staff or extra regimental duty should be seconded ; and, further, that all officers should return to their regiment on promotion, or on the completion of five years' Staff or extra regimental service.—(<i>The Lord Heneage.</i>)	
<i>The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Hardwicke)</i>	10
Motion. by leave of the House, withdrawn.	

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THE CONDITION OF HOLYROOD PALACE.

The Earl of Leven and Melville 15

Moved that there be laid before the House—1. A plan of the Palace of Holyrood House as it exists; 2. A full report, showing—(a) The internal sanitary arrangements and water supply, and its external drainage system as existing to-day; (b) A report showing what is proposed to be done to make them good, and a detailed estimate of the cost.—(*The Earl of Leven and Melville.*)

The First Commissioner of Works (Lord Windsor) 23

The Earl of Rosebery 27

The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) 29

The Earl of Leven and Melville 30

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Belper 32

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Belper.*)

Lord Tweedmouth 33

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 34

Lord Norton 36

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Friday next.

Elementary Education Amendment Bill (No. 125); Out-Door Relief Pensioners Bill (No. 126).—Read 1^a, and to be printed 37

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock till to-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 22ND JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Hastings Harbour District Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 37

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz.:—Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords]; Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 37

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PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—
Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of
Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the
following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been
complied with, viz.:—North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing
Orders 37

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COM-
PLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the
Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following
Bill, referred on the first Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are
applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Drainage and Improve-
ment of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 38

Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed,
with Amendments 38

**South Shields Corporation Bill ; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire)
Sewerage Board Bill.**—Read the third time, and passed 38

Wirral Railway Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with
Amendments 38

Exeter Corporation Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed ... 38

**Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government
Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill.**—Read the third time, and passed ... 38

Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—
Petition for additional Provision ; referred to the Examiners of Petitions
for Private Bills 38

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill.—Ordered, That the Minutes
of Evidence taken before the Committee on the North Eastern Railway
Bill, 1897, be referred to the Committee on the Humber Commercial Rail-
way and Dock Bill of this session.—(Mr. Caldwell.) 38

Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill.—Reported from the Police and
Sanitary Committee, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and
to be printed 39

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders
(No. 4) Bill, without Amendment.

Coal Mines (Certificates) Bill, with an Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law
relating to Musical Copyright." [Musical Copyright Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to Justices
of the Peace with respect to residence, to qualification of Solicitors, and to
the removal of ex-officio Justices" [Justices of the Peace Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders
made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities

Act, 1870, relating to Bulsover and District Water, Goring and Streatley District Water, Leatherhead and District Water, Ludgershall Water, and Mid-Kent Water." [Water Orders Confirmation Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Bournemouth Gas and Water Company to acquire additional lands to construct works, and for other purposes." [Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the city of Bristol to construct additional dock railways and works; and for other purposes." [Bristol Corporation Bill (Lords).]

And also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Salford to construct an additional tramway, and to adapt and use portions of tramway outside the borough, and to make street improvements, to provide for transfer to the Corporation of certain powers of electric lighting, and to raise additional moneys by mortgage and by the creation and issue of stock, and for other purposes." [Salford Corporation Bill (Lords).] 39

Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [LORDS]; Bristol Corporation Bill [Lords]; Salford Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 40

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 253.] 40

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.—Petitions against: from Stafford; Broadstairs; and Westminster; to lie upon the Table 40

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petitions against: from Heywood; and Preston; to lie upon the Table 40

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.—Petitions against: from Basingstoke; and Sydmonton; to lie upon the Table 40

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.—Petition from Cowdenbeath, in favour; to lie upon the Table 40

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.—Copy presented, of List of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1903, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 213.] 40

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th June, 1903, granting to Henry Upton, Sorter, Post Office, London, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 40

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES).—Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Chester Jones, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, on the Draft Regulations (October, 1902) proposed to be made for Factories and Workshops in which the process of file-cutting by hand is carried on [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 41

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FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—OVERTIME, CHRISTMAS CARD-MAKING).—Copy presented, of Order, dated 18th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with regard to the overtime employment of women in the making of Christmas and New Year Cards [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	41
IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th June — <i>Mr. Lambert</i>]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 214.]	41
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[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]	
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Motion made, and Question proposed, "In page 1 to postpone Clause 1."—
(*Mr. Hardy.*)

<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon)</i>	89
<i>Mr. Chaplin (Lincolnshire, Sleaford)</i>	...	...	90
<i>Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet)</i>	...	...	91
<i>Lord Hugh Cecil (Greenwich)</i>	..	...	92

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Philip Foster (Warwickshire, Stratford-upon-Avon)</i>	92
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 11, to leave out the word 'twenty-five' and insert the word 'fifteen.'"—(*Mr. Philip Foster.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty-five' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland)</i>	92
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	93

Amendment negatived.

<i>Mr. Chaplin</i>	94
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, to leave out Clause 1."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

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<i>Sir Harry Seton-Karr (St. Helens)</i>	129
<i>Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange)</i>	131
<i>Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale)</i>	133
<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i>	136
<i>Mr. Chaplin</i>	138

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 416 ; Noes, 32. (Division List No. 125.)

Clause 2 :—

<i>Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.)</i>	143
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• Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words 'continue to,' and insert the words 'cease and the duty of fourpence the pound on tea shall.'"—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'continue to' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	...	...	147
<i>Sir Charles McLaren (Leicestershire, Bosworth)</i>	...	...	148
<i>Mr. Levy (Leicestershire, Loughborough)</i>	...	...	149

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

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EVENING SITTING.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 2 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words ‘continue to,’ and insert the words ‘cease and the duty of 4d. the pound on tea shall.’”—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, ‘That the words ‘continue to’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Levy</i>	150
<i>Mr. Cohen (Islington, E.)</i>	151
<i>Mr. David MacIver</i>	153
<i>Sir William Tomlinson (Preston)</i>	154
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	154
<i>Sir Frederick Banbury</i>	155

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 154 ; Noes, 92. (Division List No. 126.)

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

<i>Mr. David MacIver</i>	159
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, leave out Clause 3.”

Question put, “That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill,” and agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5 :—

<i>Mr. David MacIver</i>	159
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 11, after the word ‘shall,’ to insert the words ‘as regards all profits derived from investments other than in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or in any other part of His Majesty’s Dominions.’”—(*Mr. David MacIver.*)

Question proposed, “That the words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	161
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Question put, and negatived.

<i>Mr. J. H. Lewis (Flint Boroughs)</i>	163
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words ‘rate of eleven pence,’ and to insert ‘following rate, namely :—In respect of

incomes exceeding seven hundred pounds and not exceeding one thousand pounds a year, eleven pence. In respect of incomes exceeding six hundred pounds and not exceeding seven hundred pounds a year, ten pence. In respect of incomes exceeding five hundred pounds and not exceeding six hundred pounds a year, nine pence.”—*(Mr. J. H. Lewis.)*

Question proposed, “That the words ‘rate of eleven pence’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	165
<i>Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)</i>	166
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach (Bristol, W.)</i>	167
<i>Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland)</i>	171
<i>Mr. Moulton (Cornwall, Launceston)</i>	171
<i>Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester)</i>	173
<i>Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.)</i>	175
<i>Mr. J. H. Lewis</i>	176
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	176
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach</i>	178

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.)</i>	179
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	179
<i>Sir Mark Stewart (Kircudbrightshire)</i>	180
<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman</i>	180

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 27, to leave out Sub-section (1).”—*(Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.)*

Question proposed, “That Sub-section (1) stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	183
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach</i>	185
<i>Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.)</i>	187
<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	190

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question put, “That Clause 6 stand part of the Bill.”

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 154 ; Noes, 36. (Division List No. 127.)

Motion made, and Question, “That the Chairman do report Progress ; and ask leave to sit again”—*(Mr. Joseph Walton),*—put and agreed to.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this day.

NEW BILL.

ANCIENT LIGHTS.—Bill to amend the law relating to Easements of Light, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Robson, Mr. H. D. Greene, and Mr. Herbert Robertson 191

ANCIENT LIGHTS BILL.—“To amend the Law relating to Easements of Light,” presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 254.] 191

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—On the Motion that the House do now adjourn.

Sir Alexander Acland-Hood (Somersetshire, Wellington) 192

Adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

June 23.]

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 23RD JUNE, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Transfer).

Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills:—Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order; Hamilton Burgess Provisional Order.

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Metropolitan Police Provisional Order; Military Lands Provisional Orders.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 193

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the following Bills ought to be dispensed with, and the Bills allowed to proceed:—Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers); Wigan Corporation Tramways; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway; Romford and District Tramways; Beckenham Urban District Council.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the petition for additional provision in the South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.] ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to the Committee on the Bill to insert the additional provision.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill ought not to be dispensed with, but that the Bill may be allowed to proceed, subject to Clauses 8, 10, and 11 being struck out of the Bill.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed, on a proviso being inserted in the Bill for the protection of the debenture and preference shareholders, and subject to the Bill being submitted to the meeting of the proprietors of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company now summoned to meet.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Stroud and District Tramways Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed, subject to the names of James Grainger Bellamy and Alexander Siemens being struck out of the Bill.

Read and agreed to 193

Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill.—Reported without Amendment ... 194

Kip's Patents Bill [H.L.]; Bangor Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Fishguard and Ross-lare Railways and Harbours Bill.—Reported, with Amendments ... 194

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]—Reported from the Select Committee with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Thursday next 194

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]—Reported from the Select Committee without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Thursday next 194

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New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. —The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported with Amendments	194
Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill ; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill ; Stroud and District Tramways Bill ; Romford and District Tramways Bill ; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill ; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill ; Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to ; Bills read 2 ^a accordingly. ...	194
Great Eastern Railway Bill. —Read 3 ^a , with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons	195
Scottish Central Electric Power Bill [H.L.] ; Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill ; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill ; Stroud and District Tramways Bill ; Romford and District Tramways Bill ; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—Committed : The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	195
Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill ; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill. — Committed	195
Bradford Corporation Bill [H.L.] .—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	195
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill.—Brought from the Commons	195
South Shields Corporation Bill ; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill.—Brought from the Commons, read 1 ^a ; and referred to the Examiners	195
Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [H.L.] .—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to... ..	195
Wirral Railway Bill [H.L.] .—Returned from the Commons amended... ..	195
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS. —Message from the Commons for leave for the Clerk of the Parliaments to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee of that House. Leave given accordingly, and a Message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith	195
Glasgow Corporation (Police) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 127). —A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation (Police)	195
Glasgow Corporation Tramways Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (No. 128). —A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation Tramways	196
Were presented by the Lord Balfour, read 1 ^a ; and to be printed	196
Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill ; Crystal Palace District Gas Bill ; Leigh Corporation Bill ; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill ; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties	

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Railways Bill ; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill ; Middlesbrough Corporation Bill ; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill ; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill ; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills ; (viz.), E. Mayo, L. Braye, L. Strathspey (<i>E. Seafield</i>), L. Herries (chairman), L. St. Oswald ; agreed to ; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Tuesday next at Eleven o'clock ; and all Petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills	196
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill.—Committed to a Committee of the Whole House	196
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill ; Naval Works Provisional Order Bill.—Read 3 ^a (according to order), and passed	196
Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].— Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3 ^a on Thursday next	197
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill (No. 130) ; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill (No. 131).—Read 1 ^a ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners	197

PETITIONS.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.].—Petitions in favour of : of Abbot's Salford, Evesham ; Aberavon ; Abertillery ; Aberystwyth ; Abingdon ; Acton Burnell ; Aiskew ; Alcester ; Allerton Park and District ; Alnwick ; Alston and District ; Alton ; Altrincham ; Amberley : Amble (Northumberland) ; Ambleside ; Anderton ; Angmering and Cross Bush ; Annitsford ; Ascot ; Ashbourne ; Ashford (Kent) ; Ashford (Middlesex) ; Ashington ; Ashton-under-Lyne ; Atherton ; Avon Dasset ; Backworth ; Bacup ; Bakewell and Hassop ; Banbury ; Bangor ; Barking (2) ; Barmouth ; Barnard Castle ; Barnet ; Barrasford ; Bartestree and District ; Barton-on-Humber ; Barton-on-Irwell ; Basingstoke ; Bath (2) ; Battle ; Beckenham ; Bedford ; Beeston ; Begbroke ; Bentham ; Berwick-on-Tweed (2) ; Bexhill-on-Sea ; Biddlestone ; Bilston ; Birchley ; Birkdale (2) ; Birkenhead (4) ; Birmingham (8) ; Birtley ; Bishop Auckland ; Bishops Stortford (2) ; Bishop Thornton and District ; Blackbrook ; Blackburn (2) ; Blackmore Park ; Blackpool ; Blaenau Festiniog ; Blundellsands ; Blyth ; Bognor ; Bollington ; Bolton (4) ; Bolton-le-Sands ; Bootle (2) ; Boscombe ; Bournemouth ; Bradford (4) ; Braintree ; Brentford (2) ; Brentwood (2) ; Brewood ; Bridgend ; Bridgnorth ; Bridgwater ; Brierley Hill ; Brighouse ; Brighton (3) ; Brindle ; Bristol (3) ; Broadway ; Bromley (Kent) ; Brooms ; Brough Hall ; Broughton ; Broxwood ; Brynmawr ; Buckland ; Buckley ; Burgess Hill ; Burnham ; Burscough and Lathom ; Burslem ; Burton-on-Trent ; Bury (2) ; Bury St. Edmunds ; Buxton ; Byer Moor ; Cambridge ; Campden ; Cannock and Hednesford ; Cardiff (5) ; Carisbrooke ; Carlisle (4) ; Carlton ; Carmarthen ; Carshalton ; Castleford ; Castleton ; Catforth ; Chatham ; Chelmsford ; Chepstow ; Chester (2) ; Chesterfield ; Chester-le-Street ; Chichester ; Chigwell ; Chippenham ; Chipping ; Chipping Sodbury ; Chislehurst ; Chorley (3) ; Cirencester ; Cloughton-on-Brock ; Clayton Green ;

Cleator; Clevedon; Clifford; Clifton; Cockermouth; Coedangred; Colchester; Coleshill; Colne; Colwich; Congleton; Corby; Cornforth and District; Cottam; Coughton; Courtfield; Coventry (2); Crawley; Crayford; Crewe; Croft; Crook; Croydon; Dalton-in-Furness; Darlington; Dartford; Deal (2); Denaby Main; Denhigh; Derby (2); Derwent and District; Devizes; Dewsbury; Ditton Hall; Doncaster; Dorking; Dover; Downall Green; Downsine (2); Dudley; Dukinfield; Dunmow (2); Durham; Eastbourne; East Grinstead; East Harptree; East Hendred; Eastleigh; Eastwood; Eccles; Egton Bridge; Ellingham; Eltham; Enfield (2); Epsom; Erdington; Errwood and Whaleybridge; Esh; Esh Laude; Euxton; Evesham; Exton and Oakham; Fairfield; Fairford; Fareham; Farnborough; Farnham; Farnworth; Faversham; Felton; Fernyhalgh; Flint; Florence (British Subjects); Folkestone; Fordingbridge; Formby; Foxcote; Frizington; Frome; Gainford; Gainsborough; Garstang; Garston; Gateshead; Gillmoss; Glastonbury; Goodwick; Goole; Gosforth; Grange-over-Sands; Grangetown; Grantham; Grassendale; Gravesend; Grayshott; Great Crosby; Great Eccleston; Great Haywood; Guildford and Godalming; Hainton; Halifax (2); Haltwhistle; Hampton Wick and Teddington (2); Hanley; Harrington; Harrogate; Harrow-on-the-Hill (2); Hartlepool; Hastings and Rye (2); Haunton; Haverfordwest; Haydon Bridge; Hayward's Heath; Heaton Norris; Hemsworth; Hereford; Heron's Ghyll; Hethe; Hexham; Hillingdon; Hinckley (2); Hindley; Hoddeston; Holyhead and Beaumaris; Holywell (2); Hornby; Horsham; Horwich; Houghton-le-Spring; Hove; Huddersfield; Hulme; Husbands Bosworth; Huyton; Hythe; Ilford; Ilkley; Ingatestone; Ipswich and Woodbridge; Isleworth (4); Keighley; Kelvedon; Kemerton; Kenilworth; Kendal; Kew; Kidderminster; Kids Grove and Alsager; Kingston-on-Thames; Kingswood; Knaresborough; Knolton Hall; Overton; Knutsford; Lancaster (2); Latchford; Lea; Leamington; Leeds (5); Leek; Leicester (2); Leigh (2); Leominster; Leyland; Lichfield; Lincoln; Liscard; Littleborough; Littlehampton; Liverpool (15); London (101); Longhorsley; Longridge; Longton; Loughborough (2); Louth; Lowerhouse; Ludlow; Lutterworth; Lymington; Maghull; Maidstone; Maldon; Malmesbury; Malvern, Little; Manchester (12); Mansfield; Mark Cross; Market Drayton; Market Harborough; Market Rasen; Maryport; Matlock Bridge; Mawdesley and District; Mawley; Mayfield; Melton Mowbray; Middlesborough; Midhurst; Milford Haven; Millom; Minehead; Minsteracres; Minster-in-Thames; Mold; Monmouth; Morecambe; Morley; Morpeth; Mountain Ash; Nantwich; Neath; Neston, Cheshire; Netherton; Newark; New Brighton; New Brompton; Newcastle-on-Tyne (8); New Ferry; Newhall (near Burton-on-Trent); Newhaven; Newhouse; New Mills; Newnham Paddox; Newport, Mon.; Newport, Salop; Newport, Isle of Wight; Newsham; Newton-le-Willows; New Tunstall; Normanton; Northampton; Northfleet; North Shields; Northwich; Norwich; Nottingham; Nuneaton; Oakmoor; Oldcotes; Olton; Ongar; Ormskirk; Orpington; Orrell; Oscott; Osgodby; Oswestry; Oxford (2); Pantasaph; Parkminster; Pembroke Dock and New Milford; Penarth; Penrith; Peterborough; Petworth (3); Plowden; Pontefract; Port Clarence-on-Tees; Portsmouth; Poulton-le-Fylde; Preston (5); Prescott; Prestayn and Llanasa; Prudhoe-on-Tyne; Radford; Rainford; Ramsey; Ramsgate (3); Reading; Redditch; Redhill (2); Rhyl (2); Rhymney; Richmond, Surrey (2); Rixton; Rochdale; Rock Ferry; Ross; Rudding Park; Rugeley (2); Runcorn; Ryhope (2); Sacriston; St. Anne's-on-the-Sea; St. Asaph (2); St. Helens (6); St. Helier (3); St. Lawrence-on-Sea; St. Leonards-on-Sea (3); Sale; Salford; Salisbury; Scarborough; Scarisbrick; Scarthingwell and District; Scorton; Seacombe; Seaford; Seaforth; Sedgley; Selby; Settle; Sevenoaks; Sheffield (4); Shifnal;

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DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].—Petitions in favour of: of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 200

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION.—Statement of schemes for the formation of Education Committees approved during the month of May, 1903, by the Board of Education under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1902 (in continuation of Parliamentary Papers, Command Nos. 1564 and 1613 of Session 1903), showing—name of local authority; number of the council; number of members of the Education Committee; number of members of the Education Committee who are necessarily members of the council; number of women who are necessarily on the Education Committee; forms of educational experience to be represented on the Committee; recommendations or nominations (if any) ... 200

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- No. 3007. Paraguay (Paraguay).
- No. 3008. Spain (Malaga).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 201

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FINANCE ACCOUNTS.—Finance accounts of the United Kingdom, for the year ended 31st March, 1903 201

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX).—Order made by the County Council of Middlesex, altering certain polling districts in the Hornsey Parliamentary Division.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table... 201

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—Petition for abrogation of: of Roman Catholics in Preston, Lancashire; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 201

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<i>The Marquess of Ripon</i>	201
<i>The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire)</i> ...	202

Divorce Bill.—[H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

<i>Earl Russell</i>	202
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Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Earl Russell*.)

<i>The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury)</i>	212
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On Question, Motion negatived.

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill —[H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*The Earl of Onslow*.)

<i>Lord Burghclere</i>	214
<i>Lord Heneage</i>	218
<i>The Earl of Mayo</i>	221
<i>The President of the Board of Agriculture (The Earl of Onslow)</i> ...	221
<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	223

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.**County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill.**—Order of the day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, That the House do now resolve itself into Committee.

<i>The Earl of Wemyss</i>	225
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Moved, To leave out from 'That' to the end of the Motion and insert the following Resolution, viz., "In the opinion of this House it is inconsistent alike with Parliamentary practice and sound administrative policy, to legislate on subjects under consideration by Committees or Commissions, and that, inasmuch as the question of the powers of local and municipal authorities, and their exercise of these powers are now under consideration by a Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons specially appointed for this purpose, it is neither right nor expedient to proceed with Bills giving increased power to local and municipal authorities, until the said inquiry has been completed and the report of the Committee has been received."—(*The Earl of Wemyss*.)

<i>The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour of Burleigh)</i>	229
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On Question whether to agree to the said Amendment, their Lordships divided. Contents, 10; Not-Contents, 75.

Then the original Motion agreed to: House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 :—

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	233
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Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, after 'them' to insert 'The powers conferred by this Section and by Section 15 of the Local Government Act, 1888, shall be exercised subject to the provisions of the Borough Funds Act,

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1872, and of any Act amending the same, in like manner as if the county were a borough, and the chairman of the County Council the mayor of a borough.”—(*Lord Avebury*.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	234
<i>The Marquess of Ripon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	235
<i>The Earl of Camperdown</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	235
<i>Lord Belper</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	235
<i>Lord Avebury</i>	236

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	236
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Amendment moved—

“In page 1, line 20, to leave out Sub-section 4.”—(*Lord Avebury*.)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	236
<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	237
<i>Lord Avebury</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	237
<i>Lord Balfour of Burleigh</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	237

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

Borough Funds Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 to 6 agreed to.

Clause 7 :—

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	237
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Amendment moved—

“In page 3, line 12, ‘to leave out Sub-section 1.’”—(*Lord Avebury*.)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	238
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Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 7 agreed to.

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	238
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Amendment moved—

“After Clause 7 to insert the following new clause—‘Section 2 of the Borough Funds Act, 1872, shall be amended by inserting after the words “Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall authorise any governing body to promote any Bill in Parliament for the establishment of any gas or water works,” and again after the words “to compete with any existing gas or water company” the following words “or electric lighting or traction company.”’—(*Lord Avebury*.)

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Question proposed, "That that clause be there inserted."

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	239
<i>Lord Balfour of Burleigh</i>	239

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9 :—

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	240
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Clause 9 and remaining clauses agreed to.

Schedule 1 :—

<i>Lord Avebury</i>	241
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Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 18, to leave out the words 'one hundred' and to insert the word 'twenty' and leave out the words 'one twentieth' and to insert the words 'one hundredth.'"—(*Lord Avebury*.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'one hundred' and 'one-twentieth' stand part of the schedule."

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	241
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Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Formal Amendment agreed to.

Schedule 1, as amended, agreed to.

Schedule 2 agreed to.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended.

Education (Borrowing) Bill—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	242
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Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Kenyon*.)

<i>The Marquess of Ripon</i>	242
<i>Lord Herries</i>	242
<i>The Earl of Camperdown</i>	243
<i>Lord Balfour of Burleigh</i>	244

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Bill—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	245
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Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Kenyon*.)On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

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Newcastle Chapter (Amendment) Bill [H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Bishop of St. Albans 245

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*The Lord Bishop of St. Albans.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday the 6th July next.

THE HOUSE AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

The Earl of Northbrook 246

The Earl of Portsmouth 247

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 247

Lord James of Hereford 248

The Earl of Northbrook 249

House adjourned at ten minutes before Eight o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : TUESDAY, 23RD JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Manchester Southern Tramways Bill [Lords]; Derby Gas Bill [Lords]; Bournemouth Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 250

Harrogate Water Bill [LORDS]; Rickmansworth Gas Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 250

Belfast Water Bill [LORDS]; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; Shepshed Urban District Gas Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 250

Hove, Worthing, and District Tramways Bill [LORDS].—To be read a second time upon Tuesday next 250

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.—Read a second time, and committed 250

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time; to be considered upon Thursday 251

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill.—Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Bartley and Captain Balfour... 251

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

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Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. —Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow	251
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British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [LORDS]. —Reported, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table	...
Musical Copyright Bill [LORDS]. —Read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 255.]	252
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<i>PETITIONS.</i>	
CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL. —Petitions against : from Skirlaugh ; Bollington ; Parkstone ; and Sydenham ; to lie upon the Table	252
COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION EXTENSION BILL. —Petition of the National Chamber of Trade, in favour ; to lie upon the Table	252
DETENTION OF POOR PERSONS (SCOTLAND) BILL. —Petitions in favour : from Rosemarkie ; Knockbain ; Avoch ; and Resolis ; to lie upon the Table	252
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LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petitions against: from Ashton-under-Lyne; Plymouth (two); Morecambe; and Liverpool; to lie upon the Table ...	253
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BOARD OF EDUCATION (EDUCATION COMMITTEES).—Copy presented, of State-ment of Schemes for the formation of Education Committees approved during the month of May, 1903, by the Board of Education under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ...	253
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FINANCE ACCOUNTS.—Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 219.]... ..	253
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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) and Mr. Bryce; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour ... 268

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—Mr. Charles Seely; and had appointed in substitution: Sir Charles Dilke.

Mr. HALSEY further reported from the Committee; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing) Shipping, and Manufactures, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Marine Insurance Bill [Lords]:—Sir William Allan, Sir William Arrol, Mr. Caldwell, Sir Francis Evans, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir Christopher Furness, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Mr. Hain, Mr. Helder, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Maconochie, Sir Charles Palmer, Sir Robert Ropner, and Mr. Charles Wilson.

Report to lie upon the Table ... 269

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee:—

1. "That, in the case of the Alexandra Park and Palace Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

2. "That, in the case of the Rochester Corporation Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

Resolutions agreed to ... 269

NEW BILL.

Canal Traffic Bill.—"To provide for the better regulation of Canal Traffic," presented by Sir William Holland; supported by Sir John Brunner, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Emmott, Mr. Field, Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Joseph Walton, Mr. Whitley, and Mr. Wolf; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 2nd July, and to be printed. [Bill 256.] ... 270

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) ... 270

New Clause (Reduction of Coal Duty):—

"On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and three, one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under Section 3 of The Finance Act, 1901."—(Mr. Joseph Walton.)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

<i>Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck)</i>	278
<i>Mr. F. W. Lambton (Durham, S.E.)</i>	285
<i>Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Mid)</i>	288
<i>Sir James Joyce (Durham, Chester-le-Street)</i>	292
<i>Lord Hugh Cecil (Greenwich)</i>	296
<i>Mr. William Abraham (Glamorganshire, Rhondda)</i>	298
<i>Mr. Burt (Morpeth)</i>	300
<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon)</i>	303
<i>Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick)</i>	309
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	313
<i>Mr. Harwood (Bolton)</i>	314
<i>Sir Christopher Furness (Hartlepool)</i>	316

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 135 ; Noes, 273. (Division List No. 128.)

<i>Sir Joseph Walton</i>	323
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New Clause (Exemption from estate duty of policies of life assurance assigned in consideration of marriage):—

"The *bona fide* purchase referred to in Section 3 of the Finance Act, 1894, shall include every case of an assignment in consideration of marriage by either party to the marriage for the benefit of all or any of the parties or offspring of the marriage of any policy of insurance on the life of a party to the marriage, and the sums receivable under such policy shall not become liable to either estate duty by reason only of the manner in which, or person by whom, the policy is kept up."—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	324
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	325
<i>Mr. Joseph Walton</i>	326

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill reported without Amendment ; to be read the third time to-morrow.

Employment of Children Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

<i>The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)</i>	326
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New Clause (Saving for Industrial and other Schools):—

"Nothing in this Act or in any by-law made thereunder shall apply to the exercise of manual labour by any child under order of detention in a certified industrial or reformatory school, or by any child while receiving instruction in manual labour in any school."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

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Motion made and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

<i>Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire)</i>	327
<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	328
<i>Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley)</i>	328
<i>The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.)</i>	330

Question put and agreed to.

Clause added.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 2, after the word 'labour' to insert the words 'during a portion of the school hours.'"—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The House divided ; Ayes, 84 ; Noes, 209. (Division List No. 129).

EVENING SITTING.

Employment of Children Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), further considered.

<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	333
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New Clause (Incorporation and Amendment of S. 3, of 57 and 58 Vic., C. 41) :—

"Section 3 of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1894 (which regulates the employment of children in public entertainments) shall have effect as if re-enacted in this Act. Provided as follows :—
(1) A licence under that section shall not be granted to any child under the age of nine years, and (2) any inspector or other officer charged with the execution of this Act shall have and may exercise all the powers of an inspector of factories and workshops under that section, and that section shall apply accordingly."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

<i>Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester)</i>	335
<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	336
<i>Mr. Tennant</i>	338
<i>Sir Francis Powell (Wigan)</i>	339
<i>Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe)</i>	340
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	340
<i>Mr. Labouchere (Northampton)</i>	341
<i>Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.)</i>	341
<i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i>	343
<i>Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye)</i>	345
<i>Mr. Galloway (Manchester, S.W.)</i>	349
<i>Mr. Spear</i>	359
<i>Mr. Cochrane</i>	351
<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.)</i>	352

Question put.

The House divided ; Ayes, 139 ; Noes, 116. (Division List No. 130.)

Mr. Broadhurst 353

Amendment proposed—

“In line 5, to leave out the word ‘nine,’ and insert the word ‘twelve.’”—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘nine’ stand part of the clause.”

Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) 357

Mr. Akers Douglas 357

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In line 5, to leave out the word ‘nine’ and insert the word ‘ten.’”—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘nine’ stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Labouchere 357

Mr. Galloway 358

Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe) 358

Mr. Tennant 358

Mr. Ernest Gray 359

Mr. John Burns 359

Question put, and negatived.

Word “ten” inserted.

Clause as amended added.

Clause (Limitation of time) :

“With respect to summary proceedings for offences and fines under this Act and any by-law made thereunder the information shall be laid within three months after the commission of the offence.”—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time, and added.

Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 360

Clause (Delegation of power to make by-law) :

“The County Council of any county may, if it thinks fit, delegate its powers to make by-laws under this Act to any Borough or District Council within its area.”—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Brought up and read the first time.

Question proposed, “That the clause be read a second time.”

Mr. Ernest Gray 360

Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 361

Mr. Jesse Collings 361

Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.) 362

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 14 ; Noes, 228. (Division List No. 131.)

Mr. Tennant 365

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Amendment proposed to the Bill—

“In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word ‘any,’ and insert the word ‘every.’”—(*Mr. Tennant*).

Question proposed, “That the word ‘any’ stand part of the Bill.”

<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	366
<i>Mr. Talbot (Oxford University)</i>	..	...	...	...	...	...	367
<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	367

Motion made and Question, “That further consideration of the Bill, as amended, be now adjourned”—(*Mr. Galloway*)—put, and agreed to.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered to-morrow.

Marine Store Dealers (Ireland) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

[The LORD ADVOCATE (*Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire*) in the Chair.]

Clause 2 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 14, after the word ‘article’ to insert the words, ‘Provided that where articles of the same kind, value, and description, are on any occasion bought or sold in a lot or parcel it will be sufficient to describe such lot or parcel without describing each of the several articles comprising same.’”—(*Mr. MacVeagh*).

Question, “That those words would be there inserted,” put and agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyronne, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	368
<i>Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	368

Bill reported, as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

Guinea Postal Orders Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported ; as amended, to be considered to-morrow... 368

Coal Mines (Certificates) Bill.—Lords’ Amendment to be considered forthwith ; considered and agreed to ... 368

Adjourned at fourteen minutes after Twelve o’clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Southampton Harbour Bill [LORDS] ; Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill.—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time... 369

Barry Railway Bill [LORDS] ; Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton Railway Bill [Lords] ; Fife Electrical Power Bill [Lords] ; Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways Bill [Lords].—Read a second time and committed... 369

Scottish-American Mortgage Company, Limited, Bill [LORDS].—To be read a second time to-morrow... 369

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Willesden Urban District Council Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed ... 369

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill.—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to ... 369

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments ... 369

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill.—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time to-morrow ... 369

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [BY ORDER].—Consideration, as amended, deferred till Monday next ... 369

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill.—"To amend the Alexandra Park and Palace (Public Purposes) Act, 1900 ; and to confer powers on the Alexander Park Trustees to make charges for admission on bank holidays."—Read the first time ; to be read a second time ... 369

Rochester Corporation Tramways and Improvement Bill [LORDS].—Report [23rd June] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.
Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time ... 370

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table.
Bill to be read the third time to-morrow ... 370

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.—Sixth Report brought up and read ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 370

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EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.—Petition from Selkirk, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table ... 370

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petitions against : from Stonehouse (two) ; and Devonport (two) ; to lie upon the Table ... 370

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Denny and Dunipace, for alteration ; to lie upon the Table ... 370

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.—Petitions against : from Malling ; Addington ; and Southwark ; to lie upon the Table ... 370

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EAST INDIA (INDIA OFFICE, RETIREMENT AT 65).—Return [presented 23rd June] to be printed. [No. 220.] ... 371

ARMY PROMOTIONS.—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 25th May—Major Evans-Gordon]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 221.] 371

IRISH LAND BILL.—Return ordered, “showing particulars with respect to advances for the purchase of holdings and repayments to Land Commission under Clauses 1 and 40.”—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 222.] ... 372

COUNCIL OF BOROUGHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES (INDEBTEDNESS).—Return ordered, “showing the Total Indebtedness of the Councils of Boroughs, other than Metropolitan Boroughs, in England and Wales on the 31st day of March 1903, in the following form:—

Name of Borough.	Outstanding loans other than by means of overdrafts on bankers.		Amount of overdrafts (if any) on bankers.		(5) Total of loans outstanding and overdrafts.	(6) Amount standing on the 31st day of March 1903 to the credit of sinking funds towards the repayment of outstanding loans.	(7) Amount remaining due to the Council on the 31st day of March 1903 in respect of loans (if any) raised to advance to other local authorities.	(8) Estimated value of undertakings in Column (1) and other corporate property.	Assessable value of Borough on the 1st day of April, 1903.		Remarks.
	(1) In respect of water works, gas works, electric light undertakings, tramways, markets, harbours, piers, and docks, baths, and burial grounds.	(2) In respect of other works and purposes.							(9) For purposes of the Borough Rate.	(10) For purposes of the General District Rate.	
			(3) On capital account.	(4) On revenue account.							

—Mr. (John Ellis.) ... 372

TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AND GERMANY.—Return ordered, “showing (a) Statistics for the years 1890–1902 of (1) trade between Germany and Canada, (2) trade between Germany and the United Kingdom, (3) trade between the United Kingdom and Canada; (b) Import duties levied (1) in Germany on the principal imports from Canada and the United Kingdom, (2) in Canada on the principal imports from the United Kingdom and Germany, and (3) in the United Kingdom on the principal imports from Germany and Canada.”—(Mr. Loder.)

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Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That five be the quorum—(*Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.*)

June 24.]

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

Another Amendment proposed—

“ In page 1, line 28, to leave out the word ‘ twenty,’ and insert the words ‘ twenty-five.’ ”—(Mr. John Redmond.)

Question proposed, “ That the word ‘ twenty ’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. William O'Brien (Cork)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	402
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	404
<i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	405
<i>Mr. Butcher (York)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	405
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	406
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	406

Question put, and agreed to.

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	407
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Amendment proposed,—

“ In page 2, to leave out lines 1 to 7 inclusive.”—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question put, “ That lines 1 to 7 inclusive be there omitted,” and agreed to.

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	407
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	408

Amendment moved—

“ In page 2, line 15, to leave out the words ‘ shall not sanction the advance,’ and insert the words ‘ may, subject to the limitations in the Land Purchase Acts, sanction the advance if they are satisfied with the security, and if, after giving all persons interested in the estate an opportunity of being heard, they consider the agreed price to be equitable, having regard to the interests of all such persons as aforesaid.’ ”
—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, “ That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	413
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	415
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	416
<i>Mr. Duke (Plymouth)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	417
<i>Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	418
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	420
<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	421
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	422
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	423
<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	424
<i>Major Jameson (Clare, W.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	424

Question put, and negatived.

Question, “ That those words be there inserted,” put, and agreed to.

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<i>Mr. Leamy (Kildare, N.)</i>	425
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 21, at end, to insert the words ‘(4) Notwithstanding any provisions to the contrary contained in the Purchase of Land Amendment Act, 1888, an advance may be sanctioned under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts exceeding the sum of three thousand pounds or five thousand pounds, as the case may be, to one purchaser where, in the opinion of the Land Commission, it is expedient to make any such larger advance for the purpose of carrying out the sale of a large farm which, in the opinion of the Land Commission, has been for five years before the passing of this Act mainly used for tillage or dairying purposes’”—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Carew (Meath, S.)</i>	426
<i>Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.)</i> ..	427
<i>Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent)</i>	428
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	428
<i>Mr. Edward Barry (Cork Co., S.)</i>	429
<i>Mr. Wyndham.</i>	429

Amendment proposed to proposed Amendment—

“In line 3, after the word ‘Acts’ to insert the word ‘not,’ and after the words ‘sum of’ to leave out the word ‘three’ and insert the word ‘seven,’ and to leave out the words ‘or five thousand pounds as the case may be’ in line 4, the word ‘larger’ in line 6.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	430
<i>Mr. Kennedy (Westmeath, N.)</i>	430
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	431
<i>Mr. Leamy...</i>	431
<i>Mr. Coghill</i>	432
<i>Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.)</i>	432

Amendment to the Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	432
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Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 22, to leave out Sub-section 4.”—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	433
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	433
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Amendment moved—

“In page 2, line 23, after the word ‘Act’ to insert ‘nor in the case of holdings on estates purchased by the Congested Districts Board.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Amendment agreed to.

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Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	434
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	436
<i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman</i> (<i>Stirling Burghs</i>)	436
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	438

Question put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	439
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 30, to leave out the word 'ten,' and insert the word 'fifty.'"—(*Mr. Tully*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	440
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	440

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	442
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 34, to leave out from the word 'apply' to the word 'Provided,' in line 35."—(*Mr. Dillon*.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson*.)

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	442
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

<i>Mr. O'Shee</i> (<i>Waterford, W.</i>)	442
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, at end, to insert the words, '(e) A Labourer, as defined in the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, and residing upon or within three miles of the estate.'"—(*Mr. O'Shee*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	444
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Hugh Law</i> (<i>Donegal, W.</i>)	444
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, at end, to insert the words, '(f) A person who in the opinion of the Land Commission would be a suitable occupier of such holding.'"—(*Mr. Hugh Law*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	445
<i>Mr. Hugh Law</i>	445

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

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<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	446
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 2, line 39, at end, to insert the words, ‘(e) A caretaker of a holding on the estate or a person who is in occupation of such holding as tenant at will, or tenant at sufferance.’”—(<i>Mr. William O'Brien.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	446
Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.	
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	446
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 2, line 40, to leave out Sub-section 2.”—(<i>Sir John Colomb.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause.”	
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	447
Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.	
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	447
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 2, line 40, after the word ‘section’ to insert the words ‘to persons other than those mentioned in Sub-section one (d) hereof.’”—(<i>Mr. William O'Brien.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	448
<i>Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.)</i>	449
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	449
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	449
<i>Mr. Kilbride</i>	450
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	450
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	451
<i>Mr. Blake</i>	452
<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	453
<i>Mr. William Redmond</i>	454
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	454
<i>Mr. Kilbride</i>	455
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	456
<i>Mr. Channing</i>	457
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland)</i>	457

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this Evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Finance Bill.—Read the third time, and passed.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

June 24.]

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 40, after the word 'section,' to insert the words 'to persons other than those mentioned in Sub-section one (d) hereof.'"—(Mr. William O'Brien.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Roche (Galway, E.)</i>	460
<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson</i>	460
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	463
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	464
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	465
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	465
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	468

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question put, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill," and agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i>	469
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 13, after the word 'owner' to insert the words 'for five years prior to the passing of this Act has been resident for more than six months of each year in Ireland.'"—(Mr. T. P. O'Connor.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	460
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	470
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	479
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	471
<i>Mr. Ashton (Bedfordshire, Luton)</i>	472
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	472
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i>	473
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	474

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	475
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 13, to leave out from the word 'has,' to the third 'the,' in line 15, and insert 'agreed to sell the estate under the Lands Purchase Acts to the Land Commission or otherwise.'"—(Mr. Butcher).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	475
<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson</i>	476
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	476

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	476
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 17, to leave out the word ‘occupation,’ and insert ‘own use.’”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘occupation’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	477
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	478
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i> ...	478
<i>Mr. Tully</i> ...	479
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	479
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	480
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	480
<i>Mr. William Redmond</i> ...	480
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	481

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 17, after the word ‘adjacent to,’ to insert ‘or in the neighbourhood of.’”—(*Mr Herbert Robertson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i> ...	482
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 17, after the word ‘estate,’ to insert the words ‘provided that no part of said last-mentioned land has, during the five years prior to the passing of this Act, been let for the purposes of pasture or upon any agreement for agistment or temporary depasturage of same.’”—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Tully</i> ...	482
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	482
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	483
<i>Sir John Colomb</i> ...	483

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 19, at end, to insert the words ‘and the land so re-sold shall be subject to the same uses and trusts other than uses and trusts in favour of mortgagees and chargees and owners of superior and intervening interests as the land was subject to at the date of the sale to the Land Commission.’”—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	484
<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson</i> ...	484
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	485

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Ashton</i> ...	485
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Amendment proposed— •

“In page 3, line 20, to leave out Sub-section (2).”

Question proposed, “That Sub-section (2) stand part of the clause.”

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<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	486

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	487
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	487

Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

Patent Office Extension Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

<i>Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.)</i>	487
<i>The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Elliot, Durham)</i>	488

Bill read a second time and committed to a Select Committee of five Members, three to be nominated by the House, and two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee ; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their counsel, or agents, be heard against the Bill, and counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, " That three be the quorum."—(*Mr. Elliot.*)

Guinea Postal Orders Bill.—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time upon Friday 488

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 489

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Wirral Railway Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 489

Hampton Court Gas Bill ; Lochnell Estate Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments 489

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Crystal Palace District Gas Bill. —A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee	489
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Great Central Railway Bill. —Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 15th of May and the 15th of June last discharged; and Bill committed	490
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Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (No. 133); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (No. 134); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (No. 135); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (No. 136).—Brought from the Commons; Read 1 ^a ; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners	490
Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill; Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation Bill; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill. To be read 3 ^a to-morrow	490
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DYSENTERY. —Report of the Commission on the Nature, Pathology, Causation, and Prevention of Dysentery, and its relationship to enteric fever (appointed by the Secretary of State for War, August, 1900): Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table	492
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RAILWAYS CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES ACT, 1864. —Report by the Board of Trade, on an application made during the year 1902, under the Railways Construction Facilities Act, 1864, and of the proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto	492
RAILWAY COMPANIES POWERS ACT, 1864. —Report by the Board of Trade, on applications made during the year 1902 under the Railway Companies Powers Act, 1864, and of the proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto	492
ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882-1890 (PROCEEDINGS). —Report by the Board of Trade, respecting the applications to and proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882-1890, during the past year. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table	492

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Education (Borrowing) Bill. —House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee	493
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Finance Bill. —Read 1 ^a ; to be printed; and to be read 2 ^a to-morrow (The Lord President (<i>D. Devonshire</i>)); and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with. (No. 132.)	493
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CONDITION OF HOLYROOD PALACE.

<i>The First Commissioner of Works (Lord Windsor)</i>	493
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Contracts (India Office) Bill. —[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.	
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<i>The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Hardwicke)</i>	493
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Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*The Earl of Hardwicke.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole
House to-morrow.

Royal Declaration Bill [H.L.] :—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.	
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<i>Earl Grey</i>	493
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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Earl Grey.*)

<i>The Earl of Aberdeen</i>	502
<i>The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury</i>	504
<i>Viscount Llandaff</i>	512
<i>The Duke of Norfolk</i>	516
<i>Lord Stanmore</i>	517
<i>The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire)</i>	518
<i>The Earl of Rosebery</i>	524
<i>Earl Grey</i>	527

On Question, their Lordships divided. Contents, 62, Not-Contents, 109.

Resolved in the negative.

THE RESERVATION OF THE COASTAL TRADE.

<i>Lord Muskerry</i>	529
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Moved to resolve, That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that
legislation on the terms of the recommendation of the Subsidies
Committee and the resolution adopted at the Conference of Colonial
Premiers should be initiated by His Majesty's Government.—(*Lord
Muskerry.*)

<i>Lord Wolverton</i>	536
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Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

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<i>The Earl of Camperdown</i>	538
<i>The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour of Burleigh)</i>	538

The House adjourned at Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : THURSDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.—The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means 539

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. : Poole and District Electric Traction Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 539

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision (No. 2) in the following Bill the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz. : Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.

Ordered, that it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill that they have power to make provision therein accordingly 539

Scottish-American Mortgage Company, Limited, Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER). Read a second time, and committed 539

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill. Read the third time and passed 539

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Considered ; to be read the third time upon Monday next ... 540

Barnsley Corporation (Water) Bill.—Order [2nd March] that the Bill be committed, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.—(Mr. Caldwell.) .. 540

Gateshead Corporation Bill.—Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 540

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill.—Reported with Amendments ; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 540

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CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.—Petition from Beverley, against ; to lie upon the Table	540
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MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.—Petition from Barming, against ; to lie upon the Table	540
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ARMY (COMMISSION ON DYSENTERY).—Copy presented, of Report of the Commission on the nature, pathology, causation, and prevention of Dysentery, and its relationship to Enteric Fever, appointed by the Secretary of State for War, August, 1900 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	541
RAILWAYS.—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade on applications made during 1902 under the Railway Companies' Powers Act, 1864, and of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 223.]	541
RAILWAYS CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES ACT, 1864.—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade on an Application made during the year 1902 under the Act, and of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 224.]	541
ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882 TO 1890 (PROCEEDINGS).—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade respecting the Applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1890, during the past year [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 225.]	
Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House	541
PUBLIC RECORDS (OFFICE OF LAND REVENUE RECORDS AND ENROLMENTS).—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents from the Office of Land Revenue Records and Enrolments which are now in the Public Record Office, but are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act.]	541
PATENT OFFICE EXTENSION [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of all Expenses incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present Session for the acquisition of land for the further extension of the Patent Office, and for purposes connected therewith (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—(Mr. Elliot.)	541

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HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).—Ordered, that the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed in the last Session of Parliament to inquire into the ventilation of the House be referred to the Select Committee on House of Commons (Ventilation), and be printed.—(*Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.*) 542

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29TH JUNE AS A PUBLIC HOLIDAY.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 547

TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT—CONCESSIONS TO OPERATORS AND THE PUBLIC.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 547

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION — PUPIL TEACHERS. — Question, Mr. Morrell (Oxfordshire, Woodstock); Answer, Sir William Anson 548

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Post Office Sites Bill. —Reported, with Amendments, from the Select Committee, with Minutes of evidence.	
Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 226.]	
Minutes of proceedings to be printed. [No. 226.]	
Bill, as amended, re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 258.]	558

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Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 258.]

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.—CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ... 558

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

<i>Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	565
<i>Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	567
<i>Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	571
<i>Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	577
<i>Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	582
<i>Mr. Talbot (Oxford University)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	587
<i>Mr. Brigg (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	588
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	589
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	592
<i>Sir J. Stirling Maxwell (Glasgow, College)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	595
<i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	596
<i>The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	602
<i>Mr. Shackleton</i>	...	...	...	...	...	606
<i>Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	607
<i>Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	609

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. Femwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck)</i>	...	...	...	...	610
<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	...	...	...	...	611
<i>Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe)</i>	...	...	...	...	611

And, it being half-past seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.—CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the salaries and expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

<i>Mr. John Ellis</i>	613
<i>Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham)</i>	615
<i>Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.)</i>	617
<i>Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.)</i>	622
<i>Sir Michael Foster (London University)</i>	623
<i>Dr. Hutchinson (Sussex, Rye)</i>	625
<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	626
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i>	630
<i>Captain Balfour (Middlesex, Hornsey)</i>	635
<i>Mr. Crooks (Woolwich)</i>	637
<i>Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton)</i>	639
<i>Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil)</i>	639
<i>The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.)</i>	640
<i>Captain Norton (Newington, W.)</i>	642

Motion made, and Question put, "That Item A (Salaries) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State."

Committee divided :—Ayes, 21 ; Noes, 110. (Division List No. 132.)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,157, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board for Scotland (8 and 9 Vic., c. 83 ; 52 and 53 Vic., c. 50 ; 57 and 58 Vic., c. 58 ; 60 and 61 Vic., c. 38 ; and various other Statutes)."

<i>Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty)</i>	643
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And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next ; Committee also report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjourned at Three minutes after Twelve o'clock.

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HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

West Bromwich Corporation Bill [H.L.] .—Reported, with Amendments ...	645
Manchester Corporation Bill [H.L.] .—Reported, with Amendments ...	645
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Transfer) Bill .—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to; Bill read 2 ^a accordingly, and committed ...	645
Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill .—Read 3 ^a , and passed ...	645
Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [H.L.] .—Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons ...	645
New Hunstanton Improvement Bill .—Read 3 ^a , with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons ...	645
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill. Brought from the Commons ...	645
Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill .—Brought from the Commons; read 1 ^a ; and referred to the Examiners ...	645
Belfast Water Bill [H.L.] ; Shephed Urban District Gas Bill. —Returned from the Commons, agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered, and agreed to ...	645
Gas Light and Coke Company Bill .—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to ...	645
Commercial Gas Bill ; Great Eastern Railway Bill. —Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to ...	645
Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.] .—Read 3 ^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons ...	645
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill .—Read 3 ^a (according to Order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons ...	646
Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill .—Moved, That the Order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to; Bill read 2 ^a accordingly, and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection ...	646
Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation Bill ; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill; Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill. —Read 3 ^a (according to Order), and passed ...	646
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill (No. 138) ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill (No. 139). —Read 1 ^a ; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners ...	646

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Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill ; Crystal Palace District Gas Bill ; Leigh Corporation Bill ; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill ; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill ; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill ; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill ; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill ; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kilmaine be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Mayo ; read, and agreed to	646
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THE OLD NAVIGATING OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.

<i>Lord Muskerry</i>	646
<i>The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Earl of Selborne)</i>	648

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

<i>The Lord Bishop of Hereford</i>	649
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Amendment moved—

“In page 1, line 24, after the word ‘Lichfield’ to insert the words ‘or to the Bishop of Hereford.’”—(*The Lord Bishop of Hereford.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

<i>The Lord Bishop of Hereford</i>	650
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Amendments moved—

“In page 2, line 22, after the word ‘Lichfield’ to insert the word ‘Hereford’; and in line 29, after the word ‘Lichfield’ to insert the words ‘and Hereford.’”—(*The Lord Bishop of Hereford.*)

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

<i>Lord Ashcombe</i>	651
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Amendment moved—

“In page 2, line 19, after the word ‘Canterbury’ to insert the word ‘Winchester.’”—(*Lord Ashcombe.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

“In page 2, line 28, after the word ‘Southwark’ to insert the words ‘Winchester and Southwark.’”—(*Lord Ashcombe.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clause agreed to.

Schedule 1 agreed to.

Schedule 2 :—

<i>Lord Norton</i>	652
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The Chairman of Committees (The Earl of Morley) 652

Schedule 2 agreed to.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 137.)

Contracts (India Office) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2 :—

The Marquess of Ripon 652

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) ... 652

Clause 2 agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendments and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE AND THE NEW ZEALAND COURT OF APPEAL.

Lord Hawkesbury 652

The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) 653

House adjourned at five minutes past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 26TH JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH.—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Bristol Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, that the Bill be read a second time... .. 653

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz. :—Salford Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 654

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the

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following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next ... 654

Commercial Gas Bill ; Gas Light and Coke Company Bill ; Great Eastern Railway Bill.—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to ... 654

Belfast Water Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time and passed, with Amendments ... 654

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill.—Read the third time and passed. (New Title.) ... 654

Shephed Urban District Gas Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time and passed, with Amendments ... 654

Croydon and District Electric Tramways Bill ; Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time ... 655

Liverpool University Bill [LORDS] ; Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed ... 655

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).—Ordered, That James Alfred Crowther do attend the Committee on Group G of Private Bills on Monday next, at eleven of the clock ... 655

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).—Ordered, That Joseph James Hornby do attend the Committee on Group G of Private Bills on Wednesday next, at eleven of the clock ... 655

POLICE AND SANITARY COMMITTEE.—Ordered, That Francis William Anderson, A. Beresford Pike, and Arthur Blackford do attend the Police and Sanitary Committee on Tuesday next, at half-past eleven of the clock ... 655

Sheffield Corporation Bill.—Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 656

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill ; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill ; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill ; Naval Works Provisional Order Bill, without Amendment.

Ipswich Gas Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [Lords] ; Wirral Railway Bill [Lords] ; Rickmansworth Gas Bill [Lords] ; Harrogate Water Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under The Tramways Act 1870, relating to Barrow-in-Furness Tramways, Horsforth Urban District Council Tramways, Keighley Corporation Tramways, and Ramsgate Urban District Council Tramways." [Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

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And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to incorporate the Mid Yorkshire Tramways Company, and to empower that company to make and maintain tramways and other works, and for other purposes. [Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords].]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.—That they give leave to the Clerk of the Parliaments to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee appointed by this House on Public Accounts ... 656

Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 657

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 259.] ... 657

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill.—Reported without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next ... 657

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—Reported with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next ... 657

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with an Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next ... 657

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 657

London and North-Western Railway Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 657

Torquay Corporation Water Bill [LORDS]; Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 658

King's College (London) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time ... 658

St. Philips Chapel (Regent Street) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time ... 658

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VIVISECTION;—Petition from London, for prohibition ; to lie upon the Table ...	658
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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SCOTLAND (TECHNICAL EDUCATION).—Return ordered, “showing the extent to which and the manner in which local authorities in Scotland have allocated and applied funds to the purposes of Technical Education during the year ending the 15th day of May, 1903, under the following Acts: Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890; Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892; Technical Schools (Scotland) Act, 1887; Technical Instruction Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1892; and Public Libraries Acts.”—(<i>The Lord Advocate.</i>) ...	658
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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

VIVISECTION EXPERIMENTS—PRESENCE OF A GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR.—Question, Dr. Shipman (Northampton); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas ...	659
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SMALL FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas ...	660
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CONSTRUCTION OF THE BALLYRONEY AND NEWCASTLE RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham ...	664
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SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection: That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure: Mr. Lees Knowles; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Samuel Roberts.	
Report to lie upon the Table ...	665

June 26.]

County Courts Jurisdiction Extension Bill—[THIRD READING].—Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [19th June], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

<i>Lord Hugh Cecil (Greenwich)</i> ...	666
<i>Mr. Galloway (Manchester, S.W.)</i> ...	666
<i>Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham)</i> ...	670

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'be,' and add the words 'recommitted to a Committee of the whole House in respect of a new clause (Increase of Courts).'"—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

<i>Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.)</i> ...	671
<i>Mr. Duke (Plymouth)</i> ...	675
<i>The Attorney-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs)</i> ...	679
<i>Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.)</i> ...	681
<i>Sir James Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.)</i> ...	683

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 160 ; Noes, 10. (Division List No. 133.)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Guinea Postal Orders Bill—[THIRD READING].—Order for the Third Reading read.

<i>Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham)</i> ...	685
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i> ...	688
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i> ...	688
<i>Mr. Arthur Lee (Hampshire, Fareham)</i> ...	689
<i>Mr. Galloway</i> ...	689
<i>Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury)</i> ...	690
<i>Mr. Vicary Gibbs (Hertfordshire, St. Albans)</i> ...	691

Bill read the third time and passed.

Military Lands Bill—[THIRD READING].—Order for the Third Reading read.

<i>Sir Arthur Hayter (Walsall)</i> ...	691
<i>Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid)</i> ...	692
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i> ...	692
<i>Mr. William Redmond</i> ...	693
<i>Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham)</i> ...	692
<i>Mr. Winston Churchill</i> ...	694
<i>Sir Walter Thorburn (Peebles and Selkirk)</i> ...	696
<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach (Bristol, W.)</i> ...	696
<i>The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, West-houghton)</i> ...	697

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Incest Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

Mr. Talbot (Oxford University) 697

“In page 1, line 6, to leave out the words, ‘of or above the age of thirteen years.’”—(*Mr. Talbot.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill.”

Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping) 698

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 7, after the word ‘daughter’ to insert the word ‘step-daughter.’”—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question, “That the word ‘step-daughter’ be there inserted,” put, and agreed to.

Sir William Tomlinson (Preston) 699

Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 7, after the word ‘sister,’ to insert the words ‘or who, being married, has committed incestuous adultery within the meaning of Section 27 of the Matrimonial Causes Acts, 1857.’”—(*Sir William Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. H. D. Greene (Shrewsbury) 700

Colonel Lockwood 701

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Talbot 701

Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 10, to leave out the words ‘and not exceeding seven years.’”—(*Mr. Talbot.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill.”

Mr. Galloway 702

Mr. Lawson Walton (Leeds, S.) 702

Mr. H. D. Greene 702

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Vicary Gibbs 703

Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 25, after the word ‘brother,’ to insert the words ‘stepgrandfather, stepfather, or stepson.’”—(*Mr. Vicary Gibbs.*)

Question, “That those words be there inserted in the Bill,” put, and negatived.

Mr. Talbot 703

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 9, to leave out Clause 5.”—(*Mr. Talbot.*)

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Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

<i>Sir Joseph Leese (Lancashire, Accrington)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	704
<i>Sir Edward Carson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	704
<i>Mr. H. D. Greene</i>	704

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Gretton (Derbyshire, S.)</i>	704
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 12, to leave out Clause 6."—(*Mr. Gretton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	704
<i>Mr. Malcolm (Suffolk, Stowmarket)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	705
<i>Sir Edward Carson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	705
<i>Mr. Caldwell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	705

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a third time," put, and agreed.

Innkeepers' Liability Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

The first Motion on the Paper was a new clause, standing in the name of the hon. Member for South-West Manchester, dealing with the application of the Act to Scotland.

Clause 1 :—

<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	706
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A clause (Exemption)—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	706
<i>Sir Edward Carson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	707
<i>Mr. Cohen (Islington, E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	707
<i>Mr. Vicary Gibbs</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	707
<i>Mr. Gretton</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	708

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 75 ; Noes, 130. (Division List No. 134.)

<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	709
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A clause (Right of Appeal),

"Any person aggrieved by a conviction made by a Court of summary jurisdiction under this Act may appeal therefrom to a Court of quarter sessions."—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time, and added to the Bill.

<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	712
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 5, after the word ‘shall’ to insert the words ‘from opening until closing time.’”—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted in the Bill.”

<i>Mr. Brampton Gurdon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	712
<i>Sir Edward Carson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	712
<i>Lord Hugh Cecil</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	712
<i>Mr. Lawson Walton</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	713
<i>Mr. Loyd (Berkshire, Abingdon)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	713

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 73 ; Noes, 140. (Division List No. 135.)

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2 :—

<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	715
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Amendment proposed—

“After the word ‘manner’ to insert the words ‘or is an habitual drunkard to whom the sale of liquor has been refused under Section 6 of the Licensing Act, 1902.’”—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Sir Frederick Banbury</i>	717
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Amendment proposed—

“To leave out the words ‘a sum adequate to the cost’ and insert the words ‘a reasonable price.’”—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clauses 3—5 agreed to.

Clause 6 :—

<i>Mr. Galloway</i>	718
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, line 24, to leave out the words ‘Scotland or.’”—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question put, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 140 ; Noes, 52. (Division List No. 136.)

And it being after half-past Five of the clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended by the Standing Committee, stood adjourned.

Further consideration to be resumed upon Monday next.

Addenbrooke's Hospital Bill.—As amended, considered ; read the third time, and passed ... 719

Pistols Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

A clause (Sale of pistols to insane or intoxicated persons)—(*Lord Hugh Cecil*)—brought up, and read the first and second time, and added.

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Amendments made to the Bill.

Bill read the third time, and passed 719

Market Gardeners' Compensation Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn 720

Adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS : MONDAY, 29TH JUNE, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) ; South Shields Corporation.

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill :—Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 721

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.].—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee 721

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill.—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn : The order made on Tuesday last discharged, and Bill committed 721

Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Tuesday, the 7th of July next 721

Kip's Patents Bill [H.L.] ; Birmingham District Tramways Bill [H.L.] ; Bradford Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons ... 721

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 721

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.] ; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Yarborough, the Lord Middleton, and the Lord Glenesk be proposed to the House as members of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Lytton, the Lord Bolton, and the Lord Hatherton, and that the Lord Glenesk be Chairman of the said Committee ; read and agreed to 721

Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Brougham and Vaux be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Earl of Belmore, and that the Lord Brougham and Vaux be Chairman of the said Committee ; read, and agreed to 722

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill ; Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill ; East Ham Improvement Bill ; Great Western Railway Bill ; Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill ;

North-Eastern Railway Bill; Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway (Extension of Time) Bill; Romford and District Tramways Bill; Wood Green Urban District Council Bill; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills, viz.:

D. Bedford,
D. Newcastle,
E. Temple,
L. Berwick.
L. Ribblesdale (chairman);

agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next, at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills ... 722

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Friday next ... 722

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill.—Committee of the whole House (which stands appointed for this day), put off till To-morrow ... 723

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 147.) ... 723

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS—ANNUAL SERIES.

- No. 3009. Japan.
- No. 3010. France (Corsica).
- No. 3011. France (Dunkirk).
- No. 3012. China (Swatow).
- No. 3013. China (Kiungchow).
- No. 3014. Sweden (Stockholm and the Eastern Coast).
- No. 3015. Austria-Hungary (Trieste).

Presented [by Command]; and ordered to lie on the Table ... 723

MERCHANT SEAMEN'S FUND.—Account of the receipts and expenditure under the Seamen's Fund Winding-up Act, from 1st January to 31st December, 1902 ... 723

LUNACY.—Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor ... 723

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES (POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS FUND) (SAVINGS BANKS FUND) (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES FUND).—Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1902 ... 723

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, declaring that Paul Powell, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.

Laid before the House [pursuant to Act]; and ordered to lie on the Table 723

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GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a to-morrow (The Earl of Mayo). (No. 141.) ... 723

County Courts Jurisdiction Extension Bill (No. 142); Military Lands Bill (No. 143); Incest Bill (No. 144); Addenbrooke's Hospital Bill (No. 145); Pistols Bill (No. 146).

Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a, and to be printed ... 724

FINANCE BILL.—Read 2^a (according to Order): Committee negatived: Then Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order) and dispensed with. Bill read 3^a, and passed ... 724

IMPERIAL FISCAL POLICY.

<i>Earl of Portsmouth</i>	...	724
<i>Lord Harris</i>	...	732
<i>The Earl of Aberdeen</i>	...	737
<i>The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne)</i>	...	738
<i>The Earl of Rosebery</i>	...	742
<i>The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Earl of Selborne)</i>	...	746
<i>Viscount Goschen</i>	...	749
<i>The Marquess of Ripon</i>	...	751
<i>The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire)</i>	...	755
<i>Lord Tweedmouth</i>	...	758

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

The President of the Board of Agriculture (The Earl of Onslow) ... 759

Amendment moved—

“In line 17, at end, to insert, as a new sub-section, ‘The Merchandise Marks (Prosecutions) Act, 1894 (which relates to the undertaking by the Board of Agriculture of prosecutions under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, in certain cases), shall apply to the produce of any fishing industry as it applies to agricultural or horticultural produce.’”—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3:—

Lord Heneage ... 760

Amendment moved—

“In page 2, line 39, to leave out from ‘three’ to the end of the sub-section.”—(*Lord Heneage.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 140.)

THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY.

<i>Lord Harris</i>	760
<i>The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Hardwicke)</i> ...	761
<i>Lord Wenlock</i>	762
<i>Lord Monkswell</i>	763
<i>The Earl of Hardwicke</i>	763
<i>Earl Carrington</i>	763
<i>Lord Harris</i>	763
<i>The Earl of Selborne</i>	764

STAFF SERVICE.

<i>Lord Heneage</i>	764
<i>The Earl of Hardwicke</i>	765

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow,
half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 29TH JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 765

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 765

Southampton Harbour Bill [LORDS] (King's consent signified).—Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 766

Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill.—Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.] 766

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [LORDS]; Erith Tramways and Improvements Bill; Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth and District Tramways Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 766

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill; Bournemouth Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]; Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Derby Gas Bill [Lords].—Read a second time and committed 766

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Manchester Southern Tramways Bill [LORDS]; Rochester Corporation Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed	766
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed	766
North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment ...	766
Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [LORDS]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow	766
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [BY ORDER]—As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow ...	766
Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed	767
Pontypridd Urban District Council Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed	767
MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS. —That they have agreed to—Finance Bill; Grange-mouth Water Order Confirmation Bill; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill; Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter Houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill; Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill, without Amendment.	
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill, with an Amendment.	
New Hunstanton Improvement Bill, with Amendments.	
Amendments to Belfast Water Bill [Lords]; Shephed Urban District Gas Bill [Lords], without Amendment.	
That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Aldershot Gas and Water, Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water, St. David's Water and Gas, St. Neot's Water, and Wexford Gas." [Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill (Lords).]	
Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for rendering valid certain Letters Patent granted to William Phillips Thompson in respect of inventions communicated to him from abroad by Frederick Ellsworth Kip (1) for improvements in stop-motions for looms, warping machines, and the like; and (2) for improvements in electrical stop-motions for warps." [Kip's Patents Bill (Lords).]	
Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable the City of Birmingham Tramways Company, Limited, to construct additional tramways; and for other purposes." [Birmingham District Tramways Bill (Lords).]	
And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confer powers on the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford with respect to tramways, waterworks, and gas supply; to enable the Corporation and Urban District Council of Shipley to exchange portions of their respective gas undertakings; and to make further provisions with respect to rating and various matters of local administration and management." [Bradford Corporation Bill (Lords).]	

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Kip's Patents Bill [LORDS]; Birmingham District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Bradford Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 768.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 260.] 768.

Hexham Gas Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 768.

PETITIONS.

BURGH POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition from Grangemouth, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 768.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.—Petition from Seaton, against; to lie upon the Table 768

COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION EXTENSION BILL.—Petition from Durham, in favour; to lie upon the Table 768

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.—Petition from Cumnock, against; to lie upon the Table 768.

LAND REGISTERS (SCOTLAND).—Petition from Perth, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 768

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL.—Petition from Malton, against; to lie upon the Table 769

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petition from West Cumberland, against; to lie upon the Table 769

LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petition from Malton, against; to lie upon the Table 769

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.—Petition of the National Chamber of Trade, in favour; to lie upon the Table 769

MOTOR-CARS.—Petition from Renfrewshire, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 769

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (AUDIT) BILL.—Petition from Abergavenny, in favour; to lie upon the Table 769

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—Petition from Wood Green, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 769

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

URBAN DISTRICTS (IRELAND).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 10th March—*Mr. O'Shee*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 228.) 769

MERCHANT SEAMEN'S FUND.—Account presented, of the Receipt and Expenditure under the Seamen's Fund Winding-up Act from 1st January to 31st December, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 229.) 769

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TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3009 to 3015 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 769

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—Accounts presented, showing the Interest accrued in respect of the Securities standing in the names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the credit of the Post Office Savings Banks Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1902, and of the Fund for the Banks for Savings and the Fund for Friendly Societies for the year ended 20th November, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 230.) 770

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, declaring that Paul Powell, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 770

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LUNACY.—Copy of Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor, with Appendix [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. (No. 231.) 770

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Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 4 :—

<i>Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.)</i>	816
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Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, line 28, after the word ‘ purchase ’ to insert the words
‘ by any County or District Council, or.’ ”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	818
<i>Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.)</i>	819
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i>	819
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	820
<i>Mr. Atherley-Jones (Durham, N. W.)</i>	821
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	822

Question put and negatived.

<i>Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.)</i>	822
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Amendment proposed—

“ In page 3, line 30, after the word ‘ Act,’ to insert the words, ‘ for
the purpose of providing allotments of land for labourers as defined by
the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act,
or.’ ”—(*Mr. O'Shee.*)

Question proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

<i>The Attorney General for Ireland, (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.)</i>	827
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i>	827
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	828
<i>Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.)</i>	829
<i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i>	829
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	829
<i>Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.)</i>	830
<i>Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.)</i>	830
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	830
<i>Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.)</i>	831
<i>Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory)</i>	831
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<i>Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.)</i>	833
<i>Mr. O'Shee</i>	833
Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.	
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i>	833
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 3, line 32, after the word ‘of’ to insert the words ‘game, fish.’”—(<i>Sir John Colomb.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	834
<i>Sir Robert Fitzgerald (Cambridge)</i>	834
Question put and agreed to.	
Clause 4 agreed to.	
Clause 5 :—	
<i>Mr. Mansfield (Lincolnshire, Spalding)</i>	835
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 3, line 36, after the word ‘makes,’ to insert the words ‘or not less than two-thirds of the tenants of an estate make.’”—(<i>Mr.</i> <i>Mansfield.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	835
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	836
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	836
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	837
Question put and negatived.	
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	837
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 3, line 38, after the third word ‘the’ to insert the word ‘compulsory.’”—(<i>Mr. Tully.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That the word ‘compulsory’ be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	837
Question put and negatived.	
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	838
Amendment proposed—	
“In page 3, line 40, after the word ‘inquiry’ to insert the words ‘as to the prices which tenants are prepared to pay for their holdings, and such other matters as they deem necessary.’”—(<i>Mr. Dillon.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	838
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	839
Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.	
<i>Mr. Butcher (York)</i>	839
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	841

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"In page 3, line 40, to leave out from the word 'estate' to end of sub-section, and insert the words 'and in estimating the price shall have regard to the foregoing provisions of this Act in respect of advances.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Dillon 841

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"In line 2, to leave out from the word 'foregoing' to the end and to insert the words 'price which the tenants on the estates are willing to give for their holdings.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	843
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	843
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	844
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	844
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	848
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland)</i>	845
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	846

Amendment to the Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 3, after the word 'thereof' to insert the words 'or in addition to.'"—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Wyndham 847

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. William O'Brien (Cork) 847

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 18, at the end to insert the words '(4) Where the Estates Commissioners purchase an estate under the provisions of this Act, or where the landlord is selling his estate to the tenants or former tenants thereof under the Land Purchase Acts, and there are upon such estate tenants in occupation of holdings from which other tenants were evicted within twenty-five years before the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to arrange for the surrender to them or to the landlord, as the case may be, of such holdings by the tenants in occupation thereof, on such terms as may be agreed upon, including the transfer of such tenants to other holdings or the payment of such sums of money as compensation for such surrenders as they may think fit, not exceeding in any one case twice the amount of the annual rent payable by each such tenant. And, upon such surrender as aforesaid being made, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to reinstate in their holdings the former tenants thereof, and thereupon such former tenants so reinstated shall have the same rights under the Land Purchase Acts as they would have had if they had never been evicted from such holdings.'"—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.)</i> ...	851
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i> ...	852
<i>Sir John Colomb</i> ...	854
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	856
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	860
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i> ...	861
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	862
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i> ...	865
<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.)</i> ...	866
<i>Mr. William Redmond</i> ...	867
<i>Mr. Flynn (Cork Co., N.)</i> ...	868

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 5 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 18, at the end, to insert the words (4) 'Where the Estates Commissioners purchase an estate under the provisions of this Act, or where the landlord is selling his estate to the tenants or former tenants thereof under the Land Purchase Acts, and there are upon such estate tenants in occupation of holdings from which other tenants were evicted within twenty-five years before the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Estate Commissioners to arrange for the surrender to them or to the landlord, as the case may be, of such holdings by the tenants in occupation thereof, on such terms as may be agreed upon, including the transfer of such tenants to other holdings or the payment of such sums of money as compensation for such surrenders as they may think fit, not exceeding in any one case twice the amount of annual rent payable by each such tenant. And, upon such surrender as aforesaid being made, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to reinstate in their holdings the former tenants thereof, and thereupon such former tenants so reinstated shall have the same rights under the Land Purchase Acts as they would have had if they had never been evicted from such holdings.'"—(Mr. William O'Brien.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Flynn</i> ...	869
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i> ...	869
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	870
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i> ...	870

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	871
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 19, to leave out Sub-section (4).”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	871
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	872
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 23, at end, to insert the words ‘and the Lord Lieutenant shall, where it is necessary for the preservation of the peace, dispense with the conditions as to voluntary sale, and direct the provisions of the Land Clauses Act as shall apply to the purchase of an estate by the Land Commission and the resale to the tenants where it can be effected without prospect of loss.’”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	873
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	873
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 29, to leave out from the word ‘case’ to end of line 30.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	873
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 34, to leave out the words ‘an estate,’ and to insert the words ‘any estate in the province of Connaught, and counties of Donegal, Clare, Kerry, and Cork.’”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	874
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Question put and agreed to.

<i>Mr. Murphy</i>	874
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 38, at end, to insert the words ‘or part of an estate situated in a congested districts county.’”

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	874
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	875
<i>Mr. Thomas O'Donnell</i>	875
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	875
<i>Mr. Murphy</i>	875

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	877
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Amendment moved—

“In page 4, line 34, to leave out from the second word ‘estate’ to the second word ‘of’ in line 35, and to insert the words ‘whether situated in a congested districts county or not, a substantial part.’”—
(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	877
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	878
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	879
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	880
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	880
<i>Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	881
<i>Mr. William Redmond</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	882
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	882
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	883
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	883
<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	883
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	884

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 35, to leave out the word ‘half,’ and insert the words ‘one-fourth.’”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘half’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	884
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	885
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	885

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	885
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 36, to leave out the words ‘ten acres in area and.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, lines 36 and 37, to leave out the words ‘or of mountain or bog land.’”—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	885
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Sheehan (Cork County, Mid)</i>	886
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 38, at end, to add the words ‘or an estate in any rural district in which it shall be certified by a chairman of a Rural

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District Council that labourers, as defined in the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, are without suitable homes and allotments.'—(*Mr. Sheehan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. W'ynndham 886

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 38, at end, to add the words '(7) Where the Estates Commissioners, in exercise of the powers vested in them by this Act, sell to a labourer a holding or a parcel of land situated in a rural district which comprises a congested estate as defined by this section, it shall be lawful for them to treat said labourer in all respects as if he had been residing in a congested districts county, and they shall have all the powers to improve the said holding and assist said labourers that are possessed by the Congested Districts Board for aiding migrants in a congested districts county under the provisions of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts as amended by this Act.'—(*Captain Donelan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6 :—

Mr. Butcher 887

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 2, after the figures 1858, to insert the words 'and to which the provisions of Section 40 of the Act of 1896 apply.'—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. T. M. Healy 888

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Dillon 888

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 3, leave out the word 'may,' and insert the word 'shall.'—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the clause."

Mr. T. W. Russell 889

Mr. Atkinson 889

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Dillon... .. 889

Amendment proposed—

“In page 5, line 12, after the word ‘loss,’ to insert the words ‘and after giving all parties interested an opportunity of being heard, fix the price at which, in their opinion, the estate or part thereof should be sold to the tenant in occupation thereof discharged of all superior or intervening interests, and shall accordingly.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	892
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	892
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	893
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	893

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 6 agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 6, line 38, to leave out all words from ‘pastoral’ to end of clause.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10 agreed to.

Clause 11.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again To-morrow.

Post Office Sites (Recommitted) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 6 :—

<i>Mr. Caldwell</i> (<i>Lanarkshire, Mid</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	896
<i>The Postmaster-General</i> (<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	896

Bill reported without Amendment.

SUPPLY [25TH JUNE].

Resolution reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.—CLASS II.

“That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices.”

Resolution agreed to.

Adjourned at eight minutes after Twelve o’clock.

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HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, JUNE 30th, 1903.

COMMISSION.—The following Bills received the Royal Assent :—

1. Finance.
2. Naval Forces.
3. Berwickshire County Town.
4. Coal Mines (Certificates).
5. Land Drainage Provisional Order.
6. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 1).
7. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2).
8. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3).
9. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4).
10. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6).
11. Lanarkshire and Ayrshire Railway Order Confirmation.
12. Dundee Royal Lunatic Asylum Orders Confirmation.
13. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1).
14. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).
15. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4).
16. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6).
17. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8).
18. Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of the Working Classes.
19. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1).
20. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2).
21. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).
22. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4).
23. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).
24. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7).
25. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).
26. Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).
27. St. Luke's Church and Parish Quoad Sacra Edinburgh Order Confirmation.
28. Naval Works Provisional Order.
29. Pier and Harbour Order (No. 1).
30. Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation.
31. Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation.
32. Forth Navigation Order Confirmation.
33. Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation.
34. Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation.
35. North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation.
36. Western Trust.
37. Great Western Railway (Pension Fund).
38. Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area).
39. Queensland Investment and Land Mortgage.
40. Great Northern and City Railway.
41. Maidstone Gas.
42. Stoke Newington Borough Council.
43. North Middlesex Gas.
44. Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas.
45. Faversham Gas.
46. North's Navigation Collieries.
47. Life Association of Scotland.
48. Pelican and British Empire Life Office.
49. Lima Railways.
50. Exeter Railway.
51. All Saints, Poplar (Rate Abolition)
52. London Hydraulic Power.
53. Sutton District Water.

54. Bridgwater Gas.	
55. East Ardsley Gas.	
56. Burgess Hill and St. John's Common Gas.	
57. Scarborough Gas.	
58. Sittingbourne District Gas.	
59. South Wales Mineral Railway.	
60. Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power.	
61. Indiarubber, Guttapercha, and Telegraph Works Company.	
62. Milford Docks	
63. Market Drayton Gas.	
64. Wellington (Salop) Gas.	
65. Knot End Railway (Extension of Time).	
66. Winchester Water and Gas.	
67. Midland Railway.	
68. Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal.	
69. Harrow and Stanmore Gas.	
70. Wirral Railway.	
71. Rickmansworth Gas.	
72. Harrogate Water.	
73. Gorleston and Southtown Gas.	
74. Belfast Water.	
75. Shephed Urban District Gas.	
76. Gas Light and Coke Company.	
77. Commercial Gas.	
78. Great Eastern Railway	897

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill. —Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kiunaird be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Lord Kilmaine ; read, and agreed to ...	899
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The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with : Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways.

Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills : Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17).

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with : Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table	899
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STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Petition for a Bill by the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Company ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to introduce the Bill.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Petition for a Bill by the Alexandra Park Trustees ought to be dispensed with.

Read, and agreed to	900
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North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.].—Presented (pursuant to leave given this day); read 1 ^a , and referred to the Examiners	900
Hyde Corporation Bill ; Cheshire Lines Committee Bill; Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Committee Bill [H.L.]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and East Denbighshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Reported, with Amendments	900
Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill .—Reported, without Amendment	900
Watford and Edgware Railway Bill .—Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 16th instant and Tuesday last discharged, and Bill committed	900
Romford and District Tramways Bill .—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee	901
Crystal Palace District Gas Bill .—A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee	901
Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill ; South Shields Corporation Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, “That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next,” be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to; Bills read 2 ^a accordingly, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	901
Lochnell Estate Bill [H.L.]; Gosport, Fareham, and Cosham Tramways Bill [H.L.], now Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Bill [H.L.]; West Bromwich Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons	901
Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill .—Brought from the Commons; read 1 ^a , and referred to the Examiners	901
Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment	901
Southampton Harbour Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments; The said Amendments considered, and agreed to	901
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill .—Returned from the Commons, with the Amendment agreed to	901
Irvine and District Water Board Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Irvine and District Water Board was presented by the Lord Balfour (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1 ^a ; and to be printed. (No. 148.)	901
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill .—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, “That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a	

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second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next ... 902

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Amendments made; Standing Committee negatived; Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next ... 902

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next ... 902

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Amendments made; Standing Committee negatived; Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next ... 902

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next ... 902

Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Stanmore be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*); read, and agreed to ... 902

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]; Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kilmaine be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Belhaven and Stenton; read, and agreed to ... 902

Leigh Corporation Bill; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Craven be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Kilmaine; read, and agreed to ... 903

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kenyon be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read, and agreed to ... 903

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, (No. 151); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill, (No. 152). Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners ... 903

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRANSVAAL (ORANGE RIVER COLONY).—Papers relating to the Inter-Colonial Council South Africa Order in Council, 1903 ... 903

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 338. Wei-Hai-Wei (Report for 1902). Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 903

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CERTIFIED INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT).— Amended regulations, made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the management and discipline of the Church Army Newdigate Farm Home, Surrey	903
POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS, INLAND).— Statutory Rules and Orders, 1903. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table	904
STANDING COMMITTEE.— Report from the Committee of Selection for the Standing Committee that they have added the Viscount Hutchinson (<i>E.</i> <i>Denoughmore</i>) to the Standing Committee; read, and ordered to lie on the Table	904
County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill.— Education (Borrowing) Bill.— Contracts (India Office) Bill.—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3 ^a on Thursday next	904
Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [H.L.].— Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment: the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next... ..	904
Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill [H.L.].— Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Friday next	904
Borough Funds Bill.— Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next	904
Marine Store Dealers (Ireland) Bill.— Brought from the Commons; read 1 ^a ; and to be printed. (No. 150.)	904
Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Bill.— Order of the day for the House going into Committee read. <i>Lord Kenyon</i>	905
House in Committee (according to Order).	
Clause 1 agreed to.	
Clause 2 omitted.	
Clause 3 agreed to.	
Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 149.)	
Guinea Postal Orders Bill.— [SECOND READING]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read. <i>The Earl of Mayo</i>	905
Read 2 ^a (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.	
House adjourned at twenty minutes before five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.	

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 30TH JUNE, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went, and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to a number of Bills [See page 897] 906

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into and which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz., Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords]. Ordered, that the Bill be read a second time 906

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into and which are applicable thereto have not been complied with, viz.—

North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords].—Ordered, that the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders... 906

Ipswich Gas Bill.—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to 906

King's College, London, Bill [LORDS]. Read the third time, and passed without Amendment 906

Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [LORDS]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 907

Poole and District Electric Traction Bill [LORDS]. Read a second time, and committed 907

Hove, Worthing, and District Tramways Bill [LORDS] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed 907

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill.—Lords' Amendment considered, and agreed to ... 907

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [LORDS]. Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment ... 907

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Read the third time, and passed 907

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [LORDS]. Read a second time, and committed 907

South Lancashire Tramways Bill [LORDS]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 907

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STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee :

1. "That, in the case of the Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with : That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

2. "That, in the case of the Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with : That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that Clauses 62 and 63 be struck out of the Bill : That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

3. "That, in the case of the Salford Corporation Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with : That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

4. "That, in the case of the Jewish Colonisation Association Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 129 in the case of the Petition of Israel Zangwill against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

First three Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table 907

Salford Corporation Bill [LORDS] ; Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time 908

Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [LORDS] ; Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time 908

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to vest the estate of Lochnell, in the County of Argyll, in trustees for certain purposes, with power of sale and other powers." [Lochnell Estate Bill [Lords].]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Portsmouth Street Tramways Company to construct new tramways in the urban districts of Gosport and Alverstoke and of Fareham, in the county of Southampton ; to work such new tramways ; and to adapt the existing tramways of that Company in the urban district of Gosport and Alverstoke for working by electrical or other mechanical power ; and for other purposes." [Gosport, Fareham and Cosham Tramways Bill [Lords], now "Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]."]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confer further powers upon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Manchester with reference to tramways and streets and otherwise for the better local government and improvement of the city ; to extend the city ; and to make further provision with reference to the borrowing powers of the corporation ; and for other purposes." [Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords].]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to repeal Section 17 of the West Bromwich Corporation Act, 1900, and Section 4 of the West Bromwich Improvement Amendment Act, 1865, and to enact other provisions in lieu thereof ; and for other purposes." West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords].

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Lochnell Estate Bill [LORDS]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords]; West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills	908
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PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL —Petition from Eastry, against; to lie upon the Table	909
COAL MINES REGULATION BILL —Petition from Outfield Colliery, in favour; to lie upon the Table	909
LICENCES .—Petition from Aikton, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table	309
LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL —Petitions against: from the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board; and Helsby; to lie upon the Table	909
LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL —Petitions against: from the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board; and Helsby; to lie upon the Table	909
LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL —Petition from Cowdenbeath, for alteration; to lie upon the Table	909
MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL —Petitions against: from Edinburgh; Aikton; and Wigton; to lie upon the Table	909
PUBLIC LIBRARIES .—Petition from Rochdale, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table	910
TRADE DISPUTES BILL —Petition from Outfield Colliery, in favour; to lie upon the Table	910

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS) .—Copy presented of Amended Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Church Army Newdigate Farm Home, Surrey [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	910
WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES .—Copy presented, of Eighty-first Report of the Commissioners, dated 30th June, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 232.]	910
PUBLIC WORKS LOAN BOARD .—Copy presented, of Twenty-eighth Annual Report (for 1902–3), with Appendices [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 233.]	910
ISLE OF MAN .—Account presented, of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1903, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 234.]	910
POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) .—Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Inland) Regulations, 1903, dated 30th June, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	910
SOUTH AFRICA .—Copy presented, of Papers relating to the Inter-Colonial Council, South Africa, Order in Council, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	910

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COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 388 (Wei-hai-Wei, Annual Report for 1902) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table

910

CONDITION OF TRADE AND PEOPLE.—Return ordered, “for the United Kingdom for each of the years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1902, in the following form :—

	Year.	
A 1801	1	
B 1811	2	Population (millions).
C 1821	3	Death Rate, per thousand.
D 1831	4	Birth Rate, per thousand.
E 1841	5	Paupers, total, indoor and outdoor.
F 1851	6	Emigrants, total numbers.
G 1861	7	Corn, average price per quarter of 480 lbs.
H 1871	8	Beef, average price.
I 1881	9	Foreign grain, corn, and flour imports, total value.
J 1891	10	Foreign meat, alive and dead, imports, total value.
K 1901	11	Food Imports, total value.
L 1902	12	Food Imports from Colonies and British Possessions, total value.
	13	Food Imports per head of population, total value.
	14	Corn, Home grown and Foreign, total retained for Home consumption (million cwt.s.).
	15	Corn consumption per head of population (cwt.s.).
	16	Persons employed in textile factories, woollen and cotton, total.
	17	Textile manufactures, total production.
	18	Textiles retained for Home consumption, total.
	19	Iron and steel manufactures, total production.
	20	Iron and steel manufactures retained for Home consumption, total.
	21	Exports, total value.
	22	Exports, British and Irish produce and manufactures, total value.
	23	Imports, total value.
	24	Total Trade, value.
	25	Trade, total per head of population, value.
	26	Fish landed, total value.
	27	Income Tax, yield of each penny.
	28	Income Tax, gross incomes brought under review, total.
	29	Income Tax, persons or firms assessed, total number.
	30	Income from trades and professions (Schedule D), total.
	31	Profits from Houses (Schedule A), total.
	32	Profits from Colonial and Foreign securities, total.
	33	Post Office and Trustee Savings Bank deposits, total.
	34	British shipping, total tonnage.
	35	British shipping, tonnage entered and cleared in the United Kingdom, total.
	36	Foreign shipping, tonnage entered and cleared in the United Kingdom, total.
	37	Bankers' Clearing House Returns, total.
	38	Capital value of personal property charged with Death Duties, total.
	39	Deposits of Friendly Societies, total.

—(Mr. Gibson Bowles.) 911

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

TRANSVAAL LOAN.—Question,	Mr. Labouchere (Northampton);	Answer,	
Mr. J. Chamberlain ...	... ..	... ..	911

SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR WORKERS IN HERRING TRADE AT YARMOUTH.—
Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) ; Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas ... 913

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INCREASE IN VIVISECTION.—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas	915
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IRISH POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS.—Questions, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) ; Answers, The Postmaster-General (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.)	927
EVICTED FARMS—CONTEMPLATED PURCHASE BY THE ADMIRALTY.—Questions, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork Co., W.) ; Answers, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffolk, Woodbridge)	928
BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Mr. T. M. Healey (Louth, N.), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) ; Answers, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somerset, Wellington), Mr. Wyndham, and The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)	929
Aged Pensioners Bill. —Ordered, that the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Cottage Home Bill, of Session 1899, and the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Aged Deserving Poor, in the same session, be referred to the Select Committee on the Aged Pensioners Bill.—(Mr. Grant Lawson.)	930
Selection (Standing Committees). —Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection: That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Town Councils (Scotland) Bill :—Sir William Arrol, Mr. Asher, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Crombie, Colonel Denny, Mr. Charles Douglas, Mr. James M'Killop, Mr. W. J. Maxwell, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Pirie, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. Wylie.	
Report to lie upon the Table	931
Justices of the Peace Bill [LORDS]. —Read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 261.]	931

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 11 :—

Mr. William O'Brien (Cork) 931

Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, line 20, at end, to add the words ‘(3) The powers conferred upon the Land Commission by Sub-section 1 of this Section shall extend to the repair and rebuilding of houses and out-offices upon holdings surrendered to them under the provisions of this Act, or the Estate Commissioners may, if they think fit, instead of exercising the said powers, make an advance to any such former tenant when reinstated in his holding for the purpose of repairing or rebuilding upon his holding, and for the restocking of the same, of such sum of money as they may deem necessary. For the purposes of this Sub-section the expression ‘former tenant’ shall, in case said former tenant shall have died, include his heir or personal representative, or, if no representative shall have been raised to him, such person as may be nominated by the Estate Commissioners as his personal representative. (4) Such sums of money as may from time to time be required for the purposes of Sub-section 3 of this Section shall be advanced by the Land Commission on the demand of the Estates Commissioners out of the reserve fund. (5) In case any landlord shall sell directly, under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts, to former tenants of holdings upon his estate, or shall reinstate former tenants in their holdings as tenants thereof, the powers conferred by this Section shall apply in the same manner as if the estate were vested in the Land Commission.’”—
(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

<i>Mr. Butcher (York)</i>	934
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	934
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i>	936
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i>	936

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, line 7, after the word ‘land’ to add the words ‘or for the use or enjoyment thereof or generally for the purpose of this Act.’”—
(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, after line 20, to add the words ‘Provided also that the powers mentioned in Section 1 of the said Act of 1901 shall not be exercised by the Land Commission unless the Commission certify to the Lord Lieutenant that those powers are necessary for the benefit or improvement of the congested estate.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

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Clause 12 :—

Mr. Wyndham ... 937

Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, line 21, to leave out Sub-section 1, and insert the words (1) ‘Where at the time of the sale of any land to the Land Commission or to tenants or others the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may be expressly reserved by him. (2) Where such sporting rights are not expressly reserved the sporting rights shall vest in the Land Commission. (3) Where any sporting rights become vested in the Land Commission, those rights may be disposed of by them as they think expedient, having due regard to the interests of the purchasers of the land. (4) The expression ‘sporting rights’ includes any right of hunting, shooting, fishing, and taking game or fish on any land.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i> ...	937
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i> ...	939
<i>Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.)</i> ...	940
<i>The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.)</i> ...	943
<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i> ...	945
<i>Mr. Butcher</i> ...	947
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i> ...	949
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	950
<i>Major Jameson (Clare, W.)</i> ...	951
<i>Col. Saunderson (Armagh, N.)</i> ...	952
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i> ..	952
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	953
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<i>Mr. Wood (Down, E.)</i> ...	956
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<i>The Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. James Campbell, Dublin University)</i>	960
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	962
<i>Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.)</i> ...	963
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	964
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	964
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	966
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i> ...	966
<i>The Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Carson, Dublin University)</i> ...	967

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed —

“In page 7, line 21, to leave out Sub-section 1, and insert the words ‘Where at the time of sale of any land to the Land Commission or to tenants or others, the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may, by agreement between the landlord and the tenant, be either conveyed to the tenant or reserved to the landlord.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“The expression ‘sporting rights’ includes any right of hunting, shooting, fishing, and taking game or fish on any land.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	968
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, line 25, to leave out Sub-section 2, and insert the words (1) “‘mining rights’ shall mean all rights of mining, and taking minerals, and of digging and searching for minerals, and of opening quarries, or beds of stone, limestone, sand, marl, gravel, or clay, and taking materials therefrom, and of raising timber from under the ground, and all rights to and in respect of mining rents and royalties; and the words “water rights” shall mean all rights of or to water power. (2.) On a sale under the Lands Purchase Acts of an estate, whether to the Land Commission or otherwise, the owner of the estate or any other person or corporation entitled to any mining rights or water rights shall, in the absence of express agreement to the contrary, by such owner, person, or corporation, be entitled to and shall retain and exercise or dispose of as he or they shall think fit all such mining rights and water rights. (3.) On any such sale as aforesaid, notwithstanding that any mining rights and water rights are retained by or reserved to the owner of the estate, such sale shall be deemed to be a sale of an estate within the meaning of the Land Purchase Acts, and advances shall be made accordingly. (4.) The Land Commission may purchase from the owner of an estate, or from any person or corporation, at such price as may be agreed on, any mining rights or water rights, and such sale shall be deemed to be a sale within the meaning of the Land Purchase Acts, and advances shall be made accordingly. (5.) Where any mining rights or water rights become vested in the Land Commission such rights, or any of them, shall be disposed of by them in manner hereafter to be provided by Parliament.”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 2 stand part of the Clause.”

<i>Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	969
<i>Colonel Saunderson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	970
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	970
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	971
<i>Mr. Clancy (Dublin Co., N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	971
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	972
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	973
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	973
<i>Mr. Power (Waterford E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	974
<i>Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	974
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	975

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 7, line 36, at end, to insert the words ‘or (c) to any stone, gravel, sand, or clay.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Sir Robert Fitzgerald (Cambridge)</i>	976
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	976

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<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	976
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	977

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 8, line 3, at end, to add the words ‘(4) Provided always that nothing in this Act shall affect any lease or agreement demising or dealing with any of the rights mentioned in this section.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

<i>Mr. Clancy</i>	977
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 8, line 7, after the word ‘Board,’ to insert the words ‘or being otherwise sold under the provision of the Land Purchase Acts as amended by this Act.’”—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	978
<i>Mr. Clancy</i>	978
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	978

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 8, line 8, at end, to insert the words ‘Provided that when the person in such exclusive occupation shall have been paying a higher proportionate rent than that paid by the owner of the intervening interest to the owner of the estate such higher rent shall be assumed to be the rent in respect of which an advance may be made in estimating the price of the estate under the provisions of Section 5.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	979
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Amendment proposed—

In page 8, line 30, to leave out the words ‘foregoing provisions of this Act,’ and insert the words, ‘Land Law Acts and this Act.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	980
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Edward Mitchell (Fermanagh, N.)</i>	980
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 8, line 35, to leave out Sub-section (5).”—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 5 stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell...</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	981
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	981

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14 :—

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	981
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 5, at end, to insert the words '(b) to any sporting rights reserved by the vendor ; (c) to any maintenance charge under the Public Works Act ; and.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	982
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	982
<i>Sir Edward Carson</i>	983

Question put, and agreed to.

<i>Mr. Sharpe (Kensington, N.)</i>	983
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Amendment proposed —

"In page 9, line 19, after the word 'notices, to insert the words 'on all incumbrancers and on such other persons.'"—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	983
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 15.

And, it being half-past seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

————— EVENING SITTING.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 15 :—

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	984
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 30, after the word 'person,' to insert the words 'not being a mortgagee and not being a tenant for life, or a person having the powers of a tenant for life who is a bankrupt, or whose estate or interest in the land has been assigned or parted with.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

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Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	985
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	985
<i>Mr. Clancy</i>	986

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	986
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 31, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'is registered under The Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891, as amended by this Act, as owner of an estate sufficient to constitute him a person having power to sell under the Land Purchase Acts, or.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	986
<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	987

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 35, to leave out the words 'has been by himself or his,' and insert the words 'or his immediate predecessor in title has been personally or by an.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, lines 31 and 32, to leave out the words 'claims in respect of an interest which is sufficient to constitute him,' and insert the words 'gives *prima facie* evidence that he is.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 35, to leave out the words 'or a receiver. —'—(*Mr. H. Robertson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 37, after the word 'fit,' to insert the words 'subject to such conditions with respect to advertisements and notices as may be prescribed.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 39, at end, to insert the words 'Provided that an owner who has not for six years immediately preceding been in receipt of any portion of the rents or profits of the land (other than the demesne, and whether or not he be under an occupation rent for such demesne) shall not without the consent of his incumbrancers be at liberty to sell any land under the Land Purchase Acts. (2) A mortgagee in possession with power of sale, or a mortgagee who has been by himself or through a receiver in exclusive receipt of the rents or profits of an estate for a period of not less than six years immediately preceding, shall, for the purposes of the Land Purchase Acts, be deemed to be a landlord.'"—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 15, as amended, agreed to.

On Clause 16 :—

Mr. Butcher 989

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 10, at end, to insert the words '(2) The value of such arrears of rent, if not agreed upon between the vendor and the Land Commission, shall be fixed by the Judicial Commissioner, and shall be paid by the Land Commission to the vendor over and above the purchase-money of the lands. Payment of the value of such arrears of rent shall be made immediately on the completion of the purchase agreement to the person who would have been entitled to receive the same.'"—(*Mr. Butcher*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Wyndham 989

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Butcher 991

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, lines 14 and 15, to leave out 'Land Commission,' and insert 'Judicial Commissioner.'"—(*Mr. Butcher*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Wyndham 992

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clause 17 :—

Mr. T. W. Russell 992

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 33, to leave out from the word 'holdings,' to end of clause, and insert the words 'The Estates Commissioners may, if, having regard to the circumstances of the case, they think it expedient, order that the remaining tenants, or any of them, shall be deemed to have accepted the offers made to them, and the Land Purchase Acts shall apply accordingly. Provided that the Commissioners before making such order shall consider any objection thereto, or modification therein, made or suggested by such tenants, and may alter or modify the terms at which such tenants, or any of them, shall be deemed to have purchased as may be considered equitable.'"—(*Mr. T. W. Russell*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Wyndham 993

Mr. Dillon 995

Mr. T. M. Healy 995

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<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	996
<i>Col. Saunderson</i>	998
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	998
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1000
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	1000
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	1000

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

“To omit lines 7 to 10.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment to proposed Amendment agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 10, line 38, at end, to insert the words ‘where the tenant could have obtained an advance of the entire purchase-money, and the Land Commission had offered in the prescribed manner to make the advance.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 17, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 18 :—

<i>Mr. Clancy</i>	1002
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1002

Clause 18 agreed to.

Clause 19 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 25, to leave out the word ‘vesting,’ and insert the word ‘sale.’”—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 30, to leave out the word ‘may,’ and insert the word ‘shall.’”—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘may’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1002
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 31, after the word ‘aforesaid,’ to insert the words ‘and on any estate purchased by the Land Commission when the only bog available is in possession of the landlord. It shall be necessary for the landlord prior to sale to dispose of the whole or as much as may be necessary of the bog to the Land Commission for the use of the tenants, at such price as in case of dispute may be considered fair by a Land Commission inspector.’”—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1003
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.)</i>	1003
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 32, after the word ‘cutting’ to insert the words ‘or making.’”—(*Mr. J. P. Farrell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	1004
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1004

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 34, after the word ‘turf’ to insert the words ‘and pasturage.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 20 :—

<i>Mr. Hemphill</i> ...	1004
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 3, after the word ‘may’ to insert the words ‘with the consent of all the proprietors and tenants affected thereby.’”—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1005
<i>Mr. Gordon (Londonderry, S.)</i> ...	1005
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1006

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 3, after the word ‘may’ to insert the words ‘at the request of the parties interested.’”—(*Mr. Atkinson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 3, after the words ‘think fit’ to insert the words ‘for the carrying out of such purpose.’”—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1006
<i>Mr. Hemphill</i> ...	1006
<i>Mr. O’Doherty</i> ...	1007
<i>Mr. Wood</i> ...	1007
<i>Mr. William Moore (Antrim, N.)</i> ...	1008

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 20, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 21.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 12, to leave out the word ‘may’ and insert the words ‘shall on the application of any person interested.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

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Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 13, at end, to insert the words ‘unless in the opinion of the Estates Commissioners the application is frivolous.’”—
(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Dillon... .. 1009

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 14, to leave out the words ‘one of.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘one of’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1010
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1011
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1012
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1014
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1016

Committee report progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 1ST JULY, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

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London and North Western Railway Bill [LORDS].—[Not amended], considered ; to be read the third time 1017

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Maryport Harbour Bill [LORDS].—Report [30th June] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time 1017

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed] ; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered to-morrow 1017

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill ; **Aston Manor Improvement Bill** [Lords] ; **Nantwich Urban District Council Bill** [Lords] ; reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee.

Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1017

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LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.—Petition from Mossley, against ; to lie upon the Table 1017

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PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.—Petition from Walsden, in favour; to lie upon the Table... 1017

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POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.—Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1902, and of the Sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 235.] ... 1018

TREATY SERIES (No. 9, 1903).—Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands regulating the Allowances to Witnesses in Fishery cases. Signed at the Hague, 26th April, 1902. Ratifications exchanged at the Hague, 22nd May, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 1018

NAVAL WORKS [CONSOLIDATED FUND].—Committee to consider of making further provision for the Construction of Works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and of authorising the payment, out of the Consolidated Fund, of such sums as may be necessary for those purposes (King's Recommendation signified), upon Friday.—(Mr. Pretymam.) ... 1018

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS (PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF).—Return ordered, "showing, in respect of each Union and Parish under a separate Board of Guardians in England and Wales, the number of persons of each sex in receipt from Boards of Guardians (a) of in-door relief or (b) of out-door relief on the 1st day of September, 1903, who were over sixty years of age, distinguishing those who were over sixty and under sixty-five, sixty-five and under seventy, seventy and under seventy-five, seventy-five and under eighty, and eighty years of age and upwards; lunatics in asylums, licensed houses, and registered hospitals; vagrants and persons who were only in receipt of relief constructively by reason of relief being given to wives or children not being included (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 36, of Session 1891); and showing in regard to (a) the number of those who, in the opinion of the medical officer of the workhouse, could not satisfactorily take care of themselves owing to mental or physical infirmity."—(Mr. Burt.) ... 1018

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Question proposed, “That the words ‘one of’ stand part of the clause.”	
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Question put and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 30, at end, to insert the words ‘Any member of the Land Commission who has been nominated or appointed as an Estates Commissioner shall not be entitled to be a member of the Congested Districts Board as the member of the Land Commission to represent forestry and agriculture.’”—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1058
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	1058

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Butcher (York).

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, lines 32 and 33, to leave out the words ‘shall be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

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<i>Mr. Blake</i>	1060
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1061
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1061

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 32, after the word ‘the’ to insert the word ‘general.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 34, to omit the word ‘general.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1062
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 34, at end, to insert the words ‘and such regulations shall be deemed to be statutory rules within the meaning of the Rules Publication Act, 1893.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) ... 1063

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

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Question put and agreed to—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 36, to leave out the words ‘the Judicial Commissioner may nominate such officers of the Commission, and.’”

Amendment agreed to.

“In page 12, line 39, after the word ‘of,’ to insert the words ‘land clerks of ten years service and.’”—(*Colonel McCalmont.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. Wyndham ... 1068

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 40, at end, to insert the words ‘and the remuneration of those persons shall be paid as part of the expenses of the Land Commission.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 2, after the word ‘Commissioners,’ to insert the words ‘or by any vendor.’”—(*The Marquess of Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. Wyndham ... 1068

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Hemphill ... 1069

Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 3, to leave out the words ‘and completed.’”—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘and completed,’ stand part of the clause.”

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.	

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Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 3, to leave out the words ‘agents, solicitors, or other persons,’ and insert the words ‘land agent or solicitor nominated by the landlord and.’”—(*Sir John Rolleston.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1071
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Sir John Rolleston</i>	1071
<i>Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.)</i>	1071

Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 8, at end, to insert the words ‘On the sale of any estate under the Land Purchase Acts, whether to or by the Land Commission or otherwise, one-fourth of the percentage or fixed price allowed to an agent for the negotiation and completion of the sale shall be paid to the land clerk employed in the office of such estate, and if there be more than one land clerk employed in the office of the estate the said amount shall be distributed to the land clerks in proportion to their number of years service as land clerks in Ireland respectively.’”—(*Mr. Sloan.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1072
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Question put, and negatived.

<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1073
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1073
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1074
<i>Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.)</i>	1074

Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 10, after the words ‘Lord Lieutenant,’ to insert the words ‘appoint two examiners of title in each province and.’”—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 13, line 19, at end, to insert the words ‘All such rules shall be made by a majority, of whom the Judicial Commissioner shall be one; and such rules shall be deemed to be statutory rules within the meaning of the Rules Publication Act, 1893.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>The Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. James Campbell, Dublin University)</i>	1075
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1076

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

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Clause 21, as amended, agreed to.	
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<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1077
Amendment proposed—	
“ In page 14, line 1, leave out Sub-section (3).”—(<i>Mr. Butcher.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That Sub-section 3 stand part of the clause.”	
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<i>Mr. Blake</i>	1083
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1083
Question put, and agreed to.	
Amendment proposed—	
“ In page 14, line 8, after the word ‘claim’ to insert the words ‘or in respect of any premium or any policy of insurance charged on the lands sold.’”—(<i>Sir Lewis McIver.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1084
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Question put, and negatived.	
<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1085
Amendment proposed—	
“ In page 14, line 22, after the word ‘thereof’ to insert the words ‘Provided that any person making any claim against the purchase money, or the income thereof, may apply to the Judicial Commissioner to have the said purchase money paid into the High Court to be distributed thereby; and the Judicial Commissioner, if satisfied that the said claim is <i>bonâ fide</i> , and that a dispute exists as to the title to, or distribution of, or payment of the said purchase money, or any part thereof, or of the income thereof, shall make an order for the payment of the said purchase money, or any part thereof as to which a dispute exists, and the income thereof, into the High Court, to be distributed among and paid to the parties entitled thereto in the same manner as if it were the proceeds of the sale of lands ordered to be sold by the Chancery Division of the High Court under its ordinary jurisdiction.’”—(<i>Mr. Hemphill.</i>)	
Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”	
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1086
Question put, and negatived.	

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Amendment proposed.

"In page 14, line 23, after the word 'estate,' to insert the words 'where the purchase money thereof is sufficient to discharge all claims affecting same, and.'"—(*Sir Lewis McIver.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 14, line 40, after the second word 'the,' to insert the words 'Local Registration of Title Office.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 22, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 23 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 15, line 24, to leave out the words 'twelve months,' and insert the words 'two years.'"—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'twelve months' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Atkinson 1087

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 23 agreed to.

Clause 24 agreed to.

Clause 25 :—

Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton) 1088

Amendment proposed—

"In page 16, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words 'two and three-quarters,' and insert the word 'three.'"—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Wyndham 1089

Mr. Gibson Bowles 1090

Mr. Dillon 1092

Mr. Cohen (Islington, E.) 1094

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 25 agreed to.

Clauses 26 to 39 agreed to.

Clause 40 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 21, line 4, to leave out Sub-sections (1) to (6), inclusive, and insert the words '(1) Every advance shall be repaid by means of a purchase annuity, calculated at the rate of three pounds five shillings for every hundred pounds of the advance, and so in proportion for any less sum.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

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And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 40 :—

Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.) 1095

Clause 40 agreed to.

Clause 41 :—

Mr. Dillon... .. 1095

Mr. Tully 1095

Clause 41 agreed to

Clause 42 :—

Mr. Ashton (Bedfordshire, Luton) 1096

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 9, to leave out Sub-section (1).”—(*Mr. Ashton.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 1097

Mr. Wyndham 1098

Mr. Dillon 1100

Mr. Tully 1101

Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway) 1101

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Wyndham 1102

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, after line 21, to insert—‘(3) The provisions of this Act with reference to the repayment of advances by the Land Commission to the National Debt Commissioners shall not apply to advances under this section.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 42, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 43 :—

Mr. Butcher 1102

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 22, to leave out Sub-section (1), and insert the words ‘(1) In the case of every estate sold the Land Commission shall, by means of advances to be made to them by the National Debt

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Commissioners out of the said fund, receive a sum equal to a percentage on the purchase-money of such estate according to the scale set forth in the First Schedule to this Act, and shall apply such sum as follows—namely, they shall in the first place pay thereout the expenses properly incurred by the owner incidental to the redemption of superior and intervening interests, the investigation of titles, the distribution of the purchase-money, and other like matters, and shall pay and apply the balance by way of addition and accretion to the purchase-money.”—(Mr. Butcher.)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section (1) stand part of the Clause.”

Mr. Wyndham 1104

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. John Redmond 1105

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 23, to leave out from the word ‘and’ to the first word ‘the,’ in line 26, and insert the words ‘preventing improvident purchases by tenants.’”—(Mr. John Redmond).

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1106
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1107
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1108
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1108
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1109
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1109
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1110

Question put, and negatived.

Question, “That those words be there inserted,” put, and agreed to.

Mr. John Redmond 1110

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 29, to leave out from the word ‘estate’ to end of line 30, and insert the words ‘agreed to be sold within five years after the commencement of this Act a bonus of fifteen per centum of the amount of the purchase money of said estate, such bonus to be paid upon the completion of the sale.’”—(Mr. John Redmond.)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	1111
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<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1118
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<i>Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.)</i>	1121
<i>Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.)</i>	1122
<i>Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.)</i>	1122
<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	1123
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1123
<i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon)</i>	1123

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again on Monday next.

Bankers (Ireland) Act Repeal Bill—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Debate arising.

Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 1124

And, it being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 2ND JULY, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1125

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill.

Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 1125

Pentillie Estate Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments 1125

Blackheath and Greenwich District Electric Light Bill. Reported, without Amendment 1125

Middlesbrough Corporation Bill; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill; Merthyr Tydfil Urban District Council Bill. Reported, with Amendments 1125

South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.]. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported with Amendments 1125

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East Ham Improvement Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table: The Orders made on the 16th of June and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed	1125
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Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to	1126
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Lanarkshire Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Lanarkshire Tramways was presented by the Lord Balfour (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, sections 8 and 9); read 1 ^a ; and to be printed. (No. 153.)	1127

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Lord Muskerry ... 1144

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Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3 ^a To-morrow	1169
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House adjourned at twenty minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 2ND JULY, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS. —The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means ...	1169
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UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

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Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill. —Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]	1170
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SUPPLY [15TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1903-1904.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,571,500, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of the Contract Work for Shipbuilding, Repairs, etc., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904."

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<i>Mr. Yerburgh (Chester)</i>	1195
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<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	1207

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item 1 (Royal Reserve of Merchant Cruisers) be reduced by £28,000."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles*.)

<i>The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)</i> ...	1211
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<i>Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham)</i>	1220
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<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson</i>	1221
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1221
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i>	1221

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1222
<i>Sir William Allan</i>	1227
<i>Sir Fortescue Flannery</i>	1227
<i>Mr. Kearley</i>	1229
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1230

Question put, and agreed to.

2. £3,206,100, Naval Armaments.

<i>Mr. Reginald Lucas</i>	1232
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1232

3. £69,400, Scientific Services.

4. £116,400, for Educational Services.

<i>Mr. Reginald Lucas</i>	1232
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1232

5. £297,500, Royal Naval Reserves.

6. £409,500, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1232
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7. £306,400, Admiralty Office.

<i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i>	1233
<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	1234
<i>Mr. Lough</i>	1235

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.—CLASS II.

8. £13,869, to complete the sum for Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office.

9. £15,312, to complete the sum for Charity Commission.

CLASS III.

10. £116,635, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.
11. £21,521, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

CLASS VII.

12. £27,000, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.
13. £14,261, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Expenses.
14. £19,359, Repayments to the Local Loans Fund.
15. £30,000, St. Louis Exhibition, 1904.

CLASS II.

16. £9, to complete the sum for Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.
17. £10,061, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, England.
18. £16, to complete the sum for The Mint, including Coinage.
19. £7,493, to complete the sum for National Debt Office.
20. £14,158, to complete the sum for Public Record Office.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next ; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

SUPPLY [22ND APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for further consideration of Resolution [22nd April], "That a sum, not exceeding £139,395, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Subordinate Departments, including a Grant-in-Aid."

Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 1237

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out '£139,395,' and insert '£139,295.'"—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That '£139,395' stand part of the said Resolution."

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars)... .. 1239
Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 1240

Question put.

The House divided : Ayes, 180 ; Noes, 70. (Division List No. 137.)

Resolution agreed to.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Seven o'clock.

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HOUSE OF LORDS : FRIDAY, 3RD JULY, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Romford and District Tramways Bill. —A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee	1245
Great Western Railway Bill. —Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 18th of June and Monday last discharged ; and Bill committed	1245
North Eastern Railway Bill. —Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 18th of June and Monday last discharged ; and Bill committed	1245
Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill. —Leave given to the Select Committee to adjourn over Monday next	1245
Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. —Moved, that the order made on 16th day of March last, “That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next,” be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to ; Bill read 2 ^a accordingly, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	*1245
Bangor Corporation Bill [H.L.] .—Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to Commons	1245
Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill .—Read 3 ^a , and passed ...	1245
Shropshire, Worcestershire, and East Denbighshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.] , now Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons	1245
Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill , Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill.—Read 3 ^a , with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons	1246
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. —Brought from the Commons	1246
British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [H.L.] .—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments	1246
New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. —Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to	1246
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. —Amendment reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3 ^a on Monday next	1246
Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill. —House in Committee (according to Order) ; Bill reported without Amendment ; Standing Committee negatived ; and Bill to be read 3 ^a on Monday next	1246
Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] .—House in Committee (according to Order) ; The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made ; Standing Committee negatived ; the Report of Amendments to be received on Monday next	1246

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Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Third reading (which stands appointed for this day) put off to Tuesday next ... 1246

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 154.) ... 1246

PETITION.

LAND REGISTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].—Petition against: of Society of Law Agents of Dunfermline District of Fife; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1246

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MALTA.—Further correspondence relating to the political condition of Malta (in Continuation of [Cd. 715], July, 1901) ... 1247

AFRICA No. 7 (1903).—Return of concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate ... 1247

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).—Return by the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the six months ended the 31st December, 1902.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1247

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, determining the number of centre superintendents to be appointed for the examinations, 1903; Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1247

Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order Confirmation Bill.—[SECOND READING.]

The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) ... 1247

Moved, that the Order made on the 16th March last, "That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with.—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*.)

On Question, Motion agreed to; and Bill read 2^a (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order Confirmation Bill.—[SECOND READING.]

Lord Balfour of Burleigh ... 1248

Moved, that the Order made on the 16th March last, "That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after the 18th of June next," be dispensed with.—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*.)

On Question, Motion agreed to; and Bill read 2^a (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

IRISH LAND PURCHASE.

The Earl of Belmore ... 1248

Moved, for (1) A Return of the total amount of advances made to occupying tenants in Ireland, under the various Acts relating to land purchase

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since the passing of the Irish Land Act, 1870, to 31st March, 1903 (exclusive of tenants of glebe lands); (2) A similar Return of the total amount of repayments made by such purchasers.—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

The Earl of Denbigh 1248

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Elementary Education Amendment Bill.—[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Reay 1249

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Lord Reay.*)

The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire) 1251

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Tuesday next.

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next 1254

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 1254

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 3RD JULY, 1903.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH.—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Birmingham District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Kip's Patents Bill [Lords]; Bradford Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1254

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.—As amended, considered. To be read the third time 1204

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1204

Scottish American Mortgage Company, Limited, Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table 1255

Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1255

Jewish Colonisation Association Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time 1255

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill, Education (Borrowing) Bill, Contracts (India Office) Bill, Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill, Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill, without Amendments; Nelson Corporation Bill, Hampton Court Gas Bill, Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill, Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill, with Amendments; Amendments to—Southampton Harbour Bill [Lords], Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled “An Act to empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bangor to make a gift of a new site for Bangor College; to provide recreation grounds; to acquire the Penrhyn Hall; and for other purposes.” (Bangor Corporation Bill) [Lords].

And also, a Bill intituled “An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Company.” (Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill) [Lords]. ... 1255

Bangor Corporation Bill [LORDS]; Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1255

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next ... 1255

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next ... 1256

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [LORDS]; Cardiff Railway Bill [Lords]; Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton Railway Bill [Lords]; Exeter Corporation Bill [Lords].—Reported with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed ... 1256

PETITIONS.

BURGH POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petitions for alteration: from Edinburgh; and Leith; to lie upon the Table ... 1256

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.—Petition from Govan, for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... 1256

LICENCES (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL).—Petition from King's Cross and other places, for legislation; to lie upon the Table ... 1256

PHARMACY BILL.—Petition of the Master Warders and Society of Apothecaries of the City of London, for alteration (praying to be heard by Counsel); to lie upon the Table ... 1256

POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH) BILL.—Petition from Westminster, against; to lie upon the Table ... 1256

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.—Petition from Bristol, in favour; to lie upon the Table... 1256

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland determining the number of Centre Superintendents to be appointed for the Examinations, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table	1256
AFRICA (No. 7, 1903) (EAST AFRICA CONCESSIONS).—Copy presented, of Return of Concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	1257
MALTA.—Copy presented, of Further Correspondence relating to the Political Condition of Malta (in continuation of [C. 715] 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	1257
RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).—Copy presented, of Return by Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending the 31st December, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table	1257
IRON AND STEEL, 1901.—Copy ordered, “of Statistical Tables showing the production and consumption of Iron Ore and Pig Iron, and the production of Steel, in the United Kingdom and the principal foreign countries, in each year from 1890 to 1901, so far as the particulars can be stated.”—(<i>Mr. Gerald Balfour</i>)	1257

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

CONDITION OF “EXMOUTH” TRAINING SHIP.—Question, Mr. Talbot (Oxford University); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster	1257
PHTHISIS IN WORKHOUSES.—Question, Mr. Mansfield (Lincolnshire, Spalding); Answer, Mr. Walter Long	1258
SQUIRE <i>v.</i> M’BRIDE AND WILLIAMS—APPEAL.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas	1258
VACATIONS OF LIGHTHOUSE KEEPERS.—Question, Mr. O’Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law	1259
LICENSING (IRELAND) ACT, 1902.—Question, Mr. O’Doherty; Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1259
SALMON HAULING AT MOUTH OF THE ERRIFF RIVER.—Question, Mr. O’Malley (Galway, Connemara); Answer, Mr. Atkinson	1260
IRISH CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD’S FISHING BOATS AT MALIN HEAD.—Question, Mr. O’Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham	1260
WOOLWICH ARSENAL—PAY OF PERSONS AWAY THROUGH INJURY.—Questions, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich); Answers, Mr. Brodrick	1261
MILITARY WORKS BILL—DATE OF INTRODUCTION.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick	1261
TRINIDAD RIOTS COMMISSION—DATE OF PUBLICATION OF REPORT.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain	1262
NAVAL WORKS [CONSOLIDATED FUND].	

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyma, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 1262

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of such sums, not exceeding £7,996,000, as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising, in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by terminable annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the date of the borrowing."—(*Mr. Pretyma.*)

<i>Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee)</i>	1267
<i>Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis)</i>	1269
<i>Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.)</i>	1273
<i>Sir William Allan (Gateshead)</i>	1275
<i>Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth)</i>	1277
<i>Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs)</i>	1277
<i>Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid)</i>	1279
<i>Mr. Pretyma</i>	1279

Resolved, That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of such sums, not exceeding £7,996,000, as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising, in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by terminable annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the date of the borrowing.—(*Mr. Pretyma.*)

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next.

Employment of Children Bill.—As amended (by the Standing Committee), further considered.

Proceedings resumed on Amendment proposed [23rd June] to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word 'any,' and insert the word 'every.'"—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'any' stand part of the Bill."

<i>Mr. Galloway (Manchester, S.W.)</i>	1282
<i>Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.)</i>	1284
<i>Sir Francis Powell (Wigan)</i>	1285
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor (Lancashire, Radcliffe)</i>	1286
<i>Mr. Jesse Collings (Birmingham, Bordesley)</i>	1286
<i>The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.)</i>	1287
<i>Sir William Tomlinson (Preston)</i>	1287
<i>Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire)</i>	1288

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word 'shall,' and insert the word 'may.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

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Clause 2 :—

*The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas,
Kent, St. Augustine's)* 1288

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, to leave out lines 10 to 12, and insert the words
‘The local authority, in making by-laws under this section, shall have
special regard to the desirability of preventing the employment of girls
under sixteen in places or under conditions prejudicial to morality.’”
—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of
the Bill.”

<i>Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1289
<i>Sir Francis Powell (Wigan)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1290
<i>Mr. Tennant</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1291
<i>Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University)</i>	..	...	...	...	...	...	1294
<i>Mr. Jesse Collings</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1296
<i>Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1297
<i>Mr. Cochrane</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1298
<i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1299
<i>Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell (Glasgow, College)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1301
<i>Dr. Macnamara</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1302
<i>Mr. Seely (Lincoln)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1302
<i>Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1302
<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1303
<i>Mr. Theodore Taylor</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1304

Question put, and negatived.

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted in the Bill.”

Proposed Amendment to the Bill amended, by leaving out the
words “places or under conditions prejudicial to morality,” and
inserting the words “streets or public places.”—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question put, “That those words as amended be there inserted in the Bill.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 178 ; Noes 98. (Division List No. 138.)

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 34, to leave out Sub-section 7.”—(*Mr. Secretary
Akers Douglas.*)

Question proposed, “That the words of the sub-section, to the word ‘shall,’
in line 35, stand part of the Bill.”

<i>Dr. Macnamara</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1307
<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1307

Question put, and negatived.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5 :—

Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 1308

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

“In page 3, line 23, at the end of Sub-section (1), to insert the words, ‘Provided that it is proved that such person was aware of the age of such child.’”—(*Sir Edward Strachey*).

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted in the Bill.”

Mr. Akers Douglas 1309

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Jesse Collings 1309

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

“In page 3, line 25, to leave out from the word ‘sixteen’ to the word ‘he’ in line 27, and insert the words ‘causes or knowingly permits a child to be so employed.’”—(*Mr. Jesse Collings*.)—instead thereof.”

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill.”

Mr. Akers Douglas 1309

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 27, after the word ‘liable’ to insert the words ‘on summary conviction.’”—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas*.)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Jesse Collings 1310

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

“In page 3, line 34, leave out Sub-section (4).”—(*Mr. Jesse Collings*.)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out to the word ‘provided,’ in line 40, stand part of the Bill.”

Mr. Cochrane 1311

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 40, to leave out the words ‘Provided that,’ and insert the word ‘and.’”—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas*.)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 13, at end, to add the words ‘(2) Where an employer is charged with any offence under this Act he shall be entitled, upon information duly laid by him, to have any other person whom he charges as the actual offender brought before the Court at the time appointed for hearing the charge, and if, after the commission of the offence has been proved, the Court is satisfied that the employer had used due diligence to comply with the provisions of the Act, and that the other person had committed the offence in question without

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the employer's knowledge, consent, or connivance, the other person shall be summarily convicted of the offence and the employer shall be exempt from any fine. (3) When it is made to appear to the satisfaction of an inspector or other officer charged with the enforcement of this Act, at the time of discovering the offence, that the employer had used all due diligence to enforce compliance with this Act, and also by what person the offence had been committed and also that it had been committed without the knowledge, consent, or connivance of the employer, and in contravention of his order, then the inspector or officer shall proceed against the person whom he believes to be the actual offender in the first instance without first proceeding against the employer.'—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7 :—

Mr. Jesse Collings 1312

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

“In page 4, line 17, after the word ‘place,’ to insert the words ‘not being a private dwelling-house.’”—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Question proposed, “that those words be there inserted.”

Mr. Akers Douglas 1313
Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet) 1313
Mr. Theodore Taylor 1313
Mr. Galloway 1314
Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice (Wiltshire, Cricklade) 1314

Question put,

The House divided :—Ayes, 15 ; Noes, 252. (Division List No 139.)

Mr. Tennant 1317

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

“In page 4, line 26, at end, to insert the words ‘Proceedings may be brought by or in the name of any officer of the Corporation or County Council, or by an officer of the school attendance committee, or by a constable.’”—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted in the Bill.”

Mr. Akers Douglas 1318

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 7 agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 37, to leave out the word ‘rate,’ and insert the word ‘fund.’”—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 40, at end, to add the words ‘Provided that a County Council shall not raise any sum on account of their expenses under this Act within any borough or urban district the Council of which is a local authority under this Act.’”

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10 :—

Mr. Jesse Collings 1319

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), stood adjourned.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered upon Monday next.

Public Offices (Dublin) (Recommitted) Bill.

Considered in Committee.

Clause 2 :—

Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.) 1320

Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

POOR LAW (DISSOLUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND ADJUSTMENTS).—Bill to give power to dissolve School Districts formed under the Acts relating to the relief of the poor, and for facilitating adjustments or alterations of areas or authorities under those Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Long.

Poor Law (Dissolution of School Districts and Adjustments) Bill.—

“To give power to dissolve School Districts formed under the Acts relating to the relief of the poor, and for facilitating adjustments or alterations of areas or authorities under those Acts,” presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. (Bill 237.) 1320

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend The Infant Life Protection Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Spear, Mr. Duke, Mr. Schwann, Mr. Hogg, and Mr. Melville.

Infant Life Protection Act (1897) Amendment Bill.—

“To amend The Infant Life Protection Act, 1897,” presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. (Bill 238.) 1320

Adjourned at twenty-three minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS : MONDAY, 6TH JULY, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with : Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) ; Erith Tramways Improvement.

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Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill : Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table	1321
Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1321
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Bill. —The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported, with Amendments... ..	1321
Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill. —The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1321
Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendments ...	1321
Leigh Corporation Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1321
British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [H.L.] —Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to	1321
Beckenham Urban District Council Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Mayo be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Ribblesdale ; and that the Duke of Bedford, a member of the Select Committee, be appointed Chairman of the said Committee ; read, and agreed to	1321
Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [H.L.] ; Pentillie Estate Bill [H.L.] ; South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.] ; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.] Read 3 ^a , and passed, and sent to the Commons	1322
West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill. —Read 3 ^a , with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons	1322
Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill. —Gateshead Corporation Bill. Sheffield Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons ; read 1, and referred to the Examiners	1322
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill. —Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Brought from the Commons	1322
Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1322
Romford and District Tramways Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1322
Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill. —Read 3 ^a (according to Order), and passed	1322
Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] —Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3 ^a tomorrow	1322

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Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order Confirmation Bill. —Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order Confirmation Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Bills reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3 ^a to-morrow	1322
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. —Read 3 ^a (according to Order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons	1322
Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [H.L.] —Commons Amendment considered (according to Order), and agreed to	1323
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. —(No. 155.) Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. (No. 156.) Read 1 ^a , to be printed, and referred to the Examiners	1323

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Regulations for the instruction and training of pupil teachers and students in training colleges. Regulations for secondary schools (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904). Regulations for evening schools, technical institutions, and schools of art and art classes (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904)	1323
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TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

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INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION BOARD (IRELAND). —Annual Report, for the year 1902. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table	1323
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BOARD OF EDUCATION. —Minutes of the Board of Education, dated 6th July, 1903, withdrawing Article 102 and Articles 111 to 129, inclusive, of the Provisional Code of 1903	1323
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SUPERANNUATION. —Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, granting a retired allowance to Mr. M. J. O'Callaghan, late clerk of the second division in the Department of Public Works, Ireland, under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act	1324
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METROPOLITAN WATER STOCK REGULATIONS, 1903. —Order made by the Local Government Board prescribing regulations with respect to the creation, issue, transfer, dealing with, and redemption of any Metropolitan Water Stock which the Metropolitan Water Board create under the Metropolitan Water Act, 1902	1324
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FRIENDLY SOCIETIES. —Regulation, dated 1st July, 1900, made by the Treasury under the Friendly Societies Act, 1896. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table	1324
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<i>The Earl of Meath</i>	1324
<i>The Lord Bishop of Ripon</i>	1337
<i>The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire)</i>	1346
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<i>The Earl of Leven and Melville</i>	1353
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GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.—House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3 ^a To-morrow	1356
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NAVAL CADETSHIPS.

<i>The Earl of Chesterfield</i>	1356
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PREFERENTIAL AND RETALIATORY DUTIES.

<i>Lord Welby</i>	1359
<i>The Duke of Devonshire</i>	1365
<i>Lord Welby</i>	1366

House adjourned at ten minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 6TH JULY, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.]

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords]; Lochnell Estate Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1367

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz.:—Bangor Corporation Bill [Lords]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]; South Eastern and London, Chatham and Dover Railways Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 1367

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time to-morrow 1368

Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1368

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1368

Gateshead Corporation Bill.—As amended, considered.

Ordered, That the Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed 1368

Hexham Gas Bill [LORDS]; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Nantwich Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1368

Sheffield Corporation Bill.—As amended, considered.

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed. [New Title.] .. 1368

Torquay Corporation Water Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered to be read the third time 1368

Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [LORDS]; Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords]; Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords]; Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords]; Salford Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 1368

Castleblaney, Kneady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed 1369

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow 1369

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1369

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill, without Amendment.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, “An Act to provide for the constitution of Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham, and for matters incidental thereto.” [Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill (Lords).]

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Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confer power on the Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company, Limited, for the repayment and reduction of their capital; and for other purposes." [Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable money to be raised or secured upon the Pentillie Estate in the County of Cornwall devised by the will of Augustus Coryton, esquire, deceased." [Pentillie Estate Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Company to construct a railway and a pier; to raise additional capital; to enter into working agreements with the London and South Western Railway Company; and for other purposes." [South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill (Lords).]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Bury and District Joint Water Board to construct additional waterworks; to repeal and amend enactments relating to the Water Undertaking of the Board; and for other purposes." [Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill (Lords).] 1369

Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [LORDS]; Pentillie Estate Bill [Lords]; South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [Lords]; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1370

PETITIONS.

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LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Edinburgh, for alteration; to lie upon the Table ... 1370

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BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 1370

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 6th July, 1903, withdrawing Article 102 and Articles 111 to 129, inclusive, of the Provisional Code, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 1371

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Regulations for Secondary Schools (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 1371

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SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, granting to Mr. M. J. O'Callaghan, late Clerk of the Second Division, in the Department of Public Works, Ireland, a Retired Allowance under the Act [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	1371
FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—Copy presented, of Regulation, dated 1st July, 1903, made by the Treasury, under the Friendly Societies Act, 1896 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	1371
INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year 1902 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	1371
METROPOLITAN WATER STOCK REGULATIONS, 1903.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Local Government Board prescribing regulations with respect to the creation, issue, transfer, dealing with, and redemption of any Metropolitan Water Stock which the Metropolitan Water Board create under the Metropolis Water Act, 1902 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table	1371
ARMY.—Copy presented, of Letter from General Officer Commanding the Forces in South Africa transmitting the proceedings of a Board of Officers assembled to report upon certain Supplies of Meat and Vegetable Rations at Pretoria considered to be unfit for issue [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table	1371
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nature of the offence, been released under recognisances on probation of good conduct in the years 1900, 1901, and 1902, under The Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887; and of the number of cases in which such persons have been called upon to appear to receive judgment, or are known to have been subsequently convicted of a fresh offence (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 348, of Session 1900).”—(*Sir Howard Vincent*) ... 1373

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Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 43 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 29, to leave out from the word ‘estate,’ to end
of line 30, and insert the words ‘agreed to be sold within five years
after the commencement of this Act a bonus of fifteen per centum of
the amount of the purchase money of said estate, such bonus to be
paid upon the completion of the sale.’”—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand
part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Flynn (Cork Co., N.)...</i>	1418
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i>	1419
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i>	1420
<i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i>	1421

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.) 1422

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 42, to leave out from the word ‘either’ to the end of the line.”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Wyndham 1422

Mr. T. M. Healy 1423

The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) ... 1423

Mr. T. M. Healy 1423

Mr. Butcher (York) 1425

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 22, line 41, to leave out Sub-section 4.”—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Wyndham 1425

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 43, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 44 agreed to.

Clause 45 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 23, line 11, at end, to add the words ‘No stamp duty or fee fund shall be charged on any searches directed by the Land Commission or Land Judge in the Registry of Deeds, Registry of Titles, or Registry of Judgments.’”—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

Mr. Wyndham 1425

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. O'Shea (Waterford, W.) 1426

Amendment proposed—

“In page 23, line 11, at end, to add the words ‘and stamp duty shall be payable on any conveyance or transfer of land purchased under the Land Purchase Acts, or Part II. of this Act, only in respect of the amount or value of the consideration for such conveyance or transfer, and exclusive of the redemption value of the annuity payable to the Land Commission.’”—(*Mr. O'Shea.*)

Mr. T. M. Healy 1426

Mr. Atkinson 1426

Mr. Wyndham 1427

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 45 agreed to.

Clause 46 :—

Mr. Butcher 1427

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Amendment proposed—

“In page 23, after line 29, to insert the words ‘(4) In the case of all proceedings in relation to any lands sold in the High Court, or under the Land Purchase Acts, or any charges thereon, or any moneys realised thereby, if it appears to the Court that a trustee is, or may be, personally liable for any breach of trust, whether the transaction alleged to be a breach of trust, occurred before or after the passing of this Act, but has acted honestly and reasonably, and ought fairly to be excused for the breach of trust, and for omitting to obtain the directions of the Court in the matter in which he committed such breach, then the Court may relieve the trustee, either wholly or partly, from personal liability for the same.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1427
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1427
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1428
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1428

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 46 agreed to.

Clause 47 :—

<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrona, N.)</i>	1428
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 24, line 38, after the word ‘Commission,’ to insert the words ‘and the President, for the time being, of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, and.’”—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1429
<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1429
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1430

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	1430
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Amendment moved—

“In page 24, line 43, after the word ‘sale,’ to insert the words ‘such rules shall be made by a majority, of whom the Judicial Commissioner shall be one.’”—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1431
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Clause 47 agreed to.

Clause 48 :—

Amendments proposed—

“In page 25, line 1, to leave out from the word ‘in’ to the first word ‘the’ in line 5.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

“In page 25, line 5, after the word ‘Acts,’ to insert the words ‘imposing a limit on advances.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

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Amendments agreed to.

<i>Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.)</i>	1431
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1431

Amendment proposed—

“In page 25, line 18, at end, to insert the words ‘Provided also that this section shall not apply to the case of a former tenant, or a person nominated by the Land Commission as his personal representative, purchasing his former holding, or to the case of a tenancy created by the Congested Districts Board.’—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	1431
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1432
<i>Mr. Clancy</i>	1433
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	1433
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1433
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1434

Question put and agreed to.

<i>Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.)</i>	1435
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 25, line 19, to leave out Sub-section 2.”

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1435
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1436

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 48, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 49 :—

<i>Col. Nolan (Galway, N.)</i>	1436
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 25, line 39, to leave out Sub-section (c).”—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub section (c) stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1437
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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	1437
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Amendments proposed—

“In page 26, line 2, to leave out from the word ‘may’ to the word ‘nominate’ in line 8.

“In page 26, line 12, after the word ‘otherwise’ to insert the words ‘or may cause the holding to be sold.’”—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1437
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1438
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1438

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough)... ... 1439

Amendment proposed—

“In page 26, line 13, to leave out Sub-section 2.”—(*Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1440
<i>Sir John Colomb</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1440
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1440
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1441
<i>Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1441
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1441
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1441
<i>Mr. O'Shee</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1442

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 26, lines 15 and 16, to omit the words ‘rateable value’ in order to insert the words ‘purchase annuity.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 26, line 20, to insert the words ‘within three months of the date of execution by the mortgagor or chargeant.’”—(*Mr. O'Shee.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Gordon (Londonderry, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1443
<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1443

Question put and agreed to.

Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.) ... 1443

Amendment moved—

“In page 26, line 22, at end, to insert the words ‘(4) No writ of *feri facias* or other process of a Court shall be executed by seizure or sale of the estate or interest of any proprietor of a holding, not exceeding twenty pounds in rateable value, upon which he actually resides; nor shall any judgment be registered as a mortgage against same, nor shall any such writ, or judgment, or judgment mortgage be registered as a burden affecting same under the provisions of the Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891.’”—(*Mr. Hugh Law.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1444
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1444
<i>Mr. O'Doherty</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1444
<i>Mr. O'Shee</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1446

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

The Marquess of Hamilton (Londonderry)... ... 1446

Amendment proposed—

“In page 26, line 25, at end, to add the words ‘this section shall not apply to demesne or other lands resold or sold under Section 3 of this Act.’”—(*The Marquess of Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

<i>Mr. Dillon...</i>	1447
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1447

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

<i>Mr. O'Shee</i>	1448
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Clause 49 agreed to.

Clause 50 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 26, to leave out the words 'subject to a perpetual rent charge under this Act.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 30, to leave out the words 'and the perpetual rent-charge.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 50, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 51 :—

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1449
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 27, after Sub-section 5, to insert a new Sub-section '(6), The fee to be prescribed by the Lord Lieutenant shall be payable by the Land Commission, in each case, to any official who gives information as is required by Sub-sections 2 and 3.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

[: Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Col. Nolan</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1449
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1450
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1450
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1450

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 51 agreed to.

Clause 52 :—

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	1451
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 27, lines 41 and 42, to leave out the words 'not more than one year's' and insert the word 'no.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 52 agreed to.

Clause 53 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 28, line 4, to leave out Sub-section 1."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

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Question proposed, "That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	1451
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1452
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1452
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1453
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1454
<i>Mr. O'Shee</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1454
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1455
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1457

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1457
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 28, line 87, after the word 'reconsideration' to insert the words 'on any question other than one price.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1458
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1458
<i>Mr. Tully</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1459
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1459

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 54 agreed to.

Clause 55 :—

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1459
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 29, line 27, after the word 'Dublin' to insert the words '(5) The expression "superior interest" in Section 31 Sub-section 8 of the Act of 1896 shall include any reversion or remainder of the Crown expectant upon the determination of any estate in the lands sold to any person, and the price or compensation to be paid in respect of the redemption of the same shall be determined in the manner provided by Section 31 of the Act of 1896 as amended by this Act in respect of superior interests vested in the Crown expectant on the determination of any lease or term.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1460
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Amendment ruled out of order.

<i>Mr. Butcher</i>	1460
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Amendment proposed.

"In page 29, line 28, to leave out the word 'may,' and insert the word 'shall.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1461
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1461

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 29, line 30, to leave out the words ‘Land Commission’ and insert the words ‘Judicial Commission.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Butcher 1463

Amendment proposed—

“In page 29, line 35, at end, to add the words ‘(8) In all cases in which the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues are parties to any proceedings in the High Court or the Land Commission, the Court or Judge shall have power to award costs to or against said Commissioners.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

Mr. Atkinson 1463
Mr. T. M. Healy 1463

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

—————
 EVENING SITTING.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 55 :—

Another Amendment proposed—

“In page 29, line 35, at the end, to add the words ‘(8) In all cases in which the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues are parties to any proceedings in the High Court or the Land Commission, the Court or Judge shall have power to award costs to or against said Commissioners.’”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question again proposed, “That those words be there added.”

Mr. T. M. Healy 1465
The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. James Campbell, Dublin University) 1466
Mr. Butcher 1467
Mr. T. M. Healy 1467
Mr. Wyndham 1468

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 55, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 56 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 30, line 6, at end, to add the words—‘(3) The trustees of any estate sold under this Act, or the Public Trustee may, after liquidation of all liabilities, on the application of the landlord or his representatives, advance out of the purchase money to the landlord a sum not exceeding one year’s purchase.’”—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

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Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

<i>Dr. Thompson</i>	1469
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	1469

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 56 agreed to.

Clause 57 agreed to.

Clause 58 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 30, line 28, to leave out the words 'Land Commission,' and insert the words 'Judicial Commissioner.'"—(*Mr. Butcher*.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Land Commission' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1469
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	1470

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid)</i>	1472
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 30, line 29, at end, to add the words 'and in no case shall the redemption price of the superior interest to which any holding is subject (including the cost of proving the title to such superior interest) exceed the amount of the purchase money advanced in respect of such holding, exclusive of any percentage, payable to the vendor under Section 42 of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Lonsdale*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1471
<i>Mr. Flavin...</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1472

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

<i>Mr. Power (Waterford, E.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1473
<i>Mr. Kennedy, (Westmeath, N.)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1473
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1474

Clause 58, agreed to.

Clauses 59, 60, 61, 62, and 63 agreed to.

Clause 64 :—

<i>Mr. Hemphill</i>	1474
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 32, line 7, at end, to add the words 'and any such determination shall have the effect of and be subject to the same right of appeal as a final order of the High Court.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 64, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 65 :—

<i>Mr. William O'Brien (Cork)</i>	1475
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Amendment proposed—

“In page 32, line 22, to leave out the word ‘seven,’ and insert the word ‘two.’”—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘seven’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1480
<i>Mr. William O'Brien</i> ...	1483
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i> ...	1484
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	1486
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1489
<i>Mr. Tully</i> ...	1490
<i>Sir John Colomb</i> ...	1492
<i>Mr. O'Kelly (Mayo, N.)</i> ...	1492

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

Metropolitan Streets Bill.—Read a second time, and committed for this day.

NAVAL WORKS (CONSOLIDATED FUND).—Resolution reported, “That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of Works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of such sums, not exceeding £7,996,000, as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising, in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by terminable annuities for a period not exceeding 30 years from the date of the borrowing.”

Resolution agreed to. Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pretyma, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Arnold-Forster ... 1494

NAVAL WORKS BILL.—“To make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy,” presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 266.] ... 1494

PUBLIC OFFICES (DUBLIN) (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.—Considered in Committee ; Committee report Progress ; to sit again this day ... 1494

ACCESS TO THE HOUSE.—On the Motion for the Adjournment of the House,
Col. Lockwood (Essex, Epping) ... 1494
Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth) ... 1495
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) ... 1495
Mr. Speaker ... 1496

Adjourned at seventeen minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 7TH JULY, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with : North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply [H.L.]

The same was ordered to lie on the Table ... 1497

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Beckenham Urban District Council Bill. —A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee	1497
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Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Bill; Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill; South Staffordshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Great Northern Railway Bill; Broadstairs Gas Bill. Reported with Amendments ...	1497
Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railway Bill. —Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments	1497
Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill. —Report from the Select Committee, That the promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill: Ordered that the Bill be not further proceeded with	1497
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Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Brought from the Commons	1497
Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1 ^a ; and referred to the Examiners	1498
Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments	1498
Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Bill. —Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next... ..	1498
Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (No. 158); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill (No. 159). Read 1 ^a ; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners	1498
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Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3 ^a (according to Order), Amendments made; Bill passed and sent to the Commons	1498
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2 ^a ; agreed to; Bills read 2 ^a accordingly	1498
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. —Committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection	1498

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Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next ... 1498

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next ... 1499

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons ... 1499

Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order Bill; Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed ... 1499

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ANKYLOSTOMIASIS.—Reports by Mr. T. R. Mulvany, His Majesty's Consul-General at Dusseldorf, and Dr. F. Ph. Koenig, the British Vice-Consul, on the outbreak of ankylostomiasis in the Westphalian Colliery District in Germany. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1499

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GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.—Report, by the Board of Trade, as to dispensing with the consent of the Borden Parish Council in the case of the Mid-Kent Water Provisional Order. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1499

Motor-Cars Bill [H.L.].

The Secretary for Scotland (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) ... 1499

Moved, that the Bill be now read 1^a.—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*.)

The Marquess of Granby ... 1505

The Earl of Rosebery ... 1505

The Earl of Camperdown ... 1507

The Earl of Mayo ... 1507

The Order for Second Reading was then fixed for Tuesday next.

Allotments (London) Bill [H.L.].—[SECOND READING.] Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Carrington ... 1508

Moved that the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Earl Carrington*.)

Lord Kenyon ... 1509

Lord Tweedmouth ... 1510

Lord Balfour of Burleigh ... 1512

On Question, their Lordships divided: Contents, 11; Not-Contents, 50.

Lunacy Acts (Amendment) London Bill [H.L.].—SECOND READING.—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Carrington ... 1513

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Earl Carrington*.)

The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) ... 1515

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

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Elementary Education Amendment Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).*Lord Balfour of Burleigh* 1516

Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

Newcastle Chapter (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to Order) and passed, and sent to the Commons 1516**Guinea Postal Orders Bill.**—Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed ... 1516

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, to Thursday next a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 7TH JULY, 1903.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILL [LORDS] STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH.—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 1516

Hampton Court Gas Bill.—Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to ... 1517**Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.**—Read the third time, and passed 1517**Frinton-on-Sea Sea Defences Bill [LORDS]; Pontypridd Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords].**—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1517**Aston Manor Improvement Bill [LORDS] (by Order).**—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1517**Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.**—Ordered, That, in the case of the Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill, Standing Orders 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee of Selection have leave to appoint the Committee on the Bill to sit and proceed forthwith.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) ... 1517**Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill.**—Ordered, That, in the case of the Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill, Standing Order 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed 1517

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Read the third time and passed 1517

STANDING ORDERS.—Resolutions reported from the Select Committee.

1. "That, in the case of the North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

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2. "That, in the case of the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

3. "That, in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with the Standing Order 129 in the case of the Petition of the Urban District Council of Mountain Ash against the Bill, the said Standing Order not to be dispensed with."

First two Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table 1517

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—

Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill, without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill, with an Amendment.

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.

Merthyr Tydfil Urban District Council Bill.

Grindelford, Baylow, and Bakewell Railway Bill.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill, with Amendments.

Amendment to Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [Lords].

Amendments to British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [Lords], without Amendment 1518

as and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Second Reading deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting) 1518

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed 1518

Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [LORDS]; Fife Electric Power Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1518

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill.—Reported [Provisional Order not confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table 1519

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.—Petition from Henfield, against; to lie upon the Table 1519

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LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—Petition from Dalkeith, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1519

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ANKYLOSTOMIASIS.—Copy presented, of Reports by Mr. J. R. Mulvany, His Majesty's Consul-General at Düsseldorf, and Dr. F. Ph. Koenig, the British Vice-Consul, on the outbreak of Ankylostomiasis in the Westphalian Colliery District in Germany [by Command]; to lie upon the Table ... 1519

GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade as to dispensing with the consent of the Borden Parish Council in the case of the Mid Kent Water Provisional Order [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 241.] 1519

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PERFORMING BEARS IN PUBLIC STREETS.—Question, Mr. Brooke Robinson (Dudley); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas ... 1522

DISORDERLY HOUSES IN SOUTHWARK.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas ... 1523

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Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 243.]	
Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 267.]	1534
STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMAN'S PANEL).—Sir JAMES FERGUSON reported from the Chairman's Panel; That they had appointed Mr. John Edward Ellis to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Law and Courts of Justice and Legal Procedure, at the conclusion of the consideration of the Prevention of Corruption Bill [Lords], in the place of Mr. Stuart-Wortley.	
Report to lie upon the Table	1534
SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing),	

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Shipping, and Manufactures; Mr. Black, Colonel Denny, Mr. Charles Douglas, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Charles Cayzer, Mr. Round, Mr. Eugene Wason, Earl of Dalkeith, and Mr. Young; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Burt, Mr. Dillon, Colonel Long, Sir William Mather, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Channing, Mr. Garfit, and Mr. O'Malley.

Report to lie upon the Table ... 1534

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 268.] 1534

Irish Land Bill.—Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 65 :—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 32, line 22, to leave out the word ‘seven’ and insert the word ‘two.’”—(Mr. William O'Brien).

Question proposed, “That the word ‘seven’ stand part of the clause.”

<i>Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.)</i> ...	1535
<i>Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.)</i> ...	1536
<i>Mr. Roche (Galway, E.)</i> ...	1538
<i>Mr. William O'Brien (Cork)</i> ...	1540
<i>The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dorset)</i> ...	1541
<i>Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway)</i> ...	1543
<i>Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.)</i> ...	1543

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment agreed to.

Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.) ... 1544

Amendment proposed—

“In page 32, line 33, at end, to add the words ‘(4) The County Councils of the congested districts shall have the power to nominate two representatives to sit on the Congested Districts Board for three years, who shall possess the same rights and privileges as the other members of the Board.’”—(Dr. Thompson.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

<i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i> ...	1544
<i>Mr. O'Kelly (Mayo, N.)</i> ...	1546
<i>Dr. Ambrose (Mayo, W.)</i> ...	1547
<i>Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.)</i> ...	1547
<i>Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.)</i> ...	1549
<i>Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.)</i> ...	1550
<i>Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth)</i> ...	1553
<i>Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.)</i> ...	1553
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1553
<i>Mr. Gilhooly (Cork Co., W.)</i> ...	1560
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	1560

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 65 agreed to.

Clause 66 agreed to.

Clause 67 :—

Dr. Ambrose (Mayo W.) 1561

Amendment proposed—

“In page 33, line 5, at end, to add the words, ‘All untenanted lands which become vested in the Board shall be offered by them for sale within two years after they shall have become so vested in parcels to tenants or proprietors of holdings not exceeding ten acres in area and £5 in rateable value each, on estates adjacent to, or in the neighbourhood of the said lands, or in case there shall be no such tenants or proprietors, then to any persons to whom the Board may lawfully sell land under the provisions of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts.’”—(*Dr. Ambrose.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

Mr. T. M. Healy 1561

*The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)** 1562

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 67 agreed to.

Clause 68 :—

Mr. Tully 1562

Amendment proposed

“In page 33, line 8, after the word ‘thereof’ to insert the words ‘and any buildings thereon.’”—(*Mr Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Tully 1563

Amendment proposed—

“In page 33, line 10, to leave out the word ‘ten,’ and insert the word ‘twenty.’”—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘ten’ stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Dillon 1563

Amendment proposed—

“In page 33, line 10, to leave out the words ‘acres in area and five.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

Mr. Wyndham 1563

Amendments, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 33, line 10, to leave out the words ‘ten acres in area.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Dillon 1564

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Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 12, after the word 'land' to insert the words 'or to any sons of such tenants.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. T. M. Healy 1564

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr O'Malley (Galway, Connemara) 1565

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 15, at end, to add the words '(3) When the Congested Districts Board, in exercise of any power vested in them under Section 44 of the Act of 1896, or otherwise, sell any parcels of land to tenants of small holdings or others, the cost of any improvements other than the cost of the building or rebuilding of houses carried out by the Board upon any such parcel of land previous to such sale shall not be included in the estimate of the price to be paid for the same, and shall not be payable by the purchaser thereof, nor shall any money be payable by way of fine by any such purchaser to the Board upon such sale. (4) The Congested Districts Board shall each year, out of the income provided for them by the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts, set apart the sum of £40,000 for the purposes of migration and settlement, as mentioned in Section 37 and Section 39, Sub-section 1 (a), of the Act of 1891, and for the enlargement of small holdings under the powers conferred upon them by Section 44 of the Act of 1896 and this section in such proportions as they may determine. And in case the sum of £20,000 a year referred to in Section 35 of this Act is paid to the Board such sum shall be applied by them to the like purposes only.'"—(*Mr. O'Malley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. Wyndham 1566

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. John O'Donnell (Mayo, S.) 1566

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 15, at end, to insert the words '(5) No advance shall be made under any of the Land Purchase Acts for the purchase of a holding situated within a congested districts county in any of the cases—(a) Where the tenant does not reside upon the holding or within one mile thereof; (b) Where the holding comprises pasture land more than 50 acres in extent, which in the opinion of the Congested Districts Board is suitable for the enlargement of existing holdings or for any of the purposes mentioned in Sub-section 1 (a) of Section 39 of the Act of 1891.'"—(*Mr John O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Wyndham 1568

Mr. Kilbride 1571

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 68, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 69, 70 and 71 agreed to.

Clause 72 :—

Mr. O'Kelly 1572

Amendment proposed—

"In page 34, line 11, at end, to insert the words '(2) Where any agricultural or pastoral land is for sale in a congested districts county, and the vendor is a person who may be dealt with as the owner of the land in accordance with the provisions of Part I of this Act or otherwise, the Congested Districts Board shall be entitled to a right of pre-emption of said land. No person shall sell any such land to any person or persons other than the said Board, or enter into any agreement for the sale thereof without first serving within the prescribed time, and in the manner prescribed upon the said Board notice of his intention to do so. On receiving such notice the said Board shall, in case they determine to purchase the said lands for all or any of the purposes of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts, serve upon the vendor thereof within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner a notice of their intention to purchase the same. The said Board thereupon shall be entitled to purchase the said land for such sum as may be agreed upon, or, in the event of disagreement, may be ascertained by the Land Commission Court to be the true value thereof, and the sale shall thereupon be completed in the same manner in all respects as if it were a purchase by agreement by the said Board within the provisions of Section 72 of this Act. For the purposes of this sub-section, the true value of said land shall be ascertained by the Land Commission in the same manner as if it were a tenancy being sold to the landlord under the provisions of the Act of 1881, subject to such variations as the Land Commission may by rules direct. If the vendor fails to give the said Board the aforesaid notice of his intention to sell and proceed with the sale of the land to any other person or persons, the Land Commission may, if they think fit, upon application made to them within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner, by the said Board, or by the County Council of the county in which the land is situate, declare the sale to be void. In case the said Board, having received the notice of the vendor's intention to sell, shall fail to serve the said notice of their intention to buy, then they shall be deemed to have waived all right of pre-emption under this section, and the vendor shall thereupon be entitled to sell the land as if this section had not passed.'"—(Mr. O'Kelly.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Dillon...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1575
Mr. Wyndham	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1578
Mr. Tomkinson (Cheshire, Crewe)...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1579
Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1579
Col. Nolan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1580
Mr. Flynn (Cork Co., N.)...	1581

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. William O'Brien	1581
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 34, line 17, at end, to add the words '(3) In any case in which the Congested Districts Board, or the County Council having jurisdiction in a county comprising a congested districts county, shall be satisfied that a letting of land for the purpose of pasture or an agreement for the agistment or temporary depasturage of land within said congested districts county has been made since the passing of the Act of 1891 with a view to defeating the purposes of Part II. of that Act, it shall be lawful for said Board or said County Council to apply to the Land Commission Court to have said letting or agreement set

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aside, and for this purpose notice of such application shall be served within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner upon the parties to said letting or agreement, and the said Land Commission Court, after giving all the foregoing parties an opportunity of being heard and having considered all the circumstances of the case, may, if satisfied that said letting or agreement as aforesaid has been so made, make an order declaring same to be void as from the date of such order upon such terms as to costs or otherwise as to said Court shall seem just, and thereupon the Congested Districts Board shall have all such powers of purchasing the lands comprised in such order, freed and discharged from said letting or agreement, as are conferred upon them by the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts, as amended by this Act for the purchase of lands whether compulsorily or by agreement.—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

<i>Mr. John Redmond</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1583
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1583

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 72 agreed to.

Clauses 73, 74, and 75 agreed to.

Clause 76 :—

<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	1583
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 3, to leave out Sub-section 1."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Atkinson</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1584
<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1585
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1585
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1585
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1586
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1586
<i>Sir. John Colomb</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1587
<i>Mr. Dillon</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1587
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1587

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— — — — — EVENING SITTING.

Irish Land Bill.

Considered in Committee :—

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. Lowther* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 76 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 3, to leave out Sub-section (1)."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i> ...	1589
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1589
<i>Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i> .	1590
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	1591
<i>Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.)</i> ...	1591
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1592
<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	1596
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	1598
<i>Mr. Atkinson</i> ...	1599

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 13, to leave out Sub-section 3."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i> ...	1600
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 20, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Liverpool, Scotland)</i> ...	1601
<i>The Solicitor-General for Ireland (Mr. James Campbell, Dublin University)</i>	1602
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	1605

Question put and agreed to.

<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	1007
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 20, to leave out the word 'one,' and insert the words 'and Mr. Murrrough O'Brien, two.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'one' stand part of the clause."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1608
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Question put and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 26, at end, to insert the words 'and shall be entitled to a superannuation allowance calculated on a salary of two thousand five hundred pounds and otherwise in accordance with the provisions of the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1887.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. Dillon</i> ...	1609
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	1610

Question put and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 26, at end, to insert the words '(4) The Right Honourable Frederick Stringer Wench shall, if he is nominated as an

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Estates Commissioner, be paid, in addition to his present salary, a salary of £500 out of money provided by Parliament. (5) Murrough O'Brien, Esquire, one of the Land Commissioners, and two Estates Commissioners, appointed by His Majesty, shall be entitled to superannuation allowances in accordance with the provisions of the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1887."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

<i>Mr. T. W. Russell</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1612
<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1612
<i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1612

Clause 76, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 77 agreed to.

Clause 78 :—

<i>Mr. Butcher (York)</i>	1613
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 34, at end, to add the words 'Provided that in the case of a holding the rateable value of which does not exceed £20, no appeal shall be allowed under this Act except on a question of law.'"—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

<i>Mr. Wyndham</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1614
<i>Mr. Clancy</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1614

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 78, agreed to.

Clauses 79 to 81 agreed to.

Clause 82 :—

<i>Mr. Tully</i>	1614
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Amendment proposed—

"In page 37, line 15, to leave out the words 'other than a domestic or menial servant.'"—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Public Offices (Dublin) (Re-Committed) Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment. Bill read the third time, and passed... 1615

Day Industrial Schools (Ireland) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed for this day ... 1616

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [LORDS].—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) ... 1616

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Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Copy ordered, “of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].”—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) 1616

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Copy ordered, “of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].”—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) 1616

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Copy ordered, “of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].”—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) 1616

Adjourned at eight minutes after Twelve o'clock.

END OF TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOLUME CXXIV.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

FOURTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN THE
THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 22nd June, 1903.

* PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with:—

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply—(Petition for Bill).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Dover Corporation Bill; Merthyr Tydfil Urban District Council Bill. Committed.

Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Salford Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Commercial Gas Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Gas Light and Coke Company Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Elementary Education Amendment Bill; Out-door Relief (Pensioners) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; City and South London Railway Bill; Great Central Railway Bill; London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill; Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*) be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl Powis; read, and agreed to.

A

Gosport, Fareham, and Cosham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Bolton be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Crawshaw; read, and agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Bills reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Amendment made: Standing Committee negatived: The Report of the Amendment to be received on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4 Bill). Read 3^a (according to Order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Naval Works Provisional Order Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order): The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made: Further Amendments made: Standing Committee negatived: The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

PETITIONS.

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Petitions for abrogation of: of Roman Catholics in Plymouth (4); Devonport (2); Axminster; Barnstaple; Bideford; Chudleigh (2); Buckfastleigh; Dartmoor, Prince Town; Dartmouth; Exmouth; Honiton; Ilfracombe; Newton Abbot (2); Paignton; Sidmouth; Teignmouth; Tiverton; Torquay, St. Mary Church; Totnes; Bridport; Chidecock; Dorchester; Lyme Regis; Marnhull and Gillingham; Portland; Shaftesbury; Sherborne; Shottisbury; Staplehill and Wimborne; Swanage; Weymouth; Bodmin; Camborne; Falmouth; Launceston; Liskeard; Penzance; St. Ives; Saltash; Polperro; Truro; the Lizard; St. Columb and St. Magnus; and Gosport. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].

Petitions in favour of: of persons signing (30); read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS—ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3001. United States (Philadelphia).

No. 3002. Bulgaria.

No. 3003. Turkey (Erzerum).

No. 3004. China (Nanking).

No. 3005. France (New Caledonia).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 16th June 1903, granting a retired allowance to Henry Upton, sorter, Post Office, London.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

List of all pensions granted during the year ended the 31st March 1903, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901.

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).

Abstract of the Accounts of Fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks, for the year 1901.

DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1865.

Accounts of receipts and expenditure under the Act, for the year 1902.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

(Special Exception: Overtime, Christmas Card making.)

Order, dated 18th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with regard to the overtime employment of women in the making of Christmas and New Year cards.

(Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries.)

I. Report to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department by Chester Jones, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, on the draft regulations (October 1902) proposed to be made for factories and workshops in which the process of file-cutting by hand is carried on.

II. Regulations, dated 19th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of section 19 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, for the process of file-cutting by hand.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

The evidence taken before the Joint Committee from time to time to be printed, but no copies to be delivered out except to Members of the Committee, and to such other persons as the Committee shall think fit, until further order. (No. 124.)

ARMY REGULATIONS.

***LORD HENEAGE:** My Lords, I rise to call attention to the present Army Regulations in regard to the Staff College and to the appointment of officers to Staff and extra regimental duties, especially in relation to officers above the rank of captain in the cavalry and artillery; and to move that it is desirable, in the interests of the service, that opportunities should be given to a larger number of officers to pass through the Staff College for a shorter period than at present; that all officers on the Staff or extra regimental duty should be seconded; and, further, that all officers should return to their

regiments on promotion, or on the completion of five years' Staff or extra regimental service. With regard to the first point, that of the entrance and period of instruction at the Staff College, it may be known to your Lordships that there are two ways only in which officers can enter the Staff College--the first is by nomination by the Commander-in-Chief without any examination whatever, and the second by competitive examination after a period of "cram." This period of "cram," and the two years which officers have to stay under present circumstances at the Staff College mean two years and a half away from their regiments, and I cannot help thinking that it is rather late in the day when officers have been serving His Majesty for nine or ten years that they should be asked to go to school again and "cram" before they can go in for a practical examination. After all, cramming, though a great benefit to some, is a great impediment to others. Those who are able to cram their brain without injury to themselves, and who are rapid writers, get an advantage over many who are, perhaps, practical and good officers and better soldiers. Therefore I suggest that this period of cramming and this competitive examination should be abolished. I think that all officers who are carefully recommended to the Commander-in-Chief as fit and good officers to go to the Staff College and likely to make good Staff officers, ought to be allowed to go there without having to undergo this second schooling and this competitive examination. The cramming alone, if it were abolished, would save at least six months, but I should like the competitive examination done away with also. I also think that the two years at the Staff College is a very much longer time than is necessary for men who ought to have a practical knowledge of most subjects, and who had passed a competitive examination before they entered the Army.

But if that two years cannot be done away with in all cases, I venture to suggest, as an alternative course, that after one year at the Staff College officers should go through an examination, and those who prove that they are

particularly and exceptionally proficient in special subjects, and likely to make good officers for the Intelligence Department or for the Scientific Departments of the War Office, should be allowed to stay another year, on the understanding that they are to leave their regiments and to look in future for appointment on the Staff. I should also like to see other officers allowed to go to the Staff College to improve themselves in subjects in which they think they are deficient without having to undergo the whole of the course in all the subjects set down for them. The present system limits the number of officers who are able to go to the Staff College, and it also limits the number of officers available when a war breaks out to go to the front. It is notorious that at the commencement of the late war nearly every officer went away from the War Office on active service, and left the Department with only new recruits to carry out work of which they knew nothing whatever; and it is very creditable to the heads of the War Office that they carried on the work as well as they did; but I think there ought to be a sufficient number of Staff officers to supply the requirements of a war without removing those officers who are so much needed at that particular moment in the position in which they have acquired most knowledge. In favour of my proposals I will quote words from Lord Selborne's eloquent speech on Naval reform in this House. Referring to "competitive examinations," the first Lord of the Admiralty said that—

"These words have been invested with a halo of infallibility and democracy which I do not think they in the least deserve."

I believe from the cheers with which that statement was received in this House, that your Lordships largely agreed with my noble friend. But the noble Earl went further, and added that—

"He was not afraid of a system of nomination carefully guarded."

Again I cordially agree with him, and I assert that the principle of education which he laid down at that time as good for the Navy is equally good and up-to-date for the Army. Lord Selborne laid

Lord Heneage.

down in clear and emphatic terms that—

"The principle of sound education is that all useless education should be eliminated, and that officers should be taught what they must know and is of use to them."

I cannot understand why, if that is good for the Navy it should not be good for the Army also, and I venture to suggest to those who control the War Office that they should consider the plan that has been put forward by my noble friend for the Navy. I do not believe myself in "cram" work; I believe that what is crammed is very easily forgotten.

This system not only limits the duly qualified officers both in peace and war, but it prevents, what is more important, that constant interchange between Staff and regiment which, I think, would be a very great advantage to both. It is laid down, and I believe it is still continued in the edition of the Royal Warrant for this year, that Staff appointments are only for five years, but everybody who knows anything about the subject knows perfectly well that that no longer refers to a period on the Staff after which officers must go back to their regiments, but simply to the period in the one office in which they are serving. Once on the Staff is always on the Staff now, and that is a very bad thing, in my opinion, both for the Staff and for the regiments. In the first place it prevents the regiments from getting the advantage of highly educated officers coming back to them; and, in the second place, it prevents the opinions of regimental commanding officers and others being made known to the War Office, because they have to filter through those who know very little about regimental work. The principle with regard to Staff College officers is not adhered to altogether. In our wars, even in little wars, regimental officers are constantly called upon. Officers who, it is thought, would be useful, are sent out to Africa and elsewhere when they are wanted, whether Staff College men or not. Then the halo of infallibility is quickly abandoned; it is only with regard to snug berths and soft billets at home where this rule is inviolable. The officers on the Staff have greater opportunities of rapid promotion than regimental officers, and they gradually rise to the higher positions at the War Office without any

very great experience or knowledge of regimental work. It therefore makes it all the more desirable, in my opinion, that their subordinates should include officers who are in touch and sympathy with regimental officers and men.

But I do not desire to labour this question, as great changes have been made in the Military Education Department. I turn to the point in my Motion with regard to the non-seconding of officers above the rank of captain. By Regulation 26 of the Royal Warrant no officer above the rank of captain can be seconded. As your Lordships are aware, when an officer below the rank of major goes on the Staff he is seconded, and another officer is promoted to take his place; but when a major or lieutenant-colonel is removed to Staff duty, his place is not filled up, but an extra captain is allowed to the regiment to do the duty of the captain who is performing the work of the major. This may be for Treasury reasons; the Treasury save 2s. a day in the case of cavalry majors, and 3s. 6d. a day in the case of battery majors, by not filling up their places when the officers go to the Staff. These officers are, therefore, deprived of from £30 to £40 a year, for the years they are doing major's duty. That is a great hardship, especially as these officers have great responsibilities. In old days the regiments were entirely bossed by the colonel, the adjutant, and the riding-master, but now every battery major and every squadron major is practically the commanding officer of his battery or squadron. He is also responsible for the paying of the men, for the drill, for the mounting of the men, and for discipline, with an appeal only, if he gives punishment which is considered excessive, to the colonel commanding. These senior captains are called upon for years to assume all these responsibilities, and perform all the duties, of majors without either the rank, pay, or position. Many regiments are deprived of one or more majors for years, and these Staff or extra-regimental-duty officers rarely return to regimental duty again. I could mention cases, but I will not, where captains seconded on the Staff have become squadron majors and remained on the Staff unseconded. I could mention other cases where captains who have been seconded on the Staff have

come back as majors and again gone away to the Staff, leaving the captains to continue doing major's duty. I think this is most unfair to the captains. During war time if an officer is taken for Staff duty he is graded according to the duty he has to do, and receives pay and rank accordingly. Why should not the same treatment be given to regimental officers as is meted out to the Staff? I think this is a suitable time to do justice to regimental officers, for I think every general officer and everybody who was in the South African war will admit that it was to a large extent a regimental officers' war, and they can no longer be considered inferior to Staff officers. I ask those responsible for the Army to look at these questions with an open mind and not to allow themselves to be ruled only by opinions of Staff College men; to give more facilities to regimental officers to make themselves proficient in any subjects without having to stay at the Staff College two years, and to do all they can to promote interchange between regiments and the Staff, and closer touch between the War Office and the views of regimental officers.

Moved to resolve that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, in the interests of the Service, that opportunities should be given to a larger number of officers to pass through the Staff College for a shorter period than at present; that all officers on the Staff or extra regimental duty should be seconded; and, further, that all officers should return to their regiments on promotion, or on the completion of five years' Staff or extra regimental service.—(*The Lord Heneage.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (THE EARL OF HARDWICKE): My Lords, I can assure the noble Lord that the matters to which he has drawn my attention have been receiving most careful consideration at the hands of the military authorities. I would remind him that the Secretary of State has recently created a new post at the War Office—that of Director-General of Military Education and Training, who of course has specially to deal with the various matters to which the noble Lord has referred. The noble Lord stated that there were at the present time two means of entrance to the Staff College.

It is a small point, but perhaps I might as well make it clear, there are, as a matter of fact, three. There is, in the first instance, the competitive examination. There are twenty-four vacancies in the Staff College each year, and the number of officers who are allowed to compete is unlimited. They are officers who have shown ability and a desire to make themselves proficient in Staff work, and who have received the approval of the colonel commanding their regiment to their working for this competitive examination. The recommendation of the colonel has to be endorsed by the General Officer commanding the Army Corps, and he submits their names to the Commander-in-Chief for approval. The second means by which officers can enter the Staff College is by nomination of the Commander-in-Chief. The Commander-in-Chief nominates each year eight officers who have shown themselves specially able and devoted to their duties, and he can also nominate any adjutant whose duties have brought him to the front in connection with the regiment to which he is attached. Then there is the third means, to which the noble Lord referred, namely, special distinction in Staff work on active service. Of course the noble Lord will understand that it is only when the opportunity arises for an officer to distinguish himself on active service that his name can be brought forward, and that in times of peace those specially selected officers do not get the same chance as in time of war.

The noble Lord has referred in terms of disapproval to the system of competitive examination. He wishes to see officers allowed to pass into the Staff College without having previously to cram, and in furtherance of his argument he quoted my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty. I do not for a moment wish to suggest that every word that the First Lord said has not got my most cordial support and the support of the military authorities, but I would point out to him that the Navy and the Army are carried on under entirely different conditions. The naval officer is practically always on active service, and therefore it is not difficult for the naval authorities to see by practical observation that an officer is doing well in his

work. On the other hand, the regimental officer, unless, as I have said, he is engaged on active service, does not have the opportunity of showing his capacity for Staff work, and though we have a system of nomination for officers who have distinguished themselves in Staff work on active service, we are obliged to adhere to some form of examination for officers to show their capacity before they are allowed to pass into the Staff College. If the noble Lord's suggestion were adopted and a great many more regimental officers allowed to pass through the Staff College, we should be placed in this dilemma, that we should have a very large number of officers passing through the training necessary to qualify them for Staff work and we should not have the Staff work to give them. It seems to me obvious that if we increase the number of officers entitled to claim to serve on the Staff it would be necessary to largely increase the number of officers employed on the Staff. Otherwise you would have officers qualified for whom there was no employment, and that would not receive any favour at the hands of the officers themselves. I would like to inform the noble Lord of the number of officers who have passed through the Staff College in previous years. In July, 1884, there were at the Staff college forty-four students; in July, 1889, there were sixty-five; in July, 1894, sixty-four; and in July, 1899, sixty-seven. The noble Lord will see that the number has been steadily increasing. We hope shortly to be able to allow eighty officers to be at the Staff College at one time; and it is under consideration whether or not it would be possible, with the accommodation available at the Staff College, to increase that number still further; but I am afraid I cannot hold out to the noble Lord any hope that we shall be able to do away with some form of examination for entrance into the Staff College. The officers who join the Staff College are now all seconded, and though they are not seconded for the period which they have to devote to preparing themselves for the entrance examination, that has not been found to interfere greatly with the efficiency of the regiment.

The noble Lord considers that the course at the Staff College is too long.

The Earl of Hardwicke.

He thinks that it would be better if, instead of a two years course, officers were allowed to pass out at the end of the year, having made themselves proficient in only certain subjects. I am afraid that is not the view that is held by the military advisers of the Secretary of State on this subject. The course at the Staff College has lately been considerably changed. The experiences of the South African War have enabled the authorities to see in what special subjects it is necessary that officers should make themselves proficient, and I would point out that the course for the first year includes military history, strategy, tactics and administration, topography, law, and riding; and in the second year that is supplemented by the study of Imperial defence, reconnaissance, the working out of problems, both administrative and purely military and strategical, etc. In addition to that officers have to make tours of instruction, visiting battlefields, etc., under military tuition, and they have also to go through a course of instruction in other arms than that in which they are themselves employed and to learn modern languages. It is not considered possible that this course could be adequately gone through under the period that has been laid down, namely, two years. The noble Lord says that all officers on the Staff or extra regimental duty should be seconded. I admit that there is a great deal to be said, from the point of view of military efficiency, for the argument that the noble Lord advances, but I would point out to him that it is not a matter that has been pressed by the military authorities, for this reason—they are aware that to give effect to the change the noble Lord proposes would be a very expensive matter. They agree that, in view of the questionable advantage that might be gained, it would not be to the advantage of the Army as a whole to take a sum of £35,000 out of our Military Vote to carry out this change, and perhaps to deprive some other branch of the service of this sum of money. The noble Lord is particularly anxious that this change should affect only the cavalry and the artillery.

*LORD HENEAGE: I think the noble Earl must have added an extra "0" to

the figure. It would not cost more than £3,000 or £4,000.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: I will give the exact figures. I have them here. If the majors and captains were seconded it would cost—in the cavalry, £3,400; in the artillery, £4,300; and in the infantry, £24,100 a year.

*LORD HENEAGE: I did not raise the point of the infantry, because infantry majors have no work to do.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: Though, of course, it is not impossible to make such a change, and to make it applicable only to the cavalry and artillery, I am afraid that from the point of view of the military authorities it would be undesirable to distinguish in a matter of this kind between the infantry and the cavalry and artillery, and it is perfectly clear that if we made the change it would have to apply to the Army as a whole and not to the particular branches to which the noble Lord refers. Then the noble Lord urged that it was desirable that all officers should return to their regiments on promotion, or on the completion of five years Staff or extra regimental service. The noble Lord said "Once on the Staff always on the Staff," and he pleaded for a greater interchange between officers on the Staff and officers serving in regiments. The noble Lord will be glad to hear that his suggestions have already been adopted by the War Office. It is laid down, and the practice is rigidly adhered to, that every officer after five years on the Staff is to go back on the completion of the five years to his regiment. I may even say that the appointments are for three years and five years, so that after three years in many cases officers will return to their regiment, but in no case will they remain after five years. Of course this does not apply to full colonels who have left their regiment, but so far as junior officers are concerned they will always return, as I have said, after five years. The noble Lord further asked that they should return to their regiments on promotion, but it would be impossible for officers to return to their regiments immediately on promotion. I hope the noble Lord is satisfied generally with the tenor of my remarks, and that he will not think it

necessary to press his Motion to a division. Staff officers are not separate in any way from the regimental officers; they are only the best officers coming to the front by examination and by their desire to get on in their profession. The services of regimental officers have been recognised during the late war, for out of some 2,000 rewards given for service in South Africa, 1,800 went to regimental officers and only 200 to officers who had passed through the Staff College. I think that must appeal to the noble Lord as a conclusive argument that the War Office have not in any way disregarded the services of regimental officers who served in South Africa.

*LORD HENEAGE: After the explanation that has been given by the noble Earl I shall withdraw my Motion. I only desired that the question should be fairly discussed. I can assure the noble Earl that I did not mean to infer that regimental officers had been overlooked. Three-fourths of the officers who served on the Staff during the late war were not Staff College men but regimental officers who had been taken away from their regiments and not seconded. The reason why I refer to artillery and cavalry majors is that they are to all intents and purposes the commanding officers of their batteries and squadrons, whereas the rank of major is merely a titular rank in the infantry without any responsibility whatever.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

THE CONDITION OF HOLYROOD PALACE.

*THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE, who had given notice, "To ask His Majesty's Government whether Mr. Fellowes, representing His Majesty's Government, is correctly reported as having said on 21st April that the Lord High Commissioner's decision not to inhabit Holyrood Palace had come as a great surprise to the Office of Works, and to inquire what steps will be taken to improve the condition of Holyrood Palace as a fit residence for the Sovereign or his representative; and to move for Papers," said: My Lords, before I put the Question of which I have given notice, I would ask your

The Earl of Hardwicke.

Lordships' indulgence while I say a few words as to the circumstances which have led to it. Your Lordships may remember that about two months ago a notice appeared in a leading paper, the *Scotsman*, that I, as His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland, would not reside this year in Holyrood Palace. This brought about a storm of correspondence in the Press and speeches in Parliament. I may say that the attacks were almost as vigorous as they were numerous. The correspondence may be summed up under these two heads—first, that I have deserted and abandoned Holyrood lightly and without due reason; and, secondly, that I have done so without communicating my decision to His Majesty's Government. My position, representing His Majesty, is a high one. I feel that the right place to meet these accusations is your Lordships' House, and I should like to be allowed a few words to describe, as far as I can, the office which I have the honour to hold. It is less well known this side of the Tweed than I could wish. The Lord High Commissioner's appointment is an annual one, usually made about the month of March, and his duties are primarily to represent the Sovereign at the great General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which meets every year to carry out and to look after the interests of that Church. He opens the Assembly and attends its sitting as a rule every morning, and he continues during the whole of its session, which generally last about twelve days, to attend until he dissolves the Assembly at the close of its labours.

That is the sum-total, I think, of his actual duties. But in addition to these actual duties a great deal of extra work has grown up. It has become the custom to entertain very large numbers at dinner. Many years ago it was a very much smaller matter. I have heard that fifty or sixty years ago the appointment was a comparatively lucrative one. I find from Dr. Ramsay, who for many years was Purse-bearer to the Lord High Commissioner, that in the year 1852 a relative of the noble Lord on my right was then Lord High

Commissioner and he was the first to get leave to have rooms in Holyrood Palace. Up to that time it had been the custom to entertain some leading men in the General Assembly at one of the hotels of the town. My own ancestors, I believe, who during the 18th century were there for over thirty years, went about in Bath chairs and dined at pothouses wherever they had an opportunity. Lord Belhaven, however, got leave to go to Holyrood, and as this was somewhat further off than the inn at which he had been accustomed to entertain, he invited the Lord Provost and a few others to dine with him there. That was the way the dinners began. They grew in the course of time until they averaged between 300 and 400 people in the twelve days. But by degrees that has grown and grown until, when I had the honour of being first appointed, something like 1,200 people came to dine in the twelve days. I do not complain; I merely mention the fact. It is a very pleasant thing and I enjoy it very much, but it ought to be understood that this is the case. In addition to that, we have large assemblies in the evenings which represent, as a rule, 600, 700, or 800 persons, according to the number of people who happen to be in Edinburgh. That is probably about the sum-total of what the entertainments really amount to, but your Lordships will readily see that entertainments of this size require a very large staff of servants. They cannot be carried on without a very large staff. During the last six years my household living in the house has averaged something like sixty or seventy, with thirty or forty more who are there all day long and in the evening. That puts a great strain upon any drains. It is not like an ordinary household of twenty, thirty, or forty people.

I have already said that my appointment is usually made in the month of March. The General Assembly sits in the middle of May, and the two months which elapse constitute a very short time in which to make the very large contracts necessary to carry out these entertainments. I therefore gave the Secretary for Scotland a gentle hint that if the appointment could be made a little sooner it would prevent rather

serious handicapping of the Lord High Commissioner, who has to make these contracts in a short time, and is sometimes troubled with the difficulty of getting them done. Consequently, this year, with the view of enabling me to make these contracts more easily, I was appointed about the last week of February. It was not until the 17th of March that I happened to hear, while I was in London, on what I thought was sound authority, that there was really a serious question about the drains at Holyrood. Within half-an-hour I went to the Chief Commissioner of Works and asked him if he would be good enough to let me see the Report which I understood had been obtained as to the condition of the drains. Lord Windsor received me most cordially, and said it was perfectly right and that he would send me the Report next morning. On the following day, the 18th of March, that Report had not arrived. I had made arrangements to go abroad on the 19th, and, as I did not want to trouble my noble friend, I wrote an urgent letter to the Secretary of the Office of Works, Sir Schomberg M'Donnell, to the effect that these large contracts which were already being negotiated by my Purse-bearer were hanging in the air, that if I could not go to Holyrood they must be cancelled, and that it was, therefore, an urgent matter. On the 19th I received no Report, but I got a note from Sir Schomberg M'Donnell in which he said—

“There is no danger for you or your household. It would be very different with the King with his Court. Under such conditions the existing drainage would be inadequate.”

But as I have something like seventy or eighty people in my household, and thirty or forty more there all day long, it appeared to me that even His Majesty could not fill the Palace very much more than I did, and that what was quite inadequate for His Majesty and his Court might perhaps not be quite safe for me. On the 19th I had to leave England, and I wrote again. I have no doubt that my noble friend will give some explanation; but, though I continued writing first to the First Commissioner of Works, and then to my noble friend the Secretary for Scotland, it was not until the 30th that

I received extracts from the Report. Lord Windsor, with the kindness which always distinguishes him, telegraphed that the Report should be sent at once. That was on 25th March, but, as I say, I did not receive the extracts till the 30th. The matter was, therefore, at that moment of quite extreme urgency. Contracts representing £600, £700, or £800 were hanging in the air, and I had to decide one way or the other at once. Sir Schomberg M'Donnell suggested that I should get an independent Report. It was perfectly impossible for me to let these things hang up while I got this independent Report; moreover, I did not see why I wanted an independent Report.

After receiving the extracts on 30th March I wrote on the same day to Lord Windsor at the Office of Works, and to Lord Balfour as Secretary for Scotland, asking if they thought it necessary to convey a message to His Majesty to express my extreme regret that I could not reside at Holyrood. I gave them briefly my reasons. What I said was—

“These drains appear to be very defective. There is a public sewer at one end, and they open into bedrooms at the other. Under these circumstances, I ought not to put a great crowd of people into the Palace.”

I did that entirely on my own responsibility. Nobody else had anything to do with it. That was on 30th March, and you will understand my surprise when I came home to find that on 21st April, three weeks afterwards, Mr. Fellowes was reported to have said, in reply to Mr. Dewar, the Member for Inverness-shire, that the question of my not living in Holyrood had created great consternation in Scotland, and had come as a great surprise to the Office of Works. I cannot say when they received my letter of 30th March, but I sent it through my Purse-Bearer, and I do not think he could have delayed it many days. At any rate, the letter to the First Commissioner was despatched at the same time and in the same way as the letter to Lord Balfour which the latter acknowledged on the 11th of April, ten days before Mr. Fellowes' speech. I think Lord Windsor will agree that I have some reason to ask, first of all, what was the cause of the delay in sending the Report, and, secondly, how it

came to be such a surprise to the Office of Works. There may be some doubt as to the precise words Mr. Fellowes used, because, although I have referred to *Hansard*, I find he is not reported in the first person. But there can be no doubt as to the meaning of his words, because I find it from several speeches and articles which appeared afterwards. Mr. Dewar asked the question, Mr. Fellowes replied to it, and immediately afterwards Mr. Shaw, the Member for the Border Burghs, said—

“The Government say they are very much surprised.”

Mr. Weir said the Government ought not to come down and tell the House that they were surprised, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said—

“Lord Leven, I believe, was in constant communication with the Government,”

and the Prime Minister replied—

“I believe that is not so.”

On 22nd April Sir John Stirling-Maxwell brought the question up in another place, and Mr. Fellowes replied; but he did not retract anything as to this great surprise, and there appeared in the *Scotsman* on the 23rd, an article saying—

“We have been assured that until the unofficial statement was made in our columns on 17th April no Minister or Government Department had heard of Lord Leven's intentions.”

I have Lord Balfour's acknowledgment of my letter, dated the 11th. The *Scotsman* on the 23rd went on to say—

“What Mr. Fellowes does say is that it is a great surprise to the Office of Works to hear that Lord Leven is not going to reside at Holyrood.”

The same paper on the same day said—

“Lord Leven forgot the people and he forgot the Secretary for Scotland and his colleagues.”

Very vigorous language was used, and I think it is fair that the explanation should be made as publicly as the statement which was made in another place.

I leave that now, and come to the second indictment, which accuses me, without due cause, of having neglected and abandoned the ancient Palace of Holyrood. In many of these letters and speeches it was stated that I was thereby insulting the nation, showing a most offensive indifference to the Church

and the Assembly over which I presided, and violating ancient traditions. I did not readily leave Holyrood Palace. I left it with most extreme regret, but in the face of the Report which I received I felt that I had no option but to leave.

His Lordship then read extracts from the Report showing that of the thirty-two water-closets in the Palace nineteen would have to be removed or altered; several of these were in the walls of bedrooms, and one discharged into a rain-pipe. Some of the scullery sinks were also described as defective, and, apparently, discharging direct into the main drain. Reference was also made to unventilated pan-closets in walls adjoining bedrooms.

Continuing, his Lordship said: Of course, if the external arrangements had been very perfect a good deal might have been done by vigorous flushing. But when I come to the external drains I find that the Report states that the present outfall sewer of the Palace is built of rubble and very imperfect, that its level is too high to permit of a safe fall for the drainage of the Palace, and, as a consequence, the drains very quickly become choked. I did not think that was a house in which to put four or five scores of people. It is quite true that for five years previously I had lived there, and my predecessors had lived there, and that we had had no illness; but drains every year get a year older. Besides that, there was the additional strain upon them this year in that His Majesty was coming to Edinburgh the week previous to the General Assembly. You will readily see, therefore, that the danger was in increasing ratio. I do not think I am fairly subject to any great indignation from my countrymen or anyone else because I declined to put a large number of people into a house in that condition. The number of people themselves constitute a source of danger. The scullery refuse alone, owing to the enormous number of meals prepared in the Palace, would have been enough to choke most drains; however efficient. I entertain at regular dinner parties about 1,200 people in the twelve days, and then I have 100 people in the house during that time, each eating three meals a day at least, which makes

3,600 more meals, or a total of 4,800 meals in the twelve days. Besides that there are the stables and the military band of thirty or forty men. It seemed to me that this was a serious matter. It appeared to be a dangerous thing to do, and I decided at once that I would not do it, and I communicated my decision to the Secretary for Scotland and to the First Commissioner of Works at the earliest possible opportunity.

I now come to quite a different subject. The announcement was made in the *Scotsman* of the 17th of April. It was due to the extreme delay of getting the Report that all the trouble and correspondence took place. The news that I was not going to Holyrood leaked out when the contracts began to be cancelled. The *Scotsman* on the 17th sent to the Purse-bearer and asked for an official announcement of what we were going to do—was I going to be in Holyrood or not. The Purse-bearer said it was impossible for him at that moment to give any official announcement as the contracts were not completed. I suppose the *Scotsman* could not wait, for next morning the article appeared. I do not know that I need trouble your Lordships with the letters and speeches, but some of them were rather amusing. One man said that my salary ought to be taken away, and that he was sure that it was from motives of economy that I did not go to Holyrood. He said—

“Lord Leven ought to face typhoid because he is paid for it.”

I suppose he did not know that my allowance only covers about two-thirds of my expenses. In fact, I really live at the rate of £90,000 a year for the twelve days. Another correspondent wrote—

“His not to reason why,
His but to sniff and die.”

A third said that in dining elsewhere I was violating ancient traditions. Well, till within the last fifty years they always did dine elsewhere. Some of the critics were perhaps a little vicious. These correspondents seem to think that their mission in life is to go about stinging and showing up people without any particular reason. They remind me rather of the old lady's remark in regard to fleas. “I don't object to fleas,” she said, “but I don't like the way they get their living.” I have no fault to find with the critics. One thing is plain; they have evoked the

national feeling, the passionate desire that Holyrood should be maintained. That spot throbs with historic memories; there is no place which appeals so strongly to our national sentiment and patriotism. On the site of the ancient Abbey, a cradle of the Church, a sanctuary and place of refuge through centuries of strife and turmoil, it is like sacred ground. Beneath the shadow of that hill, those towering crags, the landmarks of the capital, at the foot of perhaps the most interesting street in the Kingdom, still beautiful in the quaintness of its ancient homes of Scotland's nobility, dominated by that castle whose history is the nation's history, the Palace of Holyrood stands splendid in its quiet dignity. I do not plead on my own behalf. I ask on behalf of the Scottish nation that this ancient monument should be maintained and handed down to future generations as the home of the Scottish Sovereign. The Papers I move for are a plan of the Palace of Holyrood House as it now exists, along with full reports showing the internal sanitary arrangements and water supply, and the external drainage system as existing to-day, and a report showing what is proposed to be done to make them good, and a detailed estimate of the cost.

Moved that there be laid before the House—1. A plan of the Palace of Holyrood House as it exists; 2. A full report, showing—(a) The internal sanitary arrangements and water supply, and its external drainage system as existing to-day; (b) A report showing what is proposed to be done to make them good, and a detailed estimate of the cost.—(*The Earl of Leven and Melville.*)

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR: My Lords, I should like to say at the very outset that I regret it extremely if anything has been said on behalf of the Office of Works which should give the impression for one single moment that I wish to transfer any blame which ought to rest upon myself to the shoulders of my noble friend. That, I am sure, he will acquit me of; it is the last thing I should attempt. But I think that he really has misinterpreted the answer that was given in the other House by Mr. Fellowes. I did not hear the

debate myself, but I find from *Hansard* that Mr. Fellowes said—

"He knew that the question had created great consternation in Scotland, and he might say, on behalf of the Board of Works, that what they had heard and seen during the last two or three days had come as a great surprise to them."

That I take to mean that the consternation and the outcry in the *Scotsman* was what occasioned the Office of Works great surprise. The Prime Minister, too, afterwards said in the same debate that it had never occurred to him that the fact that the High Commissioner thought it safer in the existing condition of the drains at Holyrood to live in an hotel would be the cause of an outbreak of national sentiment. That was certainly what the reply of Mr. Fellowes was intended to mean; but if the language was ambiguous I repeat that I regret very much that it should have been so interpreted, and that the noble Lord has any justification for thinking that blame has unduly been put upon his shoulders. There are one or two points in his speech that I must refer to briefly. I venture to think that I can show the House and the noble Earl that his grievance is against the *Scotsman*, and not against His Majesty's Government. I should like to say a word with regard to the delay in giving the noble Earl the Report upon which the Office of Works acted in recommending that the state of the drainage in Holyrood Palace was not such as could justify His Majesty occupying the Palace during his last visit to Edinburgh. It is perfectly true, as the noble Earl says, that he saw me personally and asked me to let him see the Report. That was, as he explained to the House, on the eve of his departure abroad. I was unable until the next day to get at the Office, and it was impossible then to part with the actual Report. A copy had to be made for the noble Earl's inspection, and it did not arrive on the Continent, I regret to say, until ten days after. It might have reached him a few days before, I believe. I am sorry that there was any delay in his seeing the Report. But he will forgive me for reminding him that he mentioned in a letter to me that he had heard in October last from Sir Schomberg McDonnell that the condition of the drains in Holyrood

The Earl of Leven and Melville.

Palace was bad, and he was told that if he would come to the Office of Works there was a Report open for his inspection.

*THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE: I have no recollection of Sir Schomberg's saying anything of the kind. What he told me was that the drains were in a bad condition, and I urged that they should not be touched in the winter. I never heard any more. I thought the drains were not in that serious condition, until I came to London and saw my noble friend.

*LORD WINDSOR: Of course I quite accept what my noble friend says, but I was under the impression that at that time he was informed that the Report was open to his inspection if he desired to see it. But that is not his recollection.

*THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE: I cannot say absolutely that it was not so; but I have no recollection of it. It was mentioned to me in an off-hand way at a dinner. I said I was sorry to hear it, and that if the drains were touched in the winter they would be sure to be bad again in the spring.

*LORD WINDSOR: The point I make is that this Report was asked for on the eve of the noble Earl's departure for abroad, and that it was necessary to make a copy. Though I admit it might have reached him a day or two before it did, still it was only a question of whether the Office of Works could have got out a copy of the Report a day or two before they actually did. What I do wish to make quite clear to him and to the House is that there was no intention whatever of keeping back that Report from him, or of concealing it in any way in the Office of Works, so that those who had a perfect right to see it should not do so. There was another point in which I do not think the noble Earl correctly interpreted the debate in the other House. He referred to what Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said. He stated that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had asked whether the High Commissioner had not been in communication with the Government, and that the Prime Minister had replied that it was not so. But that is not, I think, quite the correct interpretation of what

was said. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was referring to the Lord High Commissioner's knowledge of the state of Holyrood Palace from the fact that he resided there for certain stated times for several years past, and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that what had been urged was that this was a piece of mismanagement on the part of a Department of the Government, because Lord Leven, whose knowledge of Holyrood Palace as a habitable house was derived from the experience of past years, had doubtless represented the condition of affairs to the Board of Works. He said that no doubt while in residence there he was in constant communication with the Office of Works. That was what the Prime Minister said he understood was not so, and I think my noble friend will agree with me that he did not complain, when he was in residence in Holyrood Palace, to the Government that the condition of the drainage was bad. Therefore, I do not think that the answers which were given in that particular case were otherwise than perfectly correct.

There is another question on which I should like to say a word—the question of blame that may be thought to attach to the Government and myself representing the Office of Works in this matter. I think that if this is looked at calmly, without the, shall I say, irritating effects of the *Scotsman* before us, we shall see that it is impossible in the case of all country houses to alter completely the whole system of the drainage each time that some professor of sanitary science discovers some newer and better method. It inevitably comes to this—that you arrive, after a certain number of years, at the conclusion that the system of drainage is antiquated and that the whole thing must be redone. It may be said, at any time when you arrive at that point, that you ought to have discovered it before, but, as I say, you cannot continue year after year completely to alter the system of your drainage. You have to keep it in good order, and go on with it, until after a certain time the newer methods have to be adopted. With regard to the upkeep and maintenance of the drainage at Holyrood, I do not think there is any complaint to be made. The system is

antiquated. There is a new main sewer being put in in the town which will enable a better outfall from Holyrood to be made, and though the Government considered it right, after the Report they had received that His Majesty should not be advised to occupy Holyrood, they had taken a sum of money in the Estimates for this year for the purpose of putting the drainage in a satisfactory state. My noble friend asks in his Question what steps will be taken to improve the condition of Holyrood Palace as a fit residence of the Sovereign or his representative. We believe that the money we have got this year will put Holyrood Palace into a perfectly fit condition to receive the Sovereign. The work is to be put in hand at once, and the intention is to complete it, if possible, by the end of this year. Further, I may assure my noble friend that it is the intention of the Government to see that the work is thoroughly and efficiently carried out, so that there shall be no question whatever at any future time of advising His Majesty that Holyrood Palace is not in a fit condition to receive him. That is the intention of the Government, and in those circumstances I would ask the noble Earl to refrain from pressing for the Papers for which he has asked.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: My Lords, I have some diffidence in interfering in this interesting discussion, but I must confess that the statement of the First Commissioner of Works leaves something to be desired as an answer to the statement made by the Lord High Commissioner. The First Commissioner has gone into generalities, with which I perfectly agree, as to the impossibility of varying a system of drainage annually according to the views of any expert that you may consult. But that is not the point which I understand was raised by the Lord High Commissioner. He says that nothing has been done to the drainage at Holyrood, and it is no answer to say that you cannot annually vary the system of drainage according to the report of experts. As I understand the matter, the report of the experts was distinctly unfavourable, and, therefore, I think that we shall all agree

Lord Windsor.

that the Lord High Commissioner was justified in feeling some apprehension at visiting the Palace or residing in it in existing circumstances. But I think the whole gravamen of this charge has been missed by the First Commissioner. There used to be a story of Lord Holland, a nephew of Mr. Fox's—I think it was the third Lord Holland—that when in office in the Cabinet, and any thorny question of administration came up for discussion, he was in the habit of saying, *Fiat experimentum in corpore vili*. Let the experiment be tried in Scotland before going any further. I think that the real sting of what has occurred in the Lord High Commissioner's mind, is that it was proposed that he should be the *vile corpus* on which the experiment of residence in Holyrood should be tried, under the somewhat unfavourable conditions he has described with so much minuteness, and I doubt not with so much accuracy. I do not want to lay too much stress on the informal note of Sir Schomburgk McDonnell, but it was certainly almost brutal in its frankness with reference to the possibility of my noble friend residing in Holyrood and the impossibility of His Majesty going there with his Court. I think that is the real case that the First Commissioner has to meet. The truth of the whole matter is this—that if the Lord High Commissioner had had time to make his own announcement in his own way, things would have gone very differently. I cannot answer for the *Scotsman* newspaper here. I am not qualified to act in its defence, but I quite agree with my noble friend that its hand falls uncommonly heavy on those whom it wished to smite. No one can speak with more painful experience than myself, but I quite agree with the Government that they cannot be responsible for the truculent nature of their own organ in Scotland. I do not believe that the Secretary for Scotland inspired its phillippics against my noble friend the Lord High Commissioner. I could have wished in the interests of this historic Palace, that we could have heard less of the seamier and darker side of the arrangements of that edifice, but it was necessary, for the proof of my noble friend's case, and I trust with all my heart that the discussion may result in the consummation he so devoutly wishes,

to render the Palace sufficiently cleanly and healthy for the residence of the Lord High Commissioner next year.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, I certainly should not have risen but for the final challenge of the noble Earl who has just sat down. I think, if I may venture to say so, that he misses one point in the difficulties which beset the Office of Works in regard to this matter. The state of Holyrood was found in the course of the winter to be not satisfactory. I need not go further into the matter, because I think it was admitted by everybody that it was not entirely satisfactory. It was impossible to take it in hand, as I understand, early in the winter for two reasons. In the first place, nothing of the magnitude required could be done until the House of Commons had voted the necessary supplies for the purpose, and therefore it was absolutely impossible to do the work before the time when the Lord High Commissioner had to take up his residence in Holyrood. It was also, I understand, physically impossible to get such work as was necessary completed before the date fixed for His Majesty's visit to Scotland. His Majesty was not going to reside in Holyrood for the reasons which were announced at the time, and it would obviously not have been wise to be digging at the drains at the time, and while there were Courts and levées going on there. The noble Earl put his finger upon the real cause of the outcry when he indicated that if a judicious and frank announcement had been made of the reason why the Lord High Commissioner had resolved not to reside in Holyrood this year at a sufficiently early date, no strong feeling would have been evinced in regard to the matter. Perhaps I may venture to say, as my noble friend the Lord High Commissioner mentioned my name in his statement, that so far as I am concerned officially I have nothing to do with the noble Earl's appointment; I have nothing to do myself with Holyrood, nor have I any sort of control, official or otherwise, over the place where the Lord High Commissioner resides. It is perfectly true that my noble friend left a letter for me to be delivered after he had gone abroad, stating that he could not reside in Holyrood. But my noble friend will bear me out

when I say that the moment I heard of his decision I telegraphed to him urging that a proper announcement should be made, and warning him that unless that was done, a considerable amount of feeling would arise. I ventured to say that if it had been frankly announced on the part of the Lord High Commissioner, either directly or through his Purse-bearer, that in the circumstances, and for this year only, he could not occupy Holyrood, nothing would be said about it at all. But there was a sort of vague apprehension, perhaps stimulated by interested persons, that this was part of a consistent policy to abandon Holyrood altogether, and this gave a certain amount of force to the outcry and the agitation. I know perfectly well that the Lord High Commissioner had no such intention, because he knows as well as I do what Scottish sentiment in regard to Holyrood is, and that such a thing would not have been tolerated. I think a great deal has been made by the noble Earl of a certain amount of newspaper correspondence, which after this lapse of time it was hardly worth while to dig up from the obscurity into which it had gone. But he has liberated his soul, and, therefore, I hope the matter will end. But I repeat what I began by saying, that the noble Earl of Rosebery was, I think, absolutely correct when he said that if a judicious announcement had been made on the part of the Lord High Commissioner at the moment it was first decided not to occupy Holyrood Palace this year, we should never have heard of a tenth part of the correspondence which has taken place in regard to it. I am authorised to repeat, if there should be any doubt about it, that I know it to be the intention of the Office of Works to do all they can to put Holyrood Palace into a thoroughly satisfactory state of sanitation. I hope the House will allow the matter to rest there, and that my noble friend, who has indicated his intention to move for Papers, will not at any rate at present press the Motion further.

* THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE: I need hardly say that it is with great satisfaction that I accept the explanation of Lord Windsor, that it was

not intended to convey the impression that I had not communicated to His Majesty's Government or to him any intention not to reside at Holyrood. As to blame, I do not think any excuse was needed for not having repaired the drains since they were found faulty in October of last year. It would have been impossible to have effected such work properly during the winter months; in my opinion it would have been perfect madness. I never imputed any blame to the Office of Works for not attempting what I think it would have been a most imprudent thing to do. I accept with great frankness my noble friend's assurance. Lord Balfour seemed to imply that I ought to have made an official announcement in time, that I was not going to reside in Holyrood, but if he will go back to the dates he will find that it was not possible. I was away and my Purse-bearer could not be expected to state officially that I was not going to reside in Holyrood, unless he was in a position to state where I was going to stay. It was quite impossible that he could make any announcement until the contracts were complete. Upon the assurance which has been given I will not press for Papers. The Government have promised to put the drainage right, and I think they had better.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

MOTOR TRAFFIC.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, who had a Question on the Paper "to ask when it is proposed to introduce the Bill dealing with the regulation of motor traffic," said: My Lords, I have been asked by the President of the Local Government Board to postpone this Question because the matter is going to be considered at once by the Government. I will therefore defer the Question until Thursday next.

Question (by leave of the House) postponed.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Leven and Melville.

LORD BELPER: My Lords, the Bill which I have to ask your Lordships to read a second time is for the purpose of giving powers for the founding of two new Bishoprics, the Bishopric of Southwark and the Bishopric of Birmingham. I believe I am right in saying that that part of the Bill which deals with the Bishopric of Southwark is identical with the Bill which has passed your Lordships' House on two previous occasions. The diocese of Rochester, as it is at present constituted, is not only unwieldy with regard to its population, but most inconvenient as to its area and for all purposes of organisation. It is separated into two sections differing very much as to the conditions of their population. One part consists of the South London Parishes and the Suburban and County Districts of East and Mid Surrey, and the other of Gravesend, Rochester, and Chatham, and between these two portions runs part of the diocese of Canterbury. The present population of the whole diocese is 2,250,000. The Bill proposes that the populous district of the diocese in South London, with a population of about 2,000,000, should be formed into the new Bishopric of Southwark. The present difficulties are also somewhat accentuated by the fact that the residence of the Bishop is in South London, whilst the cathedral is in Rochester. The other part of the diocese will have added to it a small portion of the diocese of Canterbury, and will, I understand, with that addition have a population of about 400,000. It is also proposed that the existing residence of the Bishop of Rochester should become the residence of the Bishop of Southwark.

With regard to the new Bishopric of Birmingham it is proposed to constitute it of parishes taken from the dioceses of Worcester and Lichfield. The diocese of Worcester now contains a population of 1,400,000 and comprises 500 parishes, many of them very populous. The population of the diocese of Lichfield is about the same, and it contains 475 parishes. I believe the area taken from the diocese of Worcester is one-third of the whole area of the diocese and a still larger proportion of the population, and it will be recognised that the spiritual needs of the population of that important area could be much more conveniently

met by the formation of the new diocese. The wishes of the locality are shown in the fact that already a very large sum of money has been subscribed to establish a fund for the new Bishopric of Birmingham. I believe there has already been subscribed £92,000 out of the total sum required, namely, £110,000. The Bill revives the provisions of the Bishoprics Act, 1878. Under that Act the Bishoprics of Liverpool, Newcastle and others were founded, and authority was given for the establishment of a Bishopric Endowment Fund for each of the new Sees, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners being required to hold those funds for the special purposes for which they are to be used. These two Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham may be founded under that Act by an order of His Majesty in Council as soon as the endowment funds are reached, and I believe it is laid down that the incomes must amount to £3,500 a year. There are a large number of incidental questions with which I might occupy the time of the House, but I will content myself by saying that the new Bishoprics proposed in this Bill have the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the right rev. Prelates whose dioceses are affected, and who will deal with any question, of detail that may arise at this or any subsequent stage of the Bill.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a—(*Lord Belper.*)

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I desire to say a word or two with regard to this Bill on behalf of my noble friend Lord Spencer. The noble Lord, Earl Spencer, asked on Friday that this Bill should be postponed till to-day, because it deals with a subject in which he takes great interest, and he felt that he had not had sufficient time to master the details of it. Unfortunately, Lord Spencer is not able to be here to-day. He is kept at home, having been overtaken by the gravest family anxiety, in which I am sure he has your Lordships' deepest sympathy. I think it right to say that Lord Spencer had no intention of opposing the Second Reading or of thwarting the Bill in any way, but there were details he wished to criticise and there was one considerable point of

policy which he desired to raise. That point, briefly, was whether it was wise to create two new Bishoprics and endow them with considerable revenues at a time when the incomes of the great bulk of the clergy of the Church of England are extremely small owing largely to agricultural depression and the fall in the tithe-rent charge. It did seem to him that it was desirable to consider carefully whether in those circumstances this was a happy time to create two new Bishoprics and to give them, I do not say excessive but certainly large incomes, when the subordinate officers of the Church are receiving such small stipends. That was the main point my noble friend wished to raise, and I think I have sufficiently served the purpose by shortly stating it. I have no doubt that some right rev. Prelate will have a word to say on the subject.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I should like to say a few words upon this Bill. Twenty-six years have passed since I began, in the very subordinate capacity of secretary to a committee on this subject, to deal with the almost unsolvable problem of how to divide up the dioceses of Rochester, Canterbury, Winchester, and St. Albans in such a manner as to produce the best possible results with the minimum of inconvenience. The problem is, I say without reserve, the most difficult among the problems of that kind with which I have ever had to do. Anyone who examines a map on which the formation of the diocese of Rochester is marked, must wonder how any bishop, even if he possess all the energy and devotion of my right rev. brother who now presides over the diocese, has found it possible to work it. I am convinced that the solution of the problem contained in the Bill is the best that could be arrived at in the circumstances. I am less personally conversant with the state of affairs at Birmingham, but for many years it has been the universal opinion of those best qualified to judge, that a new diocese, with Birmingham as its centre, is absolutely necessary. That that should now be possible, thanks to the munificence of the people of Birmingham, is gratifying to all who

have at heart the welfare of the Church in the Midlands. I should entirely share in the opinion put forward by the noble Lord on behalf of Earl Spencer—the cause of whose absence we all deeply regret—if the money for the new Bishopric was being provided from sources available for the other purposes to which he has alluded, but, as I have said, the money for the constitution of the new Bishopric has been specially subscribed by those who are promoting this particular object. The noble Lord's criticism, although perfectly natural, and, I may say, obvious, to one who may have had no adequate opportunity of studying the details of the subject, is, I venture to think, a somewhat short-sighted one. If we want the general condition of the clergy in the poorest districts and most poorly-endowed parishes to be improved, and there can be no Member of this House who does not share such a wish, the best way of proceeding is to make the working of the Church as efficient as we can make it. When we have a sufficient number of dioceses and the Bishops hard at work in them keeping things on the right lines and making them stir and glow, then the time will have come when we can hope for such support as will diminish the present hardships of the poor clergy. This result will be promoted, and not hindered, by allowing those who desire to give money for the purpose of founding these Bishoprics to do so. The only detail to which this answer to the noble Lord's criticism may not apply, is the application of certain portions of money from the sale of a residence of former Archbishops of Canterbury to the provision of a new See house for the Bishop of Rochester, and of some portion of the endowment of the See, the present See house of that diocese being handed over to the new diocese of Southwark. But it has to be remembered that that particular money has, all through, been applied to the purposes of an episcopal residence; so that even that money is not diverted to any purpose of a different kind from that for which it is at present available. Any further points on which your Lordships may desire

information will be readily given in Committee, and I hope your Lordships will now read the Bill a second time.

LORD NORTON: My Lords, I heartily endorse what has just been said by the most rev. Primate. He considered that the objection suggested by Lord Tweedmouth was a natural one. Whether it is natural or not, it is the most complete *non sequitur* I have ever heard in my life, that we should abstain from endowing new Bishoprics because the income of the clergy is small. Why, that is the very reason for doing it. Church feeling in Birmingham has already been considerably strengthened during the tenure of office of the present Bishop of Worcester, and I am certain that when that energetic man is Bishop of Birmingham, no event will have occurred for a number of years so likely as that to increase the incomes of the clergy. Therefore, if the objection of the noble Lord is the only objection that can be raised to this Bill, I think it is the strongest possible reason for supporting it, and I can only hope that no more effective argument against it will be raised in another place. The poor clergy are in any case in nowise injured by a scheme which is paid for out of private subscription. If there is any defect in the Bill it is that the diocese of Worcester is not called upon to make anything like a proper contribution to the Bishopric of Birmingham. The Bishopric of Birmingham will take one-third of the diocese of Worcester, and a great deal more than one-third of the population of that diocese; but the diocese of Worcester is not asked to make a contribution towards the diocese of Birmingham. Naturally, Worcester ought to hand over to the new diocese one-third of her endowment for doing a third of the work, of which she will now be relieved. A city of the size of Birmingham ought to have a Bishop. Already the prospect of getting a Bishop, and such a Bishop as the one who will take over the new See under this Bill, has entirely changed the feeling of the city of Birmingham towards the Church. There are only two men who can fill the Town Hall on any occasion—Mr. Chamberlain and the proposed Bishop of Birmingham.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Friday next.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
AMENDMENT BILL (No. 125),
OUT-DOOR RELIEF PENSIONERS
BILL (No. 126).**

Read 1st, and to be printed.

House adjourned at a quarter
before Seven o'clock till to-
morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 22nd June, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

**UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.**

**PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING
ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED
INTO COMPLIED WITH).**

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.: Hastings Harbour District Railway Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

**PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING
ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED
INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).**

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz.: Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords]; Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

**PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS]
(STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED
WITH).**

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of

Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz., North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

**PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (STAND-
ING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERE-
TO COMPLIED WITH).**

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.: Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

South Shields Corporation Bill; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Wirral Railway Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Exeter Corporation Bill [Lords], read a second time, and committed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the North Eastern Railway Bill, 1897, be referred to the Committee on the Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill of this Session.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill. Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill, without Amendment.

Coal Mines (Certificates) Bill, with an Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to Musical Copyright." [Musical Copyright Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to Justices of the Peace with respect to residence, to qualification of Solicitors, and to the removal of ex-officio Justices." [Justices of the Peace Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Bolsover and District Water, Goring and Streatley District Water, Leatherhead and District Water, Ludgershall Water, and Mid-Kent Water." [Water Orders Confirmation Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Bournemouth Gas and Water Company to acquire additional lands, to construct works, and for other purposes." [Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the city of Bristol to construct additional dock railways and works; and for other purposes." [Bristol Corporation Bill (Lords).]

And also, a Bill intituled, "An Act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Salford to construct an additional tramway, and to adapt and use portions of tramway outside the borough, and to make street improvements, to provide for transfer to the Corporation of certain powers of

electric lighting, and to raise additional moneys by mortgage and by the creation and issue of stock, and for other purposes." [Salford Corporation Bill (Lords).]

Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [Lords]; Bristol Corporation Bill [Lords]; Salford Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 253.]

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petitions against: from Stafford; Broadstairs; and Westminster; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petitions against: from Heywood; and Preston; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petitions against: from Basingstoke; and Sydmonton; to lie upon the Table.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.

Petition from Cowdenheath, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS.

Copy presented, of List of all Pensions granted during the year ended 31st March, 1903, and payable under the provisions of Section 9 (1) of the Civil List Act, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 213.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th June, 1903, granting to Henry Upton, Sorter, Post Office, London, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

**FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS
(DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY
INDUSTRIES).**

Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Chester Jones, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, on the Draft Regulations (October, 1902) proposed to be made for Factories and Workshops in which the process of file-cutting by hand is carried on [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

**FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS
(DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY
INDUSTRIES).**

Copy presented, of Regulations, dated 19th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, for the process of file-cutting by hand [by Act]: to lie upon the Table.

**FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS
(SPECIAL EXCEPTION—OVERTIME,
CHRISTMAS CARD MAKING).**

Copy presented, of Order, dated 18th June, 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with regard to the overtime employment of women in the making of Christmas and New Year Cards [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th June—*Mr. Lambert*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 214.]

**DOGS REGULATION (IRELAND) ACT,
1865.**

Account presented, of the Receipts and Expenditure under the Act for the year 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 215.]

FINES, ETC. (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Abstract of Accounts of Fines accounted for by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks for 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 216.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos.

3001 to 3005 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Papers laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.

**CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS
(LONDON).**

Further Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894—*Mr. Francis Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 217.]

**PUBLIC RECORDS (DISPOSAL OF
DOCUMENTS).**

Copy of Additional Rule under the Public Record Office Acts, 1877 and 1898, for the disposal of certain Documents [by Act].

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**

Cliffe Creek Coastguard Vessel.

Mr. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, seeing that the Cliffe Creek watch vessel contains, in addition to seven coastguardsmen, six wives and eleven children, and that it lies about twenty yards from the shore and several miles from any school and from any doctor, he will state whether its presence where it is now, is necessary in the interests of the public service; and whether some method can be devised by which more comfortable conditions for the men's families might be secured.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.) The presence of the coastguard at Cliffe Creek is necessary in the interests of the public service. It has for some time been recognised that the accommodation in the watch vessel is not very suitable for families, and it has therefore been decided to abolish it, and to substitute coastguard buildings on shore. The matter has to be considered with other urgent items, and it is intended to erect the new station when funds are available for the purpose.

**Importation of Argentine Cattle—
Foot-and-mouth Disease.**

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the hon. Member for North

Hunts, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether the landing of cargoes of Argentine animals, at sea when the recent prohibition order was issued, is now complete; how many cargoes have been landed; in how many cases animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease have been detected; and what precautions were taken to prevent the spreading of infection.

(Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.) Thirty-one vessels carrying Argentine cattle, destined for ports in Great Britain, were at sea when the order of the Board of Agriculture prohibiting such importation came into force. All of these have now arrived. Lesions of foot-and-mouth disease in more or less active stages were found in the case of three cargoes, particulars of which are shown in the following schedule:—

Name of Vessel.	Date of Arrival.	Place of Landing.	Animals carried.		Animals certified as diseased.	
			Cattle.	Sheep.	Cattle.	Sheep.
SS. "Heathglen"	7 June	Deptford	300	1388	75	54
SS. "Normandy"	10 June	Birkenhead	112	920	—	73
SS. "Virgil"	29 May	Deptford	260	1041	—	32

All the vessels were boarded at the earliest possible moment by a veterinary inspector, by whom a preliminary examination of the animals was made, a detailed examination being carried out on the arrival of the vessel at the wharf. Healthy cargoes were dealt with in the usual manner, the animals being slaughtered within ten days and without leaving the wharf, the manure, broken fodder, etc., being mixed with quicklime. Diseased cargoes were subjected to special precautions. The animals were placed in a part of the wharf specially reserved for the purpose, and slaughter was proceeded with continuously until finished. Slaughtermen and all employed about the infected cargoes were provided with overall clothing, and each man, on leaving the infected portion of the wharf, was thoroughly fumigated, his boots and implements being washed in a solution of carbolic acid. The hides and skins of the animals were disinfected in a similar manner and removed to the tanyards under supervision. The offals, heads, and feet were either destroyed by fire, or immersed in a strong disinfecting solution. Dung, litter, broken fodder, and the sweepings from the lairs and slaughterhouses were disinfected with carbolic acid, well mixed with quicklime, and afterwards discharged into the sea beyond the three-mile limit. Those portions of the wharf

with which infected cargoes came into contact were thoroughly disinfected with carbolic acid and quicklime. Two of the ships, after discharging their cattle, left for Antwerp and Dunkirk, the authorities there being warned by cable that animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease had been carried. The third vessel, before going into dock, was taken seven miles out to sea, where her temporary fittings were destroyed by fire, the manure thrown overboard, and such portions of the ship as had been in contact with animals thoroughly disinfected under the supervision of one of the Board's inspectors. Everyone on board, before being allowed ashore, was thoroughly fumigated and his boots washed with a carbolic solution.

Wheat Cultivation in India.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he can state the approximate acreage of the land suitable for wheat-growing in the Empire of India; how much of it is under wheat cultivation at the present time; and how much wheat was exported from India in 1846 and in 1902.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) The area under wheat in British India averages about 20,000,000 acres, and in Native States about

2,500,000 acres. It is not possible to say to what extent this area could be increased by substituting wheat for other crops. This would only be practicable in wheat-growing districts, and in them only on lands of the best class where the soil, rainfall, and facilities for irrigation were suitable. Such lands are already occupied by valuable crops. In 1846 there was no export of wheat from India. In 1901-2 10,296,000 cwts. of wheat and 720,000 cwts. of flour were exported.

Licensed Premises in Bombay.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the statement made in the Administration Report of the Bombay Abkari Department for 1901-2, to the effect that the number of shops licensed for the sale of intoxicating drugs in the Presidency of Bombay was considerably reduced during the year under review; and whether, seeing that there has been during the same period an increase of eight such shops in the city of Bombay, he will state the reasons for the provision of such increased facilities in Bombay.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) I am aware of the statement referred to. I presume that the reason of the increase in the number of shops in Bombay city is that they were actually required in order to prevent illicit consumption. The policy of the Bombay Government in this matter is stated in paragraph 53 of the Report.

Seizure of Illicit Plant at Buncrana and Moville.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury the nature of the seizures of illicit plant, materials, etc., as set out in Return dated 31st March, 1903, in the districts of Buncrana and Moville, in the county of Donegal; how many of the seizures therein set out in the respective years consisted of stills, still-heads, how many of worms, how many merely of staves of barrels alleged to have contained illicit wash or spirits, and the amount of rewards paid to the constabulary officers of each district in each year.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) At my hon. friend's request I will reply to this Question. Seizures are not classified in any existing official Return, and to segregate them in the manner suggested would involve an examination of all reports of seizures in Donegal during the past three years. No useful public purpose would be served by such a scrutiny, and I am unable, therefore, to ask the Inspector-General to undertake it. The information desired at the conclusion of the Question has been called for, and will be communicated to the hon. Member.

Importation of Tin Plate Bars.

SIR THOMAS WRIGHTSON (St. Pancras, E.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what is the total weight and value of tin plate bars which have been delivered this year into this country for conversion into steel or iron sheets; from which country are they shipped; and to which ports have they been delivered.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The quantity of tin plate bars imported under that description during the current year to the 16th instant was 8,155 tons, valued at £36,591. Of this quantity 8,033 tons, valued at £36,067, were shipped to this country from ports in Holland, and 122 tons, valued at £524, from ports in Belgium. The ports at which these quantities were imported, and the extent of the importations at each, were—Llanely, 4,508 tons; Newport, 2,356 tons; Swansea, 1,291 tons. There is, however, no separate heading in the Import List for tin plate bars, and a considerable quantity of these goods is believed to be included under such headings as "Steel Bars," and "Steel unwrought or partly wrought."

Commercial Treaties—Most-Favoured-Nation Clause.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether His Majesty's Government have ever accepted the United States contention that concessions granted conditionally and for a consideration cannot be claimed by us under the most-favoured-nation clause; and whether the Government still act on

the view of most-favoured-nation clauses laid down in the despatch of Lord Granville of the 12th February, 1885, on the advice of the Board of Trade.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The answer to the first Question is in the negative; to the second, in the affirmative.

London School Children—Physical and Mental Condition.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the Board of Education will institute an examination into the physical and mental condition of samples of children taken from London schools, similar to that instituted in Edinburgh and Aberdeen by the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland).

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) I have conferred with the President of the Board on the subject of the proposed examination. He and I are both fully sensible of the importance of such an inquiry; but the mode in which it should be conducted, and the extent of the

inquiry, must be matters for consideration. I hope to be able to make a statement on the subject when the Education Estimates come on for discussion.

Scotch Education—Relief of School Fees.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): To ask the Lord Advocate if he will state the amount paid for the relief of school fees for the financial year ending in 1890, and each subsequent year, from each of the following sources: The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, The Local Taxation Act, 1890, and Section 2 (b) of The Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892; and also what sum, if any, stands to the credit of the fund.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) The amounts received from the sources named are paid into one common fund, consequently it is not possible to say how much was spent each year out of each source of supply. The table below shows for each year the amount received under each Act, and the total amount spent per year out of the fund so formed, and the balance at present standing to the credit of the fund.

Year.	Sums received.				Amount expended.
	Local Government Act, 1889.	Local Taxation Act, 1890.	Section ii (b) of The Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892.	Total received.	
	£ s.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1889-90	169,000 0	—	—	169,000 0 0	129,886 15 0
1890-91	247,000 0	40,000	—	287,000 0 0	257,644 19 9
1891-92	318,200 0	40,000	—	358,200 0 0	344,082 17 3
1892-93	53,387 18	40,000	—	93,387 18 0	76,046 2 6
1893-94	—	40,000	18,017 15 7	58,017 15 7	68,394 2 0
1894-95	—	40,000	10,357 2 8	50,357 2 8	65,832 11 6
1895-96	—	40,000	3,667 10 1	43,667 10 1	52,777 19 0
1896-97	—	40,000	—	40,000 0 0	57,308 12 0
1897-98	—	40,000	16,202 0 11	56,202 0 11	69,684 1 5
1898-99	—	40,000	5,379 12 2	45,379 12 2	22,084 19 0
1899-1900	—	40,000	64,036 15 5	104,036 15 5	57,547 4 0
1900-1	—	40,000	45,191 4 1	85,191 4 1	41,269 15 0
1901-2	—	40,000	49,277 18 3	89,277 18 3	68,182 19 0
1902-3	—	Not yet	received	—	80,294 12 0

The balance at present standing to the credit of the fund is £88,680 7s. 9d.

Bristol Post Office Staff.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the revisions of the outdoor and indoor staff at the Post Office, Bristol, are yet completed.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The revision of the outdoor staff at Bristol has been approved, and is being carried out by the postmaster. The revision of indoor staff is not quite completed.

Postal Services Committee—Representation of Employees.

MR. TANKERVILLE CHAMBERLAYNE (Southampton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will consider the advisability of allowing the postal employees and the postal telegraph employees each to nominate one member of the Committee he proposes to appoint for the consideration of their requirements and grievances.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I have already considered this suggestion, but for the reasons stated by me in the House I am not prepared to adopt it.

Waima Arbitration—Payments of Compensation.

MR. BILL (Staffordshire, Leek): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the compensation money awarded by the arbitrator in the Waima case has been received from the French Government.

(Answered by Lord Cranborne.) The money has been received from the French Government and is now in course of distribution to the various claimants.

Conduct of Police at Raphoe.

MR. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what was the nature of the investigation held by the authorities into the complaints made by P. F. M'Glinehay, Raphoe, County Donegal, with reference to the conduct of certain policemen stationed at Raphoe; and by whom was the investigation held.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The complaints were investigated by the

county inspector, and the report of his investigation was carefully considered by the inspector-general and by Government.

Motor-Car Service between Westport and Louisburgh.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a memorial from the inhabitants of the Louisburgh, County Mayo, district asking that a motor-car service may be established between Westport and Louisburgh; and, if so, whether, considering that there is no railway communication between Westport and Louisburgh, he will use, in the interests of the district, his influence to have such a service established.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The memorial has been received, and will receive due consideration.

Damage by Storms to Teachers' Residences in Ireland.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state what Board is bound to repair injuries caused by storms to national teachers' residences in Ireland.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) Residences for teachers which are vested in the Commissioners are kept in repair by the Board of Works. Other residences, even though connected with vested schools, are not kept in repair by the Board of Works. This must be done by the local parties interested in the residences. The teachers are not bound to carry out repairs rendered necessary by storms.

Land Commission Sitings at Cavan.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Land Commissioners have not sat in Cavan for many years, although there are a number of cases pending, some of them over three years; and will he take steps to remedy this state of things.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The Commissioners sat in Cavan to hear appeals

in June, 1902. A further sitting will be arranged at as early a date as possible.

Dingle Harbour Pier.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has yet acceded to the request of the Dingle Harbour Commissioners for a grant for the extension of their pier.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No, Sir.

Irish National Schools—Delay in Passing of Plans.

MR. M'FADDEN (Donegal, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the cause of the delay on the part of the Treasury in approving of the new plans for national schools in Ireland; and whether, seeing that numerous complaints have been lodged with the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland as to the inconvenience caused to managers purposing to erect schools, steps will be taken to expedite the approval of the plans by the Treasury, and the lodgment of them with the Commissioners.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I would refer to my reply to the similar Question of 1st April † by the hon. Member for South Down, and to the reply given by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury on the 21st May ‡ to the Question of the hon. Member for South Monaghan.

Irish Ancient Monuments—Greenan Hill.

MR. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what has been the result of the correspondence between the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland and the proprietor of Greenan Hill with reference to the vesting of this ancient monument in the Commissioners.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The owner of the monument has not yet decided to vest the guardianship in the Commissioners.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxx., 781.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxii., 1352.

Irish Loan Fund Debentures.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the far reaching effect upon the security of loan fund debentures in Ireland by reason of its having been recently decided that all remedy on loan fund notes, which were then current and unpaid and rendered valid by The Charitable Loans Society Act, 1900, are barred by the six months limitation imposed by The Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act, 1851, Section 10, Sub-section 4; and whether it is his intention to introduce a Bill this session to remedy this omission in the Charitable Loans Society Act of 1900.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) An amending Bill with the object stated in the Question has been drafted, and I should be prepared to introduce it upon receiving an assurance from hon. Members that it will be treated as a non-contentious measure.

Repair of Roads leading to Camp at Shankill, Co. Wicklow.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is aware that, according to the estimate of the county surveyor of Wicklow, the cost of maintaining the roads from Ballyfolan leading to the military camp at Shankill will be £88 16s. per year as compared with £7 8s., the annual cost of maintaining the roads previous to the establishment of the camp; and whether, seeing the amount received by the local council in lieu of rates upon War Department property for the last four years was—in 1900, £9 16s. 8d., in 1901, £17 4s. 2d., in 1902, £11 14s. 3d., and in 1903, £9 8s. 7d.; and that under The Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, Section 27 (2), the expenditure on these roads is limited to sixpence per perch, being the former average cost thereof, the War Department will increase their contribution to meet the increased expenditure for the maintenance of the roads leading to the military camp.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) Payments in lieu of rates are made by the Treasury, to which Department the hon. Member should address any communications he may wish to make.

Wheat Cultivation in Canada, Australia and South Africa.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can give an approximate estimate of the acreage of the land suitable to wheat growing in the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the States of South Africa, and the average yield of bushels per acre.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.)

It is impossible to give any such estimate as the hon. Member asks for. From the statistical year book of Canada for 1902, it appears that the total acreage actually under wheat in that year was 3,740,007 acres, and the yield 93,569,450 bushels, or twenty-five bushels per acre. From the table printed on page 244 of the Return [Cd. 1616], recently issued by the Board of Agriculture it will be seen that the area under wheat in Australia in 1902 was 5,113,328 acres, the yield 4,817,372 quarters, or 7.54 bushels per acre. For South Africa there are no reliable figures available.

Tristan da Cunha—Removal of Inhabitants.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, considering the conditions which at present obtain in the Island of Tristan da Cunha, he will consider the advisability of removing the inhabitants of the island and their stock to South Africa; and, if so, whether he will ask for a special grant from the Treasury for that purpose.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.)

The matter is under consideration, and I am not yet in a position to make any statement on the subject.

Average Cost of Prisoners.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state the average cost per week per prisoner undergoing a sentence of imprisonment or penal servitude, for food, clothing, heating, medical attendance, supervision, instruction, housing, and other expenses of maintenance.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.)

This information can be found in

Appendix 12D, page 119, of the last Report of the Commissioners of Prisons. The total cost per week for 1901-2, as given in those Tables, is—Gross (exclusive of cost of new buildings), 11s. 4½d. in Local Prisons—i.e., for prisoners sentenced to imprisonment; 18s. 1½d. in Convict Prisons—i.e., for prisoners sentenced to penal servitude. Net, after deducting value of prisoner's labour, 2s. 7½d., and incidental receipts (sale of old stores), ¾d., 8s. 8½d. in Local Prisons. Net, after deducting value of prisoner's labour, 7s. 2½d., and incidental receipts (sale of old stores), 1½d., 10s. 9½d. in Convict Prisons.

Encroachment of Sea on East Coast.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the attention of the hydrographer of the Admiralty is directed to the erosion of different parts of the East Coast of England, more particularly that of Holderness; and whether there are any reports in the Hydrographer's Department of the extent of formerly occupied land between Flamborough Head and Spurn Point, which has now disappeared into the North Sea.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.) The duties of the hydrographer do not include that of watching the erosion of the coast. Any changes in a coast which are of sufficient extent to be shown on the various Admiralty surveys made at different times can be ascertained from those surveys when they are made on a sufficiently large scale, but in the case of the coast mentioned there is no information that will be of use to the hon. Member. It is suggested that such information could more readily be obtained from Estate and Ordnance surveys.

Portsmouth Dockyard—Dismissal of Employees.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in view of the fact that a number of employees in His Majesty's Dockyard at Portsmouth have been dismissed; and in view of his answer to a Question on 22nd April, 1902,† it may be assumed that such dismissals will not be extensive and continuous.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxi., 109.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.)
Owing to causes which were unforeseen at the time of the previous reply referred to, a slight reduction in the numbers at Portsmouth Dockyard has become necessary. The dismissals are being confined to the less efficient workmen, and are not expected to be extensive or continuous.

Cost of Importation of Indian Coolies into British Guiana.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what proportion of the charges for importing Indian coolies, their repatriation, their medical service, the Immigration Department in the colony and in Calcutta, and pensions accruing to officers of the Immigration Department and medical service is now borne by the Government of British Guiana or by the taxpayers of the colony, and what is the estimated total amount of such charges for the financial year 1902-3; and have the laws, orders, and regulations now existent in British Guiana and statistical information with reference to coolie immigration been communicated in accordance with Article 7 of the Sugar Convention to the Belgian Government to be forwarded to the Permanent Commission, in order that the Commission may pronounce as to the existence in this Crown Colony of a direct or indirect bounty on the production or exportation of sugar; if so, have the Commission yet pronounced whether the system pursued amounts to the granting of a direct or indirect bounty.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.)
Under a new arrangement recently adopted, and which was not in force in 1902-3, the sources of the expense or liability incurred in respect of coolie immigration in British Guiana are the following:—1. The expenditure on recruiters in India, paid by fees and recovered in full from the employers. 2. The cost of supervision of the Department in India by a colonial officer, salary paid by the Government of British Guiana and not recovered from the employers of labour. The Colonial Government conceives it to be necessary to secure the complete independence of this important officer by

making him an officer of its permanent establishment, and paying him from its own funds. 3. Medical inspection of immigrants charged to employers of labour in full. 4. Supervising Department of the Government of India, salaries paid by the Government of India and recouped by fees charged on the embarkation of immigrants. These fees are paid by the employers of labour. 5. Cost of transporting immigrants by sea to British Guiana, and medical supervision on the voyage. Paid by employers of labour. 6. Cost of repatriation, the same, except where a portion is paid by the labourers themselves. 7. Cost of supervision of immigrants (by Immigration Department) to secure that the law enacted for their protection is fully carried out, and the terms of their agreement fulfilled. Borne by the Colonial Revenue and not recovered from the employers of labour. The Government assumes this charge for the following reasons. It feels that it is the duty of Government to secure the due fulfilment of the law at its own cost. It considers that the independence of the supervising Department is better secured if the charge falls on the general revenue than if it falls, even ultimately and remotely, on the party of whose action it is to be the judge. It is aware that, as already indicated, no small portion of the Department's duties is concerned with persons who, though of Asiatic extraction, are not immigrants under indenture, and frequently not immigrants at all (the indentured are to the free as 15,000 to 115,000, of whom a large percentage is native born). An addition to the number of its inhabitants is necessary to the progress and prosperity of the colony, which had within an area of 90,000 square miles a population of not more than 300,000 persons. Its aboriginal population is slowly dwindling, its creole negro population is not increasing, the Asiatic immigrants constitute the only class which shows signs of naturally increasing its numbers, and is able to develop the agricultural wealth of the country. In these circumstances the Government considers that the maintenance at its own cost of a Department which safeguards by its supervision and direction the interests of the immigrants on their first arrival, and enables them to establish themselves

as healthy and successful colonists is a fair charge on the general revenue of the State. 8. Gratuitous medical aid by Government medical officers to the indentured immigrant. The Medical Department of the Government being for the benefit of all inhabitants, a charge is ordinarily made for the services of Government medical officers to persons who can afford to pay, but their services are rendered free to paupers and those unable to pay, and it is felt may on like terms be rendered to the indentured immigrants. It must be remembered that special charges, such as estate hospitals and their maintenance, are provided by the employers. The maintenance in health during the period of acclimatisation of the immigrant population is likewise an important aid to colonisation. The total estimated charges on account of the Immigration Department and of the Colonial Medical Service amount approximately to \$106,000 for the current year 1903-4, excluding pension charges which are not provided for separately but are in any case considerable. It will be seen from the above that no question of a bounty can possibly arise in connection with coolie immigration into British Guiana, and there has accordingly been no occasion to communicate the laws and regulations on the subject to the Brussels Commission.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Somaliland.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is in contemplation to build a railroad from the Somaliland coast to Bohotle; whether, if so, he can state how long it will take to build this railroad, and what will be the approximate cost; whether His Majesty's Government is at present in telegraphic communication with General Manning; and, if not, how long it takes to communicate with him from this country; and whether he can say what was the precise period for which the force from the Transvaal engaged to serve in Somaliland.

The following Questions also appeared on the Paper.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the most recent Military intelligence received by the Government with respect to the military situation in Somaliland; has Colonel Cobbe retired from Galadi successfully and reached Bohotle; and has he any official information to the effect that the Mullah is raiding the communications between Bohotle and Burao.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the date of his last communication from General Manning; what is the position and composition of his force; and whether uninterrupted communication exists between General Manning and the War Office.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The latest telegram received, which has been communicated to the Press, is from Colonel Swann forwarding a communication from General Manning, dated 15th June, to the effect that his force and that of Colonel Cobbe were to leave Badwein on the 18th, and expected to reach Damot on the 21st. I do not think it desirable to give the exact composition or strength of the force at various points. Communication between Badwein and Damot is maintained by runners, and from that point by telegraph. No official intimation has been received that the Mullah is raiding the line of communication between Bohotle and Burao. As regards a light railway I have nothing further to add to what I said on Thursday last.† The Burgher contingent was engaged for six months and served accordingly.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): Are the Government sending any reinforcements out?

MR. BRODRICK: The reinforcements I mentioned on Thursday ‡ are already on their way to Berbera. In addition to the

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxiii., 1305.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxiii., 1304.

600 men from Aden there are one battalion of native troops from India and 500 mounted troops also on the way.

Army Canteens.

MR. BULL (Hammersmith): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether it is proposed in the forthcoming Army Regulations to recommend canteens to deal with the Co-operative Union Stores.

MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir. No recommendation is given. The Committee made representations strongly in the direction of Co-operative Union for Army Canteens. I could not accept their proposal, but have left it to the general officers commanding in concert with the commanders of different units under them to decide what system—tenant or regimental—is best for the soldier, and permit them to buy in the open market or register themselves as a Co-operative Society, as they think best.

MR. BULL: Then is there no truth in the statement which has been published?

MR. BRODRICK: None whatever.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman take care that the local traders in the neighbourhood of the Curragh are not boycotted?

MR. BRODRICK: The War Office has no control over the matter.

Woolwich Arsenal Disaster.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state whether the wives and families of the men killed and injured in the recent explosion at Woolwich Arsenal are entitled to any benefits from public funds; and, if not, whether, seeing that these men received no extra or special pay on account of the nature of their occupation and were moreover working for less than the current rate of wages in the locality for unskilled labour, he will consider the advisability of granting special pensions to their wives and families while providing immediate succour for them.

MR. BRODRICK: Under the scheme of compensation drawn up in accordance

with the Workmen's Compensation Act, the wives and families of the men killed are entitled to gratuities equal to three years' earnings, with a minimum of £150 and a maximum of £300. This gratuity may, under certain conditions be converted into a pension of not less than £10 per annum. Injured men are entitled to injury pay equal to half their average earnings. The rate of wages is under consideration in connection with the rates paid in similar undertakings.

CAPTAIN NORTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman take care that in this case pensions and not bulk sums are given?

MR. BRODRICK: I will give my best attention to the matter.

H.M.S. "Majestic."

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he has any official report to the effect that the Vice-Admiral commanding the Channel Fleet ordered beer to be served out to the men on duty in the engine room of H.M.S. "Majestic" during the late quarterly trial.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): No unusual rewards whatever were given on the occasion referred to, and there is no foundation for the statements that have appeared in the Press to this effect.

Northern Nigeria—Military Operations.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the extent of the check to the British Forces in North Nigeria, and what is the latest military report from that district of West Africa, especially with regard to isolated British posts, have they been reinforced, and to what extent.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The situation is as follows: After the occupation of Sokoto in March, the ex-Sultan fled in an easterly and south-easterly direction across Northern Nigeria, and at the

date of the latest reports (the middle of May) was in a district more than 400 miles from Sokoto, and some 200 miles from Kano in a direct line, where there are no British posts. He had been joined by many of the inhabitants of the towns in this remote district. He was pursued by a small force of the West African Frontier Force, under Captain Sword, who reported (on the 16th of May) that he had attacked the ex-Sultan's forces in a walled town called Durmi. The attack was unsuccessful, Captain Sword being without artillery. The casualties on his side were: Captain Plummer slightly wounded, one British non-commissioned officer severely wounded, four native soldiers killed, and sixty slightly wounded. The enemy's loss was estimated at 300 killed and wounded. Captain Sword's force consisted of only 130 rank and file, and he stated that he was retiring to Bautshi (the nearest British post) without opposition. Reinforcements from other parts of Northern Nigeria are being sent to Bautshi, where 500 men with artillery will shortly be concentrated. There is no disquieting news from other parts of the Protectorate, and the acting High Commissioner considers that the precautions taken are sufficient. In order, however, to provide for any possible emergency, contingents of the West African Frontier Force are being held in readiness in the neighbouring West African Colonies, who will proceed at once to Northern Nigeria on the demand of the acting High Commissioner.

Lord Tennyson's Term of Office.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Lord Tennyson's term of office in Australia is to be extended; and, if so, for what period.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; there is no truth in the telegram which has appeared in the newspapers on this subject; and Lord Tennyson informs me that he must adhere to the arrangement already made, and will leave at the beginning of December.

Transvaal Dynamite Duty.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether,

under the new laws of the Transvaal, dynamite manufactured by the De Beers Company in Cape Colony can be sent free of duty into the Transvaal; and whether British dynamite manufacturers have to pay a duty of £14 per ton on dynamite sent to the Transvaal.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The position at the present moment, and subject to the ratification of the Customs Convention by the Cape Parliament, is, so far as my information goes, as stated; but I have already explained that the question of equalising the duties on De Beers and British dynamite is under consideration.†

MR. MARKHAM: I take that to be an answer in the affirmative. Will the right hon. Gentleman say if it is not an infringement of the London Convention on which he has so much insisted in the past.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not admit that. If the hon. Member wishes further information he must put down a Question.

Transvaal Diamond Ordinance.

MR. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that the new Diamond Ordinance introduced into the Transvaal Council last week, and which has already passed through Committee stage, provides that any person accused by a detective of being in the possession of a diamond without a licence is presumed in law to be guilty, the punishment being penal servitude for twenty years, and whether, seeing that this special legislation is opposed to the principles of the ordinary criminal law, he will at once inform Lord Milner that His Majesty's Government cannot sanction legislation of this character.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The Draft Ordinance referred to follows the Cape Act of 1882. I have not yet received Lord Milner's report on this Ordinance, and, in the meantime, I do not consider it desirable to express any opinion as to its provisions.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxiii., 943.

Colonial Conference.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the statement in the Report of the Colonial Conference that some of the members had objected to a full publication of the proceedings, whether he will endeavour to obtain the consent of these members to such publication in order that the House may be informed as to the reasons on which the reported resolutions of the Conference were based.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The matter was fully considered at the time, and I am not aware of any circumstances which have arisen likely to induce the members who objected to publication to modify their views.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Is it not the fact that the proceedings have been published by one of the colonies?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

Diamond Finds in the Transvaal.

MR. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, during his visit to South Africa, he was informed that a valuable diamond mine had been discovered in the Transvaal; whether, seeing that Sir Arthur Lawley stated on 20th May, at the Legislative Council, that the Transvaal possessed a diamond field which bids fair to rival in richness, if not excel, any field hitherto discovered, he will say if, under the new Diamond Ordinance promulgated last Monday, half of this mine will be given to a monopolist diamond syndicate, the prospectors and owners of the surface land; and if the Governor has the power to let out the remaining half of the mine to the same syndicate on tribute; and why the general public has been excluded, in view of the fact that under the old law the right of mining for all gold and precious stones belongs to the Government.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am aware that valuable finds of diamonds have been made in the Transvaal. I have not yet received the text of the Bill and

I am therefore not at present prepared to make any statement on the subject.

British Treaty Rights with Foreign Countries.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will state the names of those foreign countries which allow England most-favoured-nation treatment and of those which do not, and the foreign countries which allow British colonies most-favoured nation treatment and those which do not.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord Cranborne, Rochester): I assume that the Question refers to Treaty rights. A Paper is about to be presented giving this information.

Servia—Attitude of the British Government.

MR. MALCOLM (Suffolk, Stowmarket): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Sir George Bonham, late British Minister at Belgrade, remains at the Servian capital in a representative or a private capacity; whether the British Legation and Consulates in Servia retain their extra-territorial privileges; and to whom for the time being the protection of British subjects resident in Servia is entrusted.

LORD CRANBORNE: The formal official functions of Sir George Bonham, as His Majesty's Representative at the Servian Court are suspended. He remains for the present at Belgrade as the unofficial Agent of His Majesty's Government. It has been usual to recognise the right of a Legation to retain the customary extra-territorial and diplomatic privileges in spite of a temporary suspension of the Minister's official functions. British Consular officers in Servia do not enjoy extra-territorial privileges, but in accordance with usage the only British Consular Officer in the country will continue to exercise his Consular functions. The protection of British subjects continues to be entrusted to His Majesty's Legation which is authorised to make such unofficial communications to the *de facto* authorities as may be necessary for that purpose.

MR. MALCOLM: May I ask whether there is at the present time a Servian Minister accredited to the Court of St. James in London?

LORD CRANBORNE: No, Sir. His functions lapsed with the death of King Alexander, just as Sir G. Bonham's lapsed at the same time.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can undertake that before diplomatic relations are formally renewed with Servia His Majesty's Government will convey to the Servian Government an expression of the feeling of this country at the recent murders, and a demand that those guilty should be brought to justice.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): It would evidently be impossible to make any remonstrance or representation to the Servian Government until diplomatic relations are renewed. There appears to be a fundamental contradiction inherent in the suggestion of the hon. Member. As was stated by the Foreign Secretary, I may remind him that Sir G. Bonham will not be at Belgrade at the time when the new Government is inaugurated.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether His Majesty's Government is in agreement with the attitude of Russia in this matter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think anything is gained by putting or answering such a question. We have taken up our own line in the matter.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can say whether His Majesty's Government have intimated in any way that they consider that the people guilty of these murders should be punished?

***MR. SPEAKER:** That is the precise Question on the Paper which has been answered.

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: A very proper question!

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): Will His Majesty's Consul be at Belgrade in order to protect British subjects if any occasion should arise?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Vice-Consul will be there.

British Treaties of Commerce and Navigation.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay upon the Table a Return of most-favoured-nation clauses in existing treaties of commerce and navigation between Great Britain and foreign powers, stating the period when terminable and showing whether they apply to the British colonies, in force on the 1st day of May, 1903. Further, may I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will grant a Return showing the nations which, although not bound by treaty, as a matter of courtesy give us most-favoured-nation treatment?

LORD CRANBORNE: The answer to the Question on the Paper is in the affirmative. As to the supplementary Question I am discussing that point with my advisers. Such a Return would take a good deal longer to prepare.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Perhaps the noble Lord will let me put down the first Return and deal with the supplementary matter in another Return.

LORD CRANBORNE: Yes, put the first Return down and I will see to the other.

Brussels Sugar Commission.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has the Permanent Sugar Commission at Brussels pronounced that the Austro-Hungarian contingent system, whereby a certain quantity of sugar manufacture for the home market of those countries is fixed and a fixed proportion thereof allotted to each manufacturer therein,

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constitutes an indirect bounty on the production or export of sugar; if so, is this pronouncement final and binding on the signatory States, or will it, since Austria and Hungary are separate contracting parties to the Brussels Sugar Convention, require to be submitted to a conference of the signatory Powers for the decision of that conference under Article VII. of that Convention; and have His Majesty's Government any information that Hungary contemplates seceding from the Convention in order to retain her contingent system, or that Austria contemplates similar or other action in this respect.

LORD CRANBORNE: I am unable to give my hon. friend any information in reply to his first Question. The second Question, therefore, must be treated as hypothetical and cannot be answered. The answer to the last Question is in the negative.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is the noble Lord aware that the answer to the first part of my Question appears in all the journals here based on information derived from the Permanent Commission?

LORD CRANBORNE: It is no part of my official duty to inquire as to that.

Commercial Treaty with Germany.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the promised Papers relating to the denunciation of the Commercial Treaty with Germany will be circulated?

LORD CRANBORNE: The Papers are now being prepared and will be presented as soon as possible.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: How soon?

LORD CRANBORNE: In the course of a very few days I hope.

The English Benedictines.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the property of any English subjects has lately been

seized at Douai by the French Government; and if our Ambassador at Paris has directions to protect the property of all English subjects expelled from France for non-compliance with the new religious laws.

LORD CRANBORNE: So far as I am aware, no personal property belonging to individual British subjects has been seized at Douai. Questions have arisen with regard to the corporate property of the English Benedictines established there, but His Majesty's Government are advised that the corporate property of a community which has voluntarily settled in France, is subject to French law, and that His Majesty's Government have no *locus standi* to intervene on its behalf. His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris is fully cognisant of the circumstances of the case, and has done what was possible to obtain considerate treatment for the English Benedictines.

British Interests at Cape Juby.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean):** I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the facts that a British company, formerly carrying on trade at Cape Juby, was constantly warned by His Majesty's Government that the territory formed portion of Morocco, that the factory of a company formed by Lee Brothers of Manchester was ultimately sold, and is now occupied by troops of the Sultan of Morocco, and that a subsequent British private expedition to the same district was treated as unlawful; and, if so, will he say whether he has any official information showing that a private French armed expedition, supported by private ships, has occupied the district of Cape Juby; and, further, which of the Powers have recognised the title to the district of the Sultan; and what steps His Majesty's Government propose to take to settle the boundaries of Morocco.

LORD CRANBORNE: His Majesty's Government addressed no warning of the kind mentioned to the North-West African Company to which the right hon. Baronet refers. But at the time of the occupation by them of Cape Juby, we declined to promise them material

support against the tribes. The company evacuated their station in 1895 upon the following conditions amongst others: that the Moorish Government should pay them £50,000, and that His Majesty's Government should recognise the Sultan's jurisdiction over the territory in question as far as Cape Bojador. I am not aware of any subsequent British expedition to the same district, nor have I any information as to the alleged French expedition, nor as to what Powers have recognised the Sultan's jurisdiction over the coast in question. The present is not a favourable moment for taking action in the direction suggested in the last Question.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Are any inquiries being made, say from Spain?

LORD CRANBORNE: I cannot say straight off, but if the right hon. Baronet wishes to know, I will inquire.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I will put down a further Question.

Customs Duties.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state on what items the increase of £2,207,000 on Customs duties, shown in his Budget statement, arises; and the increase applicable to each.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): This is a Question which might very properly be unstarred, because there is a vast amount of figures involved, and it does not seem reasonable to ask me to read them out. If the hon. Member will consent, I will supply him with a copy.

MR. BLACK: To-day?

*MR. RITCHIE: Yes, at once.

Statistical Abstract.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): On behalf of the hon. Member for South-West Manchester I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Statistical Abstract for 1902 is out of print; and whether it is intended to reprint it; and,

if so, how soon it will be in the hands of Members.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. ELLIOT, Durham): Owing to an unusual demand for the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom (published in 1902), the Paper is now out of print. I am informed that a reprint has been ordered, and that a further supply, available on application by Members who have not already received copies, will be printed and ready for issue not later than Thursday next.

Alien Immigration.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if his attention has been called to the fact that in the month of May, 8,171 alien immigrants, inclusive of 1,308 sailors, arrived as deck or third class passengers in the United Kingdom, not *en route* to places out of the United Kingdom, and that of these, 3,350 arrived at the Port of London; and whether, having regard to the presentment of the grand jury and the Chairman of the London Sessions, that the calendar for the present month shows that 20 per cent. of the prisoners are alien criminals, and of the fact that on a certain day no English was heard in the sessions court, he will take steps to expedite legislation on the subject.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): The figures given in the Question are not quite correctly stated. I have nothing to add, as regards legislation, to the reply given by me to the hon. Member on the 15th instant.†

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: In what respect are the figures not accurate? They are founded on the Returns of the Board of Trade.

MR. BONAR LAW: They are approximately correct but not quite accurate.

Average Duties on British Exports.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state the average duties

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxiii, 948.

calculated on an *ad valorem* basis levied in the different foreign countries and in our colonies on the larger classes of British exports; and, if the information is not at his disposal, whether he will obtain it.

MR. BONAR LAW: The information asked for is not at present available, and its preparation presents great difficulties owing to the different classifications adopted in the tariffs of different countries. The matter, however, is being looked into.

Canadian and American Mails.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the use of Galway Bay by Allan Line and other ocean steamers, and by large war vessels, and to the position offered by this harbour for an expeditious mail service between this country and America; and whether, in future contracts for the carrying of mails between Great Britain and Ireland and Canada and the United States of America, he will favourably consider the representations made to him for the selection of Galway Harbour for these mail services.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): Due consideration will be given to the question of making Galway the terminal port for the Atlantic Mail services when any new contract is about to be concluded. But at present I see no prospect of a change in the existing arrangements for the American mails. The mail service to and from Canada is under a contract made by the Dominion Government.

Treatment of Lunatics—Case of C. J. Smart.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the death of Charles Joseph Smart in the Middlesex County Asylum; and, if so, will he state whether this man was just before his death placed in a strait-jacket without the doctor's orders, and whether inquiries will be made into the whole matter.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): My attention has been drawn to this case and I am in communication with the guardians of the Brentford Union on the subject. It appears that the man was removed to the workhouse on the 27th of last month as an alleged lunatic, and that on the 30th he was taken to the asylum, where he died on the following day. The medical officer of the workhouse states that on arrival at the workhouse the man was extremely violent, and the assistant medical officer deemed it advisable to order that a restraint jacket should be used. The medical officer saw the patient early next day and kept him under constant observation until his removal to the asylum. It was by the express direction of the medical officer that the patient was removed in the restraint jacket. I understand that the case will come before the guardians at their next meeting. Meanwhile I have applied to the coroner for a copy of the depositions taken at the inquest, and on the receipt of this I will consider whether it is necessary for me to take any further action in the matter.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Do I understand that this man was put into a strait-waistcoat by the express order of the medical officer?

MR. WALTER LONG: Yes.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: That was contradicted at the inquest.

MR. WALTER LONG: I propose to ask for a copy of the evidence as I have already stated.

Traction Traffic in the Metropolis.

MR. HORNER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the inconvenience caused to traffic and the injury done to the wood pavements by trains of heavily-loaded wagons drawn by traction engines through the streets of the Metropolis; and, if so, whether he will initiate legislation upon the subject.

MR. WALTER LONG: I am aware that complaints have been made in connection with the use of traction engines in the streets of London. The County Council are empowered by Section 6 of the Locomotives Act, 1898, to make by-laws dealing with this matter, and I understand that they are preparing some by-laws on the subject.

Victoria and Albert Museum.

***SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan):** I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether any change has been made in the plans for the Victoria and Albert Museum which will increase the accommodation for the teaching of art to the prejudice of the arrangements for the purposes of the exhibition of the collections.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): A change was made in 1900 in the original plans for the Victoria and Albert Museum. The result of this change would be to increase the accommodation for the Royal College of Art, and might be regarded as prejudicial to the exhibition of the collections. I am in communication with the Office of Works on the subject.

Sanitation in the West Fife Coalfield.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, Burghs): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether the lack of sufficient provision for sanitation in the West Fife coalfield, coupled with the stream pollution there, has attracted the attention of the Scottish Office; whether the Secretary for Scotland is satisfied that the Scottish Local Government Board exercises adequate supervision in such cases over the action of the local authorities, or whether he proposes to render the Edinburgh Board effective to deal with the lack of sanitation in such growing districts.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgeton): The question of the pollution of the streams in the West of Fife has been under consideration by the Local Government Board. An inquiry has been ordered and will be undertaken at the earliest possible time. In reply to

the second Question the answer is in the affirmative, having regard to the extent of the powers conferred upon that Board by statute. Any additional powers can only be given by legislation, and the Secretary for Scotland cannot at present undertake any obligation in regard to it.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: Perhaps the Solicitor-General will inquire as to the powers exercised by the English Local Government Board in this direction.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: Yes, I will make that inquiry.

Irish Education Grants.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his sanction has been given to the notice issued by the Commissioners of National Education to managers neutralising the effect of Rule 82 (b) dealing with grants in aid of local contributions to existing vested schools, whether vested in the Commissioners or in trustees, for adding to or enlarging them, for enclosing sites, for other desirable or necessary structural changes or improvements, or for repairs rendered necessary by storms; and, if not, will the Commissioners be asked to carry out this rule as printed in their authorised edition, by aiding in repairing all schools injured by the late storm.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): No, Sir. Such notices or circulars are issued by the Commissioners and do not require the approval of the Executive. In the present case, I understand that it became necessary to point out to school managers that some misconception had arisen with respect to the application of the rule referred to. The Commissioners explained that they cannot make grants in aid of ordinary repairs to schools vested in trustees, even though the need for such may be attributable directly or indirectly to storms. The rule was only intended to provide for repairs of a pressing nature and where it is essential to prevent the school-house being closed altogether owing to serious and exceptional damage done to the structure by storms.

Birr and Portumna Line.

MR. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the amount expended on the Birr and Portumna line of railway; also whose property it is at present; whether he is aware that a portion of the line has been stolen or taken away; that this stealing of the line is continued up to the present; and, if so, whether he will give instructions to prevent this.

MR. WYNDHAM: The cost of construction of this line was about £80,000. The Great Southern and Western Company worked the line for ten years, and when their lease expired in 1878 they surrendered the line, which then fell into the hands of the Public Works Loans Commissioners as first mortgagees. The rails, etc., were carried away by irresponsible persons.

MR. ROCHE: I saw the material being carted away. Cannot the looting be stopped?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am told there is nothing left worth stealing.

Roscommon Rate Collections.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Local Government Board of Ireland has refused the request of the Roscommon County Council to sanction the payment of their poundage fees to certain rate collectors who had exceeded the prescribed period for making lodgments, but who had completed their collections; and whether, in view of the further representations of the County Council as to the difficulty of collection, the congestion of the districts, and the poverty of many of the ratepayers, he will advise the Local Government Board to reconsider its decision.

MR. WYNDHAM: The reply to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the negligence of these collectors to complete their collections within the prescribed period. The Board is unable to allow these men to receive the same consideration as has been shown to the larger number of collectors who completed their work promptly and well.

Lismore Garrotting Case.

*MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what steps have been taken by the police to secure the arrest of the persons implicated in the recent case of garrotting near Lismore.

MR. WYNDHAM: One of the two persons implicated is in custody, on remand. The police are making every effort to capture the second.

*MR. O'SHEE: Will the right hon. Gentleman direct some of the extra police in Tallow, the nearest police station, to be detailed for the duty of capturing this garrotter, as no crime exists in Tallow?

Tallow Meeting Prohibited.

*MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state on what grounds and by whose directions the public meeting called for the town of Tallow on the 7th instant was prohibited without proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant, and then permitted to take place less than half-a-mile from the place where a field had been hired and a platform erected; how many police were drafted into Tallow and Lismore on the occasion; what was the object of drafting them into Lismore, which is four miles from Tallow, and holding them in the Lismore courthouse under arms during the day; what is the cost of the extra police and what proportion, if any, of this cost will be borne by the county rates.

MR. WYNDHAM: A meeting was held without interference at a place one and a half miles distant from Tallow. A police force consisting of four officers and 133 men was drafted in and so disposed at Tallow, with a reserve at Lismore, as to give any protection that might have been needed to Mr. O'Keefe and any others concerned in recent litigation. The cost of the force amounts to about £70, of which £11 16s. will be charged to local rates.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the meeting was advertised some weeks previously, and yet neither the Committee

nor the Members of Parliament announced to speak were warned that it would be prohibited.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not aware that it was advertised.

*MR. O'SHEE: It was announced some weeks beforehand.

Tullamore Gaol.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the floors of nearly all the cells in His Majesty's Prison at Tullamore are flagged with a kind of stone known as sweating stone, he will advise the General Prisons Board to have boarded flooring put in cells which have no fires, in the interest of the health of the prisoners.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am advised that the stone flags are very dry in all seasons, and that they are in no way detrimental to health. Fires are not placed in prison cells which are heated otherwise.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: Well, I am in a position to say that the right hon. Gentlemen's information is not correct.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am told the cells are paved with red sandstone flags which do not sweat.

MR. ROCHE: From personal experience I can corroborate the statement of the hon. Member for South Mayo.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): So can I, and I have had very considerable experience.

*MR. SPEAKER: The question cannot be argued now.

MR. DELANY (Queen's Co., Ossory): Has the right hon. Gentleman ever been an inmate of Tullamore Gaol?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Irish Evicted Tenants.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

whether tenants who gave up their holdings because they were unable to pay their rents and have since offered reduced rents will be regarded as evicted tenants in the Land Bill.

MR. WYNDHAM: The words "evicted tenants" are not used in the Bill. The class of persons referred to is covered by the provisions of Clause 2 (1) (d).

Smerwick Harbour.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the applications made to the Congested Districts Board by the fishermen of Smerwick Harbour for the erection of a pier and of the number of families in the district who depend solely on the fishing industry, he will urge the Board to take immediate steps for the construction of this pier.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board, three years ago, offered to contribute towards the cost of extending the existing slip. No action has since been taken by the County or Rural District Council.

Limerick and Cork Mail Trains.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the London and North-Western Railway Company's express boat, at present leaving Dublin at 10.15 a.m., is to be changed on 1st July to 11 a.m., thus enabling passengers from the north and west of Ireland to avail themselves of the accelerated service; and, if so, will the attention of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company of Ireland be called to the fact with the view of having an early train from Limerick and Cork run in the same connection.

MR. WYNDHAM: The proposed alteration has been notified in the public Press. Further publicity will attach to the hon. Member's Question, and the matter can scarcely escape the attention of the chairman and directors of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company.

Mortgages on Irish Land.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what, approximately, is the amount of money charged by way of mortgage on Irish landed estates.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not in a position to give this information. There is no material officially available from which to ascertain it, but it is a matter of common knowledge that many properties are very heavily mortgaged.

Vandeleur Estate.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the settlement created by the late Lord Russell on the Vandeleur estate, in County Clare, is still in force between landlord and tenant; and whether these tenants will be at liberty to avail themselves of the Land Bill should it become law this year.

MR. WYNDHAM: The award recited that the evicted tenants had been re-instated in their holdings as tenants, that some of them had had, and others had not had, judicial rents fixed, and that the landlord had agreed to accept arrears of rent at a certain rate in the case of "judicial tenants," and at a different rate from non-judicial tenants. I cannot say whether the landlord re-instated the evicted judicial tenants with the intention that their status as such should be continued. I understand that it was subsequently held in a Court of law that the award was not legally binding.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a circular has been issued directing that all the tenants must pay the hanging gale? Will the right hon. Gentleman make representations so that this may not be persisted in?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that. I know that the award was held not to be legally binding. I cannot prevent anyone exercising his private rights.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: But under the peculiar circumstances of the day the Government might take some steps to prevent these people being treated as they are threatened by circular.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: You can refuse to lend the forces of the Crown.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Galway and the Marine Works Act Grant.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how much of the Marine Works Act Grant has already been expended within the limits of the Parliamentary Borough of Galway; how much has been granted for works in the same area; and how much it is proposed shall be expended.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is not proposed to expend any portion of the grant in this area. The Government is in communication with the County Council with respect to the carrying out of Marine Works at other points in the county.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: Then I may take it that nothing is to be expended in this area.

MR. WYNDHAM: That was the tenor of my reply.

Ashbourne Act Purchasers.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the Resolution adopted by the Kilmacthomas, Carrick-on-Suir, and other Boards of Guardians in Ireland, declaring that, owing to the reduction of the interest on the British National Debt from 3 per cent. at time of purchase to 2½ per cent., the tenant purchasers under the Ashbourne Acts are now paying 10s. per cent. more than they equitably should; and whether he will accept or insert a Clause in the Land Bill to deal with this matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Advances under the Ashbourne Acts were made by the issue of Local Loans Stock which carried, and still carries, a 3 per cent. dividend. This is not affected by fluctuations in the dividends on Consols.

MR. DILLON: When will the stock be redeemable?

MR. WYNDHAM: I think in 1912.

Irish Local Government Board Staff.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain why the practice of the Local Government Board to appoint to vacancies on the permanent staff temporary inspectors who have satisfactorily discharged their duties has been departed from within the past few days in the transfer of Mr. Charles O'Connor from the position of auditor to that of inspector, and state the special circumstances which necessitated the transfer of Mr. O'Connor; and whether, seeing that Mr. Wilson Lynch has been for several years a temporary inspector and has discharged his duties to the satisfaction of the Local Government Board, he will before the post of auditor is filled, consider the desirability of again attaching Mr. O'Connor to the Audit Department.

MR. WYNDHAM: In filling vacancies on the Staff of Inspectors the Local Government Board invariably proceeds upon the principle of selecting persons who, in the Board's opinion, are the most competent and best qualified. That principle was followed in the case of the vacancy mentioned.

Irish Land Purchase

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the effect of the abolition of the quit rent on the instalments to be paid by the tenant under the Irish Land Bill on £100 rental, and will he also lay a Paper showing the comparative effect on the tenant's instalments under the present Bill and previous Purchase Acts.

MR. WYNDHAM: The effect of the abolition of the perpetual rent charge will best be illustrated by a re-issue of the Return, No. 183 of this session, with an additional column showing figures under the altered conditions. With respect to instalments under

previous Purchase Acts I would refer the hon. Member to Return No. 186 of 1902.

Ireland—Mayors and the Judicial Oath.

MR. CONDON (Tipperary, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the fact that in the majority of the boroughs in Ireland, since the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840, the mayors have been acting as Justices of the Peace without being required to take the judicial oath, and that the mayor of Clonmel upon the accession of his present Majesty declined to take the judicial oath, a course followed by the present mayor, which was legal in accordance with the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, which has, however, subsequently been changed, and in view of the inconvenience caused by the action of the Irish Executive in this matter, the Government will take steps to obtain a decision of a competent Court of Law upon the point in question, as requested by a resolution of the Clonmel Corporation communicated to him in April last.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): At my right hon. friend's request I will reply to this Question. I do not think that the hon. Member's statement is quite accurate in its details, but I concur with him in thinking that it is desirable to have the question of law mentioned raised and determined in a Court of Law, if a convenient opportunity should present itself.

MR. CONDON: I acted as mayor for six years. Why was not action taken in my case?

MR. ATKINSON: The point was not raised until recently.

MR. CONDON: I raised it myself last year by refusing to take the oath.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

MR. CONDON: The right hon. Gentleman contradicted my statement.

The Irish Gold Ornaments.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the decision which has been given in the case of the Irish gold ornaments, he will suggest to His Majesty that they should be handed over to Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: A good many matters of some complexity arise in connection with this matter. I shall be glad if the hon. Baronet will put down a Question for a later day, and I hope I shall then be in a position to give a complete answer.

Irish Butter Trade—Railway Delays in England.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to complaints as to the delay in delivery of saltless Irish butter coming from Limerick and consigned to the Mapleton Dairy Company, Edenbridge, Kent, and as to the non-delivery of two boxes of the same class butter consigned to the Cash Stores, High Street, Dovercourt, sent from Limerick on the 11th inst. and not delivered on the 16th inst., and, if so, whether he will inquire into these complaints and take steps to make the railway companies responsible for the delay in fulfilling their obligations to the public.

MR. BONAR LAW: Yes, Sir; the Board of Trade have received, through the hon. Member, a letter containing the complaints in question. Inquiry is being made of the railway companies concerned, and I shall be happy to inform the hon. Member of the result.

Germany and Canada.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in the proceedings of the Colonial Conference 1902, or in any other Papers presented to Parliament, there is any statement of the views of the British Government or the Canadian Government on the conduct of Germany in placing Canada on the general tariff.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no such statement in any Papers which have been presented to Parliament. A general reference to the matter will be found on page 39 of the Colonial Conference Blue-book Cd. 1299 of 1902.

MR. BUCHANAN: Was it not a matter of special complaint at the Colonial Conference?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I would not say that. It was not specially discussed by the Conference.

MR. BUCHANAN: The right hon. Gentleman himself did not allude to it in his speech to the Conference?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The report of my speech is before the House.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if any correspondence has ensued between the British and German Governments relating to the higher duties levied on Canadian products; if so, will he lay it upon the Table; if not, is it the intention of the Government to make effective protest against the action of the German Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The correspondence on this subject will be very shortly laid on the Table. I think, perhaps, the hon. Gentleman had better wait till he sees the correspondence before putting a Question as to its character.

MR. LAMBERT: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman had better wait and see the correspondence.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps he has taken or is taking to induce Germany to cease differentiation against Canada other than inviting discussion in this country upon retaliation duties.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The Question should be addressed to the Foreign Office, but I am not aware of any effective steps that can be taken under our present fiscal system.

MR. BLACK: May I ask whether the attention of Germany has been called to the hospitality which she enjoys from us at our coaling stations?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That is not a Question which ought to be addressed to me.

Canadian Duties.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, are the Canadian rates of import duty as given in Cd. 1299 of 1902, pp. 115, 116, and 117, still in force, or have they been varied; are the Canadian duties on British cotton-woven manufactures from 16½ to 23½ per cent. *ad valorem*, on iron and steel manufactures principally 20 per cent., on iron and steel machinery, except mining, 16½ per cent., on iron and woollen-woven manufactures from 20 to 23½ per cent.; and will he lay upon the Table a Return showing for each of the following colonies and possessions, viz., Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, Natal, Canada, West Indies, British Guiana, and India the present rates, or approximate rates, *ad valorem* of the import duties levied on British cotton manufactures, iron and steel manufactures, machinery, and woollen manufactures, respectively, as well as the extra duties, if any, levied on similar imports of other than British origin.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The rates of duty given on goods imported into Canada in Cd. 1299 of 1902, pp. 115-7, are still in force, with the exception that the rates given in the column headed "Rates under the General Tariff" are subject to a surtax of *one-third* of the duty if the goods are the growth, produce, or manufacture of *Germany*. The rates of duty on the *British* textile and iron and steel manufactures are as stated in the Question, but the rates given for cotton-woven manufactures and machinery are for *principal* articles only. As regards the latter part of the Question the hon. Member will find the information in the Return published in November last, Command 1356.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: Have the Canadian Government recently approached His Majesty's Government asking for intervention in regard to the dispute with Germany?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I must ask for notice of that.

Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has examined the precedent for an inquiry into proposals for fiscal changes in this country afforded by the Select Committee on Import Duties, 1840, which took evidence in public and published its Report, and upon which the Government were represented by two Ministers, one of Cabinet rank; and whether he will consider the advantages of this method of inquiry over the proposed method.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly do not lay down the dogmatic proposition that an inquiry by a Committee of this House would be necessarily an improper way of approaching this subject, or parts of this subject; but I do not think anything would be gained by appointing a Committee in the course of the present session.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will from time to time issue in Blue-book form the statistical information obtained by the Cabinet in their inquiry into the Colonial Secretary's proposal for a revision of the fiscal arrangements of this country.

MR. LABOUCHERE: At the same time may I ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether some public notice will be given of the time when oral evidence is to be received upon the fiscal inquiry, in order that those connected with the working classes may have an opportunity to tender their evidence; whether such oral evidence is to be submitted to the Cabinet, or to any person or persons appointed to receive it; and whether all materials used and all evidence taken, either orally or in writing, will be made public as early as possible, and at such a time as to ensure that the question of a

fundamental change in our present fiscal arrangements will not be submitted to an unprepared Party and the unprepared constituencies.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not contemplate giving any undertaking with regard to this inquiry.

MR. BLACK: Do I understand that the Government will only give such information as suits themselves?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, the hon. Gentleman is to understand what I said, which is that I would not give any undertaking on the subject.

Bimetallism and the Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. DUNCAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the desirability of adopting a bi-metallic currency will form part of the inquiry which is being held into our fiscal relations with the colonies and foreign countries.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I see no connection between the currency problem suggested by the hon. Gentleman and the fiscal problem to which I understand him to refer.

Naval Works Bill.

SIR JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can say when the Naval Works Bill will be introduced.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am informed that the Bill is ready, but I cannot as yet definitely fix a day for its introduction.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Standing Committee on Law, etc Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 218]. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 218.] Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 252.]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Lords to request that their Lord-

ships will be pleased to give leave to Sir Henry Graham, the Clerk of the Parliaments, to attend to be examined as a Witness before the Committee of Public Accounts.—(Sir Arthur Hayter.)

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 1:—

MR. HARDY (Kent, Ashford) moved the postponement of Clause 1 (duty on grain, etc., to cease.) He said that hon. Members in bringing forward particular questions were often much hampered by the rules of debate, and of that they had a conspicuous illustration on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill, when every speaker, except perhaps the Prime Minister, dealt with a subject which was not immediately before the House. That day he was hampered in very much the same way. In moving the postponement of the clause he would have to tread very warily, for he could not go in detail into the considerations which had induced him to bring forward the Motion. What he did desire to obtain on general grounds by this step was that the Committee should decide for themselves from what particular source of indirect taxation that relief should be given, which it had been decided by reading the Bill a second time should be given, to the taxpayer this year. If they passed the clause as it stood they would have eaten their cake, and those who were anxious for the relief of the tea or coal duties, or other sources of indirect taxation, would only be able to discuss the matter academically, because the whole of the relief available would have been given away. In parting with this clause they would be parting with an actual source of revenue, whereas in dealing with other taxes they would deal with reductions, the taxes remaining part of the fiscal system to be reduced or extended as might be deemed expedient in the future. He also thought the House might fairly ask to be given the same

selective power as the Chancellor of the Exchequer used when he introduced the Budget. They ought in fact to be allowed to decide between two alternatives. At the time the Budget was introduced they supposed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke for the Cabinet as a whole, but since then the situation had materially altered, and they might well ask if the right hon. Gentleman spoke only for himself. Without desiring to dwell in detail upon this question, he thought it was desirable, now that they had actually got to the discussion of the corn duty itself, that they should bring forward this Motion in order to give the House free liberty of deciding from which source it would take this indirect taxation, and also to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer a further opportunity of saying whether he would not meet the objections of those who desired to retain this tax and reconsider the matter at the last moment. He begged to move.

Motion made and Question proposed—

"In page 1 to postpone Clause 1."—(*Mr. Hardy.*)

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (*Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon*): My hon. friend has asked the Government to consent to the postponement of this clause in order that the Committee may have an opportunity to decide what form of relief shall be given to indirect taxation, and he argued that unless the corn tax be postponed and the tea tax comes on first the Committee will not have that opportunity. So far as the form is concerned, the question as between corn and tea was distinctly raised by the Amendment of my right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford when he moved his Amendment to the Second Reading; and certainly the support which my right hon. friend got was hardly sufficient to justify the hon. Member in now asking for a postponement of this clause. I cannot see that the postponement of this clause would effect the purpose he desires. The hon. Member says he desires the Committee to have a free hand and full liberty to decide between the corn tax and the tea duty, or any of the other duties involved. Surely my hon. friend must see that

some one tax must come first, and assuming that there is a certain amount to be given away, and no more, where does the liberty of the Committee come in? Whatever tax comes first the decision which the Committee comes to on that particular tax settles the matter. Our view—and it is very much strengthened by what took place on the Second Reading—is that by far the most proper and most important tax to remit is the corn tax. My hon. friend differs from me in that respect, but he can hardly expect me to postpone a tax which we think ought to be taken off in order to give him an opportunity of inducing the House to take off a tax which we do not think ought to be taken off. Under these circumstances I am afraid I cannot consent to the proposal made by my hon. friend.

MR. CHAPLIN (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) said he was sorry to hear the decision of the right hon. Gentleman, because he thought the appeal of his hon. friend who had moved this Amendment was not at all an unreasonable one. The Government was asked to take a course which they had frequently adopted on other measures of much less importance, and that was to leave it an open question to their supporters on this side of the House and give them a fair opportunity of coming to a decision as to whether the remission of indirect taxation should be made upon one or the other of these two articles—tea on the one hand, and corn on the other. When he placed his Amendment on the Paper, his object was to substitute tea, or some other subject of indirect taxation, for a remission of taxation instead of corn, and he did so because he was aware that a very large number of hon. Members thoroughly shared his opinion on the point. With that view he had placed upon the Paper a series of Amendments, and if this clause had been postponed, he should have moved them in turn. After the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, he recognised that this would not be possible, and the only result of moving his series of Amendments would be that his opposition would degenerate into pure obstruction, and he never had and never would adopt that course. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer had

refused to make this concession, he should not persevere in his intention of moving his Amendments. At the same time, he must state that there was one question upon which he was absolutely pledged to a vast number of supporters outside, and that was to support the omission of this clause and to endeavour to substitute a remission of the tea duty. He saw no possibility of succeeding with regard to this Amendment, and probably it would be best for them to make their fight when they came to the omission of Clause 1.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet) said he had not hesitated to declare that the abandonment of the corn duty was a cowardly and disgraceful act on the part of the Government, and the blame must not be attributed to one Minister, because all members of the Cabinet must share the responsibility of an act which would be very much to their disgrace in time to come. Nobody felt the burden of this tax, and the foreigner paid it.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman is not entitled to discuss the character of the clause now, we shall reach that question by and by.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER said he hoped his hon. friend would not press this matter to a division, for they would shortly have a legitimate opportunity of showing how many dissentients there were from what he considered was a highly discreditable course.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said his right hon. friend had explained that he was not going to move a certain number of Amendments which were on the Paper in his name. It occurred to him as a relevant reason for postponement that perhaps some hon. Members who had not put down Amendments on the Paper might do so if the clause were postponed. He did not know that that would convince him of the propriety of voting for this proposal. Not only in the breast of his right hon. friend but in other protectionist hearts there was a singular trembling, and they seemed to be apprehensive of discussion.

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MR. JAMES LOWTHER: We were not allowed to discuss it.

LORD HUGH CECIL said his right hon. friend had perhaps not noticed an Amendment on the Paper which the hon. Member for Liverpool had not persisted in, and which he had not had the courage to move. No doubt he acted discreetly, because the discussion would not have served his purpose, or the purpose of those who had equally at heart the objects he had in view. He thought the position was a little singular in view of the revolution in their fiscal policy which had been recommended. They had no opportunity of discussing that policy except such an opportunity as necessarily raised a wholly false and different issue to the merits of the question.

MR. HARDY asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. PHILIP FOSTER (Warwickshire, Stratford-upon-Avon) said he desired to move the Amendment standing in his name on the Paper to leave out of line 11 in page 2, "twenty-five" and insert "fifteen." He had hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have seen his way to reduce this figure, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman some time ago if he could possibly do so. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would favourably consider his proposal.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 11, to leave out the word 'twenty-five' and insert the word 'fifteen.'"—
(*Mr. Philip Foster.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty-five' stand part of the clause."

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland) trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to accept the Amendment. The point raised was a comparatively small one, but one of considerable importance to a body of traders in this country. Those who had corn in stock above 500 quarters were to receive back the duty paid on that corn, but those traders who had stock

somewhat less than that felt that they were being unfairly treated. This Amendment was proposed to safeguard the interests of the small traders, and to enable them to secure the same advantages which were to be given to the large traders. He was informed by the President of the London Grain Trade Association that there were probably 400 or 500 persons affected by the change as proposed. It did seem hard on those small traders that, because they were small traders, they should not receive the same advantages as were to be given to the large traders. If there were two millers or dealers in a town, and one had a stock of 500 quarters, he would get back from the Exchequer £25, but the small man who had only 400 quarters, would not get back the £20, to which he would in any fair principle of equity be entitled. The trade had already suffered much inconvenience through the vacillating policy of the Government by their first imposing, then taking off, and then suggesting that they were going to re-impose the corn duty. He hoped that in view of this inconvenience the right hon. Gentleman would be able to be generous in the matter and accept the Amendment.

* MR. RITCHIE said that adequate notice of the remission of the tax was given so that stocks might be reduced. The Government at first thought that the notice from the time the Budget was introduced to 30th June was ample to enable holders to reduce their stocks, but it was pointed out to them in some quarters that, so far as the larger dealers were concerned, that notice might lead to a great dearth of grain and flour, because millers would not renew their stocks, nor would the market be able to make contracts for the importation of grain to proceed in the ordinary way. The Government saw that just before the date when the tax was to be remitted there might be something in the nature of a famine of grain in our market with a corresponding rise in price. The present proposal involved a considerable sacrifice, but they felt that it was better that there should be a sacrifice, so far as revenue was concerned, rather than run the risk of the unfortunate condition of things he had described, and

so, in order to enable the trade to be carried on continuously and without any break at all, they agreed to pay a rebate up to 30th June on stocks of over 500 quarters which were proved to have paid duty. It was necessary that some limit should be placed on the quantity of stock on which a return of duty should be given. It would be, otherwise, absolutely impossible to prevent considerable loss to the revenue. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment and the Committee would understand that in order to prevent fraud on the revenue there must be a great deal of care, inquiry, and examination, and it was represented to him by the Customs that if they were to go below the proposed limit their difficulty would be enormously increased, and probably fraud would also be increased. After all, the Committee must see that the small men could do that which could not be done by members of the trade who dealt in large quantities. It was perfectly easy for the smaller dealers to reduce their stocks between April and 30th June so as not to involve loss at all. He was informed that it was easy for them in their transactions with the large dealers to arrange to have such quantities up to 30th June as would enable them to carry on business without inconvenience. Under these circumstances he was sorry that he could not agree to the Amendment.

Amendment negatived.

*MR. CHAPLIN said that in rising to move the omission of the Clause he knew perfectly well that the whole question was merged in the much larger subject which had recently been introduced by the proposals made by the Colonial Secretary. He was also equally well aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in perfect accord—he did not know that he would be right in saying that he was in league—with the whole Opposition against the views which almost universally were professed by his supporters on this side of the House until last year. Therefore his chance of any success on a division in reversing the decision of the Government at the present moment, with the two

sides of the House united in a most unnatural alliance, and one which he ventured to think was destined at no distant time to be fatal to the continued union of one of those Parties, namely, that on this side of the House, was of course perfectly hopeless. Those, however, were considerations which would not deter him this afternoon from doing his best to support the cause which he believed, and indeed knew, to be right, and which, he suspected, were shared, probably by a considerable majority of Gentlemen on this side of the House. He must be content to leave it to the verdict of the constituencies—a verdict which he for one was profoundly convinced could not be deferred for any great length of time—to decide between him and those who would be his opponents to-day. He was happy, however, in one thing, viz., that they had had a very considerable discussion of this question on the Second Reading of the Bill, and it would be needless, therefore, for him to detain the Committee at any great length now. He intended, as far as possible, to confine himself to those points of the controversy which had arisen out of the clause between the Government and himself, and which the Government had either evaded or been unable to meet.

But, before he did this, there was one thing he desired to say for himself. and that was to repeat—he was afraid it would be for the fiftieth or the hundredth time—the stereotyped statements which, he observed, were so constantly made in some portions of the Press, and which had been referred to by his noble friend the Member for Greenwich, as to his supposed protectionist's views and proclivities, that neither now nor at any time had he been influenced by motives of protection in any way, and he was at a loss to imagine why these proclivities were attributed to him, for, to the very best of his recollection, he did not believe that he had ever made a protectionist speech, or given a protectionist vote, in the whole course of his political career, unless, it might be said that by speaking and voting for the shilling duty on corn last year, and in opposing its remission this year, he was to be dubbed a protectionist, in

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which case he was a protectionist last year in company with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As a matter of fact, if he ever entertained those views he abandoned them, God knew how many years ago, and for this reason. He had always been greatly interested in the agricultural industry of this kingdom, but he did not believe that by any conceivable duty on corn it was possible to imagine they could ever restore the corn-growing industry to the position it occupied many years ago. It seemed to him only the other day that two gentlemen, well known to Members of the House—noted agriculturists, Mr. Clare Sewell Read and Mr. Albert Pell, whose names were household words in everything connected with agriculture—had been sent by the Royal Commission then sitting on the Depression of Agriculture, known as the Duke of Richmond's Commission, to America to inquire into the Agricultural position of the United States, and as to the kind of price at which wheat could be sent from that country to England; and they came back with the report that it could probably never be sent over under 40s. a quarter. Now, he had seen wheat quoted at 17s. a quarter since then, and the average price was immeasurably less than 40s. per quarter. If the object of protection were to restore the agricultural interest to its former condition it was not a duty of 1s., 2s., or 5s. that would be required. It would require a duty of 20s. or 25s. to put the corn industry in England on its legs again; and that, of course, was inconceivable and entirely out of the question. While he gladly welcomed any encouragement or help that was given to agriculture, from whatever direction it came, and however small in amount, it had always been on the ground of revenue and revenue alone, upon financial grounds and these alone, that, for twenty years, in and out of office, and in or out of Parliament, he had advocated the restoration of the 1s. duty on grain which, unfortunately, in his opinion, the Government were so foolish as to try and repeal. Having said that, he would pass to the consideration of the clause itself which was now immediately before

the Committee, and for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was primarily responsible.

Now, one of the main objections which he had always urged to the repeal of the duty from the very outset was that it was introduced for permanent purposes. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Second Reading of the Bill denied that; he said that—

“It was imposed mainly for the purposes of the war,”

a statement which he might remind him was greeted with loud shouts of “No, no,” from all parts of that side of the House. And then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

“Although it was quite true the right hon. Member for Bristol had expressed the hope that it might be permanent as a means of broadening the basis of taxation, . . . it could not be considered as permanent, and that there was no inconsistency on his part in repealing it now.”

Now the best answer he could give to that statement of the right hon. Gentleman was to quote the very words of his right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol, which he had not quoted before to the House, and the Committee could then judge for themselves how much or how little his statement was justified. On 9th June last year the right hon. Gentleman said this:—

“In my belief such has been the growth of our expenditure during the past few years, and such is likely to be its continued growth under any Administration, that it was absolutely necessary to increase the heads of indirect taxation. The Leader of the Opposition said the other day that it was mainly due to increased armaments, and he intimated pretty clearly his own opinion that we had gone too far in that direction. . . I do not believe,”

continued the right hon. Gentleman,

“that the country is likely to take that view either with regard to the Navy or with regard to the ordinary peace establishment of the Army, and if I wanted confirmation of that view I might quote some words Lord Rosebery recently used in a speech delivered at Leeds.”

And then he went on to:—

“Did Lord Rosebery condemn it? No, Sir, not a word. All he said was that it might possibly be necessary, . . . and for all he knew was necessary that ordinary expenditure should have gone up £32,000,000.”

He asked how it was possible, in the face of a statement like that on the part of his right hon. friend the Member for

Bristol, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could come forward and tell the House that the tax last year was imposed mainly for the purposes of the war, and that it was not intended to be, and could not be, a permanent tax.

*MR. RITCHIE said he begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. He had made some reference to a remark which had fallen from his right hon. friend on an Amendment which had been moved to make the tax for one year only; and he had given some strong arguments why it was not possible for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose a tax for one year only. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol confirmed the view he took.

*MR. CHAPLIN said he was perfectly well aware of what the right hon. Gentleman said as to putting on a tax for one year only; but he had got the report of the right hon. Gentleman's speech in which he said that the corn tax could not be permanent, and that he was perfectly consistent in proposing its repeal. He would quote it if he desired it. Very well then! The right hon. Gentleman has at last made the admission, beyond all question or doubt, that the tax was brought in with the intention and for the purpose of being a permanent tax.

Now, that being so, with the permission of the House he would turn to another point. He had complained in the course of his speech that on the faith of that statement made by the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Bristol, capital had been invested, mills had been re-opened, industries had been restarted, and that all this would now be lost. And what was the answer of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer? He said—

“He thought the millers were very rash people, if, because of 1s. duty being imposed upon corn they had largely increased their plant.”

But it was not the 1s. duty on corn—or to be strictly accurate, the 3d. duty per cwt. on corn—that induced the millers to increase their plant; it was the duty of 5d. per cwt. imposed on flour. What was the rashness in that. As a matter

of business, they thought the investment was good, and their opinion was thoroughly justified by the result. Did his right hon. friend mean to say that these millers were rash in believing the statement of the right hon. Member for Bristol that the tax was going to be permanent? If not, he asked him again where was the rashness? If he did, then he took the liberty of entirely disagreeing with his right hon. friend. The right hon. Member for Bristol was the last man in the world to mislead any man in business or connected with trade with whom he had come into any relations in connection with the office he filled when he occupied the position of his right hon. friend. After the explanation given the other night by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was sorry to say his opinion had been only strengthened and confirmed in regard to the right hon. Gentleman's present proceedings. They had several indirect taxes before them which were imposed expressly for the purposes of the war. They had one indirect tax—partly for the expenses of one year of the war, and afterwards avowedly for permanent purposes. Among the war taxes was the increased duty on tea. In making his remission of indirect taxation the Chancellor told us that his choice lay between tea and corn; but he had deliberately elected to retain the tax which was specifically imposed for the purposes of the war, and repealed the duty which was avowedly introduced as a permanent tax. He therefore adhered most strongly to the opinion that in the face of the most explicit statements made by his predecessor, his right hon. friend was wholly without justification for the course he had taken, and that those who suffered by that course had the strongest, gravest, and most legitimate ground of complaint. That was his answer also to what the Prime Minister said on this branch of the subject the other night.

But there was another class which suffered in precisely the same manner as the millers—a class which appeared to have escaped the recollection of the Chancellor of the Exchequer altogether, but to whom, in their small way, it was of even greater importance than to the farmers them-

selves to be able to get a cheap and abundant supply of offals. That was the class of agricultural labourers. In almost every county with which he was acquainted the agricultural labourer who was at all decently well-off kept a pig. How was it fed? Very largely on offals, when they could be obtained. During recent years, as everybody knew, a vast number of local mills had been closed owing to American competition in flour. Under the duty imposed last year, these local mills had, by degrees, been re-opened and offals had again become cheap, abundant, and easily obtainable by these poor people; and they would have been cheaper and still more abundant in the future had the duty been retained. That meant the labourer would have been able to keep two pigs instead of one—which to him would have been a matter of the greatest importance. That might account for an observation by an agricultural labourer, reported to him by the gentleman to whom it was made, and who repeated it to him. His informant was in daily intercourse with agricultural labourers—nobody saw more of them—and what he told him was this: They were all of them getting their loaves at the same price, of the same quality and same size as before the shilling duty was put on, and that never a word had he heard against it. But one of them talking to him did use an expression which he commended to the consideration of his right hon. friend. He said—and he hoped the Committee would pardon him quoting the words—"It is a damned shame for the Government to take it off." Of course he did not approve of that language, nor did he think for a moment of endorsing it, but at the same time it most forcibly expressed his own sentiments on the subject, and he entirely agreed with the condemnation of the Government so emphatically pronounced. And whenever they went to the country—and that time would come sooner or later—a great many Members who, like himself, represented agricultural constituencies would hear a great deal more of this subject and of the Government of which they had formerly been the strong supporters. On the other hand, he expressed the

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strongest opinion that if the right hon. Gentleman had proposed to remit the tea duty and keep the duty on corn he would have done something not only for every cottager in the country, and still more for cottagers and labourers in rural districts, which would not be easily forgotten. Now he had given them one of the results of repealing the duty on flour, and to the Government, he fancied, a rather unexpected result too. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had got his answer ready, in fact he had given his answer on a previous occasion, and he would like to examine it. The right hon. Gentleman could not understand how £2,500,000 could be collected on bread and flour without the consumer feeling it. Most of the Committee could understand that; at all events he could. But whatever might have been the case last year, he could quite see the position of the right hon. Gentleman this year. It would not suit the right hon. Gentleman to understand it in face of the repeal he was proposing to make. So much for the £2,500,000 collectively. But said the right hon. Gentleman—

“There is one thing I do know. Whatever may be the case with regard to wheat, flour has risen, and that to a large extent. . . . I am thankful to say that home baking is not an extinct art in this country. I am told in many parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and in other districts, home baking exists, both among the agricultural labourers and the mining population.”

That was true and he was glad to know it was so, and then he went on—

“And it cannot be alleged that they do not pay on account of the duty. So in regard to the industrial associations which exist throughout the country; no doubt they must have borne this duty which has been paid on flour.”

Now, what he had to say upon that point was this. That might be all very well, but it was purely and entirely an assumption on the part of the right hon. Gentleman for which no evidence or witnesses, and no proof whatever had been offered to the House. He had made it his business to inquire into this matter and into facts in that part of England, and his information was exactly the opposite. It came, too, from a lifelong resident in the county of Durham, who had been for years in constant association with the mining popula-

tion of that county; nor was it in order to reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he obtained it. On the contrary, he had it at the time of the Second Reading, but in the mass of material at his disposal he omitted to use it. He wrote to him fully on the subject, and the pith of that letter he proposed to quote to the Committee—

“During the last ten days I have made several inquiries from miners’ wives, small dealers and grocers and people trading in co-operative societies, and, without exception, I am told that the retail price of flour is the same to-day as it was before the duty was imposed. In one case—a co-operative society—the retail price of the flour is a penny per stone less now. . . . Among the miners and artisans of Northumberland and Durham, and, I believe, Cumberland too, fully 95 per cent. of the people bake their own bread. Co-operative stores flourish in every village and the baker’s cart is unknown. . . . It will show the extent of household baking when I say that many of those societies, each with 1,000 to 6,000 on their books, do not sell a dozen loaves of bread, except fancy bread, in twelve months. . . . As regards the whole of the North the question may be summed up as follows: The price of flour with the working man has not been increased, so his bread costs no more than formerly. The system under which bread is sold does not show that the price of the loaf has been increased, so the person who buys bread is paying no more now. As the imposition of the duty has not increased the price paid by the consumer it is safe to say that its repeal will not reduce it. Therefore, the working man gets no benefit by the abolition of the registration fee.”

That was a tolerably fair answer, at all events, to the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the faith of a gentleman long resident in that part of the world and intimately acquainted with the conditions under which the miners live, and he thought the Committee would agree that it destroyed the last plank of the defence on which the right hon. Gentleman rested for the course he had adopted. It was needless, he thought, to say any more. He did not think he need say another word upon that subject, or detain the Committee more than another moment or two. He was aware, in view of the larger proposals now before the country, many Members from the country, both in and outside the House, and on that side of the House were disposed to wait before taking any further action or taking part in any division in this House. Might he remind those who thought with him of the old adage “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush?” They had got this

valuable revenue at the smallest possible cost, without any loss accruing to the taxpayers, and he was most reluctant to abandon it, after advocating its imposition for twenty years. No one could tell when they would see it again. The Corn Laws were not repealed in a day, and although so far as he was individually concerned he had not the slightest doubt as to the ultimate success of the proposals made by the Colonial Secretary which were, as he understood, shared in and adopted by the Prime Minister,—

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I do not think these matters are strictly relevant to the question, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will confine himself at the conclusion of his speech within the limits to which he confined himself at the commencement.

*MR. CHAPLIN regretted that he should have transgressed even by a handbreadth. He knew there were a great number of Gentlemen on this side of the House from their conversation, and still more from their letters, some of them received only this morning, who entirely agreed with him. But he was also aware of the natural reluctance to vote against the Government of which they were acknowledged supporters, but there were exceptions to every rule, and his experience taught him that this was one of them. It was, however, for them, not for him, to decide. He opposed this clause because the tax was imposed last year as a permanent tax, and with the deliberate and avowed policy of broadening the basis of taxation; he opposed it because at that time it was supported by arguments which had never been answered, and which had been more than justified by the result. He opposed it because it had provided a revenue with less trouble and inconvenience than would be effected by any other tax that could be devised; he opposed it because no one would benefit by its repeal, and they lost the opportunity of giving a real boon to the consumer, and especially to the poorer classes of the country; and, lastly, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by this inconsiderate action, had placed the best and most loyal supporters that ever a Government had in a thoroughly false, painful, and humiliating position.

Mr. Chaplin.

Those were the reasons by which he was guided in opposing the repeal of this duty; and whether he was supported by many or by few he intended to take the decision of the House of Commons on the question.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 1, to leave out Clause 1.”—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, “That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.”

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) said that the subject had been so often discussed that it was almost impossible to advance fresh arguments regarding it. He would, however, crave the permission of the Committee to say a few words, as he had not hitherto taken any part in the discussion, or registered any vote in connection with the question. It must be clear to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to the Government that it was a subject on which, at all events, the rural districts felt very strongly, and upon which they held very decided and distinct views. What was the position in which he found himself as the representative of a rural constituency, and an avowed and hearty supporter of His Majesty's Government? He had, as a supporter of the Government, to attempt the impossible, namely, to reconcile the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year with the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year. The arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year were confirmed by the opinion of the great majority of the House; and he failed to see how they had been upset by the counter arguments of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. His own natural instinct—partly because he was a soldier, and partly because he was a politician—was to follow his leaders; but when he found his leaders in sharp conflict he should take leave to make up his own mind. He did not want to labour the arguments which had been used with reference to the broadening and widening of the basis of taxation. But it surely stood to reason that if the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year had the effect of widening and broadening the basis of taxation, then the counter action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year must have the

effect of narrowing the basis of taxation. One of the shrewdest Chancellors of the Exchequer of the present generation, Lord Goschen, laid the most emphatic stress on seizing every opportunity of widening the basis of taxation, even if the tax imposed was very small. He himself heartily welcomed the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year; and he heartily regretted the reaction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer this year. That was not all. He was afraid he would have to find fault with the arguments adduced not only by the Chancellor of the Exchequer but also by his right hon. friend the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister defended the repeal of this tax on the ground that it was imposed because the Government wanted money, and was now to be repealed because the Government did not want any money. It might be perfectly true that money might have been wanted last year more than it was wanted this year, but he did not think it was quite correct to say that money was not wanted now. Who would not be able to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister of the many ways in which they could usefully dispose of revenue. The £2,500,000 which was not apparently needed for any specific purpose could have been used in the reduction of the heavy cost of education, under which the country was now getting a little fidgety and uneasy. There were also many other ways in which the money could be used. Under the Budget proposed by his right hon. friend the Income Taxpayer got considerable relief, to which he was thoroughly entitled, although it had not yet extended as far as he hoped it would. Direct taxation having been relieved, it was right that indirect taxation should also get some relief from the extra burdens for the war. If the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would help the indirect taxpayer by one single farthing he should be inclined to give every possible credit to his right hon. friend for endeavouring to balance his Budget in that direction; but he could not find that the indirect taxpayer would be benefited. In his own constituency he could not find a man who said that he would be benefited by the remission of the corn duty. Where, therefore, did

the balancing of the Budget come in? As far as his own constituency was concerned there was not a man in it who would have any reason whatever to be grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for repealing this tax. Abroad or at home he wondered where the individual was to be found who would thank his right hon. friend. The only person who would benefit would be the American miller. He, at all events, would have reason to thank the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That, however, was not a fortunate position for the Government, or the Party which supported the Government, or the House of Commons, to be in. He regretted that the subject was not inquired into with a view to discovering whether the small agriculturist would or would not be benefited by the retention of the tax, and how his condition might be improved. He thought the arguments of his right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford would be difficult to upset. This £2,500,000 a year was not felt by the taxpayer, and it would be available revenue at the disposal of the Government for the manifold purposes for which it might be used. Surely, to put that revenue on one side was not a very wise or judicious proceeding. He regretted extremely that revenue which had borne so lightly on the taxpayer, and which might have been so extremely well used, should have been put on one side without sufficient cause or adequate reason, and, for his own part, he would give a fair and square vote against what he believed was an absolute mistake.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said that the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just spoken had a great reputation for being a strict disciplinarian. He well remembered a little while ago the hon. and gallant Gentleman at a late hour of the night, when a reply was difficult, pouring the vials of his indignation on hon. Members below the gangway who ventured to discuss the military policy of the Government. In those days the hon. and gallant Gentleman happened to agree with the Government; now the circumstances were different. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had entered a kind of agricultural cave under the leadership of his right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford, the

avowed object of which was to oppose the financial policy of the Government; and, if he might use the hon. Gentleman's own words, "to chivy the Chancellor of the Exchequer." What an example the hon. and gallant Gentleman was setting younger Members of the House. How could he expect, when he acted in such a manner, that his influence would be as repressive in the future as it had been in the past. His right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford moved to omit the clause which repealed the duty on corn. Personally, he thought that there were several features in the Budget which ought to commend it to the goodwill of the House of Commons, but there was no feature which, in his view, did more to make it satisfactory than the clause remitting the duty on corn. Although last year he voted for the duty and made a speech in its support, he failed to see the slightest inconsistency in this year supporting the Government in their decision to repeal the tax. Last year, when we were at war, it seemed that any taxation proposed by the Government of the day—whether for the expenses of the war, for the heavy expenditure inseparable from its termination, or to meet the great and growing expenditure which our armaments required—had a complete claim upon the support of the followers of that Government, provided that such taxation fulfilled the necessary conditions of yielding a substantial revenue from a large body of the population. The evident objections to a tax upon grain were not denied by most of those who spoke last year from the Government benches in its support; it was admitted that the tax, in so far as there was no countervailing excise, was technically protective; that it was a tax upon the necessities of life, and therefore on a totally different foundation from taxes upon comforts and luxuries; and that it would fall upon the poor and upon the poorest of the poor. Regret was also expressed that it narrowed the free list by adding so many articles to those on which duties were imposed. But while they admitted all this, they did not perhaps properly anticipate the extraordinary impulse this tax would give to the unhealthy appetites of those who were always endeavouring to take advantage of the necessity for raising revenue to advance the interests of some special class with which they

sympathised. He frankly confessed that he would have approached the question with more hesitation had the tax been proposed by any Member of the Government other than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, whose fiscal orthodoxy was so well known, and who was to-day the champion of free trade opinion on the Government benches. But when he remembered that last year the choice lay between this tax and further borrowing, he could not think that the Government acted with any want of courage or honesty in imposing the duty, and if the war had been still in progress, or there had been no prospect of any diminution of expenditure, he agreed that no logical case could have been made out for its repeal this year. But to-day the situation was widely different. As the fortunes of the country became overclouded and expenditure rose, the tide of taxation necessarily advanced. First, the luxuries of the rich, then the comforts of the poor, and, lastly, the necessities of life became affected. One after another, alcohol and tobacco, then tea, then sugar, and finally bread itself, vanished from the free list. But when the war was over, when expenditure was reduced, when the storms had passed away and the waters began to abate, one landmark after another came again into view, and naturally the last to be submerged was the first to reappear.

The remark of the Prime Minister that he had never before known anybody to object to the repeal of a tax was very suggestive, because in a free trade country a remission of taxation was always a matter of universal rejoicing, but the moment taxation began to be imposed preferentially, protectively, or retaliatorily, there was a class of persons who would immediately point out what a wicked thing it was to remove a particular tax, and how detrimental its removal would be to the best interests of the country as a whole. It was perfectly natural that those who profited by a tax should object to its removal. He was not very clear, however, as to whether any class had actually profited by the corn tax. Certainly it was not the object of our taxation that any class should derive profit from it. Our object was to get money to carry on the Government of the country, not to advance the

interests of any particular class. If there were classes who had profited by this tax, the country must think itself lucky it had found it out so soon, and the classes who had profited must think themselves lucky it had not been discovered before. It was also natural that the repeal of the tax should be objected to by that large class of gentlemen who were attracted by the idea of a "self-contained Empire," and who thought the tax might have been made a stepping-stone thereto. He did not propose to deal with that subject, because, although it was a matter on which he had hoped to make a few observations, he had been bitterly disappointed in the courage of the hon. Member for the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool. It was natural also that the removal of the tax should be objected to by those who implicitly believed that had it remained a permanent part of our fiscal system it would have brought in a great store of unearned wealth, generously provided by the foreigner. The discussion was probably too far advanced for anyone to change his opinion as to the incidence of the tax. Those who believed that import and export duties if jointly imposed might yield a revenue derived wholly or in part from the labour of the foreigner would doubtless adhere to their opinion to the end of the discussion. He, however, could not share that opinion. Although a temporary gain might sometimes be secured by rapid alterations of the fiscal system, yet the obstruction and dislocation of trade, and the uncertainty and probable disproportion of the ultimate re-adjustment, would in the end destroy more than the slender margin of profit, and the weight of the tax would, he firmly believed, come home, directly or indirectly, to our own people—if they were buyers they would pay in quality, quantity, or price; if they were sellers they would suffer in profit, convenience or reserve power. He had always believed that the corn tax was paid by the people of this country. He was not at all influenced in these views by the statement that only a slight rise in the price of bread had resulted from the tax. [Some HON. MEMBERS dissented.] Nor was he affected by the remarks that there had been no rise at all. The consumer paid just as certainly whether he

was mulcted in a certain sum by the imposition of a tax or deprived of a benefit which he would otherwise have enjoyed. Such a small tax as that now being repealed, operating over an enormous market, was not in itself sufficiently powerful to affect the price beyond the limits to which it would otherwise go. Freights on the Atlantic, speculation in America, a night of late frost, or a week of unusual sunshine, might cover the operation of such a small tax. But the way in which the tax affected the consumer was that when prices were fluctuating it accelerated the rise and delayed the fall, so that the consumer was certain to bear the burden eventually. This was not a matter of theory only. If the price had not been affected by the tax, how did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford explain the fact that the Treasury had thought it necessary to make more than twenty drawbacks on articles in the manufacture of which flour was used? Or how was it that a deputation of millers had recently waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, bitterly complaining that they had in hand largest stocks of duty-paid corn which would now come into competition with corn admitted duty-free, and that consequently they would be serious losers?

It had frequently been stated that the tax was paid out of the profits of the trade, and principally out of the profits of the foreigner. It was still the privilege of England to buy in the world's markets the food needed for her people; she purchased not only from America, but from Russia, the Argentine, Egypt, India, and other countries. All the exchanges of the world were connected by the electric telegraph, and the quotations varied to a sixteenth or even a thirty-second. Into this elaborate and complicated process of higgling the market—which he ventured to think was much more likely to ascertain the true price of the commodity than anything else the wit of man could devise—there came the British Government with a demand for two or three millions of money for purposes quite unconnected with trade, and they were solemnly asked to believe that the true price was not arrived at until the British Government entered into this operation. They were told that the buyers had been paying £2,500,000 more

than they needed to have paid before the tax was imposed. He was utterly unable to believe that. He held most strongly that the consumer paid this tax, and if he had not paid it all this year it was only because it was on the way, with the certainty that it would ultimately reach him with the arrears. But this, of course, was no argument against indirect taxation, because indirect taxation did not mean the special taxation of the millers or the shippers or any particular class, and he only referred to the point on account of what had been said by others. Indirect taxation was intended to be paid by the consumer and not by a special class. The hon. and gallant Member had spoken about broadening the basis of taxation, but he wished to point out that to go about the country talking about broadening the basis of taxation, and making arrangements 'by which even the poor would contribute something towards the maintenance of the Empire, was, entirely opposed to, and incompatible with, the theory that the foreigner pays this tax. But if it was no argument against the tax that the consumer paid it, it was nevertheless pertinent to inquire on which class of consumer did it fall most heavily. That was a point they must consider. He was told, on very good authority, that the average working man who was married spent 10 per cent. of his income in the purchase of bread. The proportion of income which a working man spent in purchasing bread increased as the ladder of poverty was descended. There was this to be urged against a tax on grain, whether it be small or large, that it fell with increasing force in proportion as people became increasingly poor. Poor people actually consumed more bread when they were unable to pay for more expensive articles.

His right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford stood forward as the farmer's friend, but there was one class of those engaged in the cultivation of the soil whom he thought his right hon. friend had insufficiently considered, and that was the agricultural labourer. Of all the classes of working men no class consumed a larger proportion of bread, or spent a larger proportion of their income upon bread, than the agricultural labourer. The right hon. Gentleman could not say that this class would get a countervailing compensation because of better employment or higher wages, because he had repeatedly told them, and only this after-

noon, that a shilling duty, or even a five shilling duty, could not possibly be of real assistance to the farmer, and would not bring an acre of corn into cultivation which had not been cultivated before. Undoubtedly the agricultural labourer would bear a larger proportion of any tax, large or small, than any other class of His Majesty's subjects. Would the agricultural labourer get any countervailing advantage of any kind whatever? Bread was the only commodity at present consumed by the working classes the consumption of which was increased by a tax. My noble friend the Member for Greenwich, in an argument last year which was very much misunderstood and somewhat misrepresented, pointed out that the effect of a tax on bread was not necessarily to make the poor labourer more economical in the consumption of bread, but it made him economical in meat and stimulants, and the deficiency of nourishment had to be made up by the consumption of larger quantities of bread. This tax fell with increasing force upon the very poor. He would not try to prove that the tax had been oppressive, burdensome and cruel. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol that this tax had not been appreciably distinguishable by the very poor, and that the consumer would not be conscious of any direct or tangible relief when it was taken off. Those who were under the strongest pinch of poverty would not understand that the screw had been relaxed just a little, but what he was concerned to establish was that the incidence of this tax, and taxes like it, was a real and unequal incidence, and that if such a tax were to be multiplied two, three, four, five, six, seven, or eight times—and they had no security that this might not be the case—its incidence would be cruel and burdensome, and most severe and detrimental to the well-being of the kingdom. He particularly rejoiced that the right hon. Gentleman had found it possible to take off the tax from the point of view of a Lancashire Member, because anything which tended to increase the cost of living in Lancashire struck a very great blow at the cotton industry, because the export trade in cotton catered for very poor people abroad, and cheapness of

production was almost vital to the prosperity of the cotton trade. He had often felt how great was the responsibility devolving upon the rulers of this country when he had travelled through Lancashire, and had seen what a vast number of people were gathered together upon a soil so utterly inadequate to sustain them. What was it that a Minister could give to Lancashire, which sent nearly forty Unionist Members to support the Government, to compensate Lancashire for the cheap and abundant food supply which it at present enjoyed?

They had been told that a tax of one shilling produced £2,500,000, and that they could easily raise the tax instead of having to depend almost entirely upon the income tax, and it was urged that such a tax constituted a reserve in time of war. That was a point which ought to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford, who had very properly interested himself in the question of our food supply. The very first thing that would happen in case of a war with a country which possessed any kind of a navy would be a rise in freights, and consequently a rise in the price of food. The enemy would try to stop getting to this country cheaply, and that was a natural thing for an enemy to do during the operation of war. Was it conceivable that any Government in time of war could possibly impose a tax which would raise the price of food? Why, this tax which they were told was to be such a great reserve to enable them to raise an immense revenue over the whole area of the population would be the very first tax which any Government would have to take off. One would think to hear people talk that the market in England was a matter of no consequence to the people of the United States, and that they were conferring a favour upon us by sending their corn to this country. That was not the way a shopkeeper treated his best customers. If it was important to us to import large quantities of corn from America, our trade was scarcely less important to the people of the United States than to ourselves. He had always thought that it ought to be the main end of English statecraft over

a long period of years to cultivate good relations with the United States, and he believed that his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Fareham, who had been in such a hurry to worship the golden calf, did not differ from him in thinking that the friendship of America should be their main aim and they should not allow themselves to be turned from that purpose by gusts of ill humour or bad manners. But surely this great material point was worth considering. In times of peace it was an additional security and in times of war what greater security could they have for the food supply across the Atlantic. This was a point which the Prime Minister himself had recognised—and he was a great free trader out of school hours. What greater security could they have for their food supply in time of war than that the United States should be vitally interested in the preservation of an open English market, and that that should be a matter of supreme consequence to the farmers of the Western States? To recapitulate the arguments which induced him to vote against the Motion of his right hon. friend he would say that as a reserve in time of war this tax would prove a broken reed. That the tax benefited the farmer had been denied by the farmers' friends, and the argument that it was paid by the foreigner was a profound illusion; and as a permanent addition to the revenue it seemed to him to be unsatisfactory in view of the determination of the Party opposite to remove it upon the very first opportunity. The repeal of this tax was proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the recommendations of his financial advisers. Its repeal was decided upon by the Cabinet and their decision had been ratified by the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority. This tax was a storm signal marking troublous times and lavish and lamentable expenditure. It was now departing from the House of Commons never, he hoped, to return in the lifetime even of the youngest hon. Member. Let them hope besides that it would carry away with it those unhealthy appetites for privilege, preference, and protection which boded so ill for the continued prosperity of their country.

*MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) said that a question had been asked by the opponents of the duty. Granting, they said, that the tax did not fall on the consumer, at what point of increase would it fall on the consumer? The question whether it fell on the producer or the consumer depended on two factors—the margin of profit of the producers and the keenness of the competition among the producers. Suppose a new tax was put upon any commodity which reduced the profit of the producer from 10 to 5 per cent. If the producer were a monopolist he would put up his price, and in that case the consumer paid the whole; but if he was not a monopolist, and was subject to severe competition, he would reduce the price, and as long as he still sold the article he would bear the burden of the tax and the consumer would get off scot free. Of course the point would come at which it would no longer be profitable for the weak producer to produce at all, and at that point he would retire out of the competition. Then the supply would be lessened, and then, and not until that point was reached, the burden would begin to fall on the consumer. But to ask for a general rule as to exactly when that point would be reached was just as easy as to ask for a rule at what point any other tax would be productive or non-productive. It was a question that could only be answered by arriving at the real facts of the case. Regarding the question of fact, both the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and his predecessor emphatically declared that this tax would not fall on the consumer. It was true that last year when the tax was put on he had a number of protests against it being put on. This year before the Budget came on, though he had representations with regard to the sugar duty, he had no single representation that the corn tax was burdensome and ought to be repealed. He was afraid that next year the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find himself either in need of fresh revenues, or in need of making drastic economies. The uniform practice had been not to economise by looking into the old expenditure and seeing what could be dispensed with, but by refusing new demands. In that way the public

service undoubtedly would be weakened. There were, however, in the minds of hon. Members larger proposals which he was not allowed to refer to. Whether those were good or bad they ought not to be prejudged. He expected what the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich wanted, was not discussion but prejudice on insufficient data. He regretted that any semblance of prejudice of the question should be given to the world by the bringing forward of this Amendment, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford would have done better had he reserved his strength and waited for broader issues in a wider field.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said that when he was listening to the speech of the hon. Member for Oldham he wondered why he did not deliver that speech last year. He had the pleasure of hearing the speech last year in which the hon. Member argued strongly in support of the tax which he was now so pleased was to be removed. The hon. Member's argument now was that he was not opposed to the tax last year because the war was going on, but that this year he thought it an excellent thing to remove because the war was over. He was now in the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a large number of other Gentlemen on this side of the House who spoke and voted last year in favour of the tax being permanent. Personally, the hon. Member for Oldham might have his own idea of consistency; and perhaps his constituency had ideas of consistency as well, but for his own part he should feel ashamed if, having spoken in favour of the tax being permanent, he now came back and voted exactly the opposite way. There might be certain things which politicians did not value highly, but after all he thought that one thing a politician might value was his self-respect. He felt himself that having strongly supported this tax it would be an inconsistent thing to turn round and say that it was an utterly bad tax which should be immediately abolished. The hon. Member for Oldham—he did not think he was on very safe ground, especially in view of the speech he delivered last year—tried

to point out that this tax fell on the consumer, and then in the next passage he endeavoured to correct himself, no doubt thinking of his speech of last session. Those who opposed the repeal of the tax always had held that, although there might be certain cases in which this tax might fall on the consumer, by lessening the duty on tea or sugar far greater relief would be given to the consumer than by abolishing the shilling duty on corn. He, personally, had always considered this corn tax a good tax, and he had no intention of voting for its repeal. It was a good tax because it was easy to collect, it did no injury to trade, it broadened the basis of taxation, and it brought in £2,500,000 of revenue which fell, he believed, very lightly, if at all, on the consumer. He believed that almost always in introducing a Budget every Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that the revenue derived from a tax was less and less in proportion to the way in which it was felt, and consequently new subjects of taxation would bring in far greater revenue to the country. He might be permitted to heartily congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford for pointing out to the House that they opposed the repeal of this tax on financial grounds. He did not think that in the whole of his speech the right hon. Gentleman ever departed from the argument that the step the Chancellor of the Exchequer was taking this year was economically unsound.

There was one point connected with this tax which he did not believe had been brought out in the course of the debates this session. He would admit for a moment the whole of the contention of hon. Members opposite—he did not know whether it was the contention of the hon. Member for Oldham—that the whole tax fell on the consumer. What was the state of the case? If it did fall on the consumer it brought at present £2,500,000 to the revenue, and that was not all charged against breadstuffs, but on other articles which came into the country. Breadstuffs only bore £1,250,000, so that each person only paid 7½d. a year. That was not a very excessive charge; even if the

whole of the tax fell on the consumer. He believed that they would sooner pay that tax when they knew that it was going to benefit somebody in this country than pay a higher price for their tea and sugar, which benefited nobody in this country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said as an excuse for taking off the tax that it was liable to misrepresentation. A weaker argument he had never heard before in the House of Commons. Speaking for himself, he was not afraid of misrepresentation. It fact it rather did one good at times. He believed that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of losing his seat by being misrepresented on account of this corn tax, his fears were entirely groundless. Anybody could surely show to his constituents that this charge was not a very heavy one on the consumer or on the poorest of the poor. He had often listened to debates in the House, and had noticed that the speeches which were received with the greatest cheering were those of hon. Gentlemen like the Member for Exeter, or the hon. Member for Whitby, who rose in their places and spoke in favour of economy, deplored the enormous expenditure of the country, and insisted that it was high time we turned over a new leaf. He did not say that these hon. Gentlemen did not practice what they preached. He himself had taken part in several contested elections, and he noticed that as the fight got hotter and the question got closer as to what Party was to triumph, pressure was brought to bear on the candidates to support this, that, or the other project, which invariably meant increased national expenditure. There might be demands for increased pay to the postmen, or higher wages for the dockyard employees, or for old-age pensions, or for education, or compensation to publicans, or a hundred other matters which cost money; and he was afraid the candidate's cry for economy then went down the wind. Under these circumstances he could quite understand that these pious sentiments by financial purists which had been received with cheers in the House should dissipate in a closely contested election. The guardians of the public purse had a very easy remedy.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The noble Lord must remember that at present we are not discussing the general question of expenditure, but the corn tax.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY said he was sorry he was transgressing, but only wanted to point out that the corn tax was a good tax, had produced £2,500,000 a year of revenue, was felt as oppressive by nobody, and that it was a great pity to abolish it on the present occasion. He was perfectly certain that the time would not be far distant when the loss of that £2,500,000 would be very much felt. The right hon. Member for Wolverhampton had said that he would not have had the same objection which he had to the shilling duty on corn if there were an excise duty on the home-grown corn. But, after all, did not such an excise duty on home-grown corn exist at the present moment? And it was that which made many of them feel very sore at the abolition of the corn tax. The rates paid by agricultural land took the place of the corn duty. He could not discuss the incidence of the agricultural rates, or whether the landlord or the tenant paid them ultimately. But at all events it was the corn, or wheat, or meat raised on the land which paid the rates. Take the case of an acre which grew four quarters of corn. On that acre 2s. were paid as rates, which was equal to a tax of 6d. per quarter. He considered that that was an excise duty which the farmers at the present time paid, and they considered it a very heavy one indeed. The right hon. Gentleman, the Leader of the Government, said the other day that the reason for dispensing with this tax was that the money was not wanted. He had a suggestion to throw out to the right hon. Gentleman. A new Education Act had come into force, and the education rate was paid by the corn and meat produced in the country. He asked the right hon. Gentleman, even at the last moment, whether he would not retain the corn duty, and give a portion or the whole of it for the education of the people? Another argument for the repeal of the tax was that owing to the duty on flour a certain encouragement had been given

to the milling industry of the country. That was an extraordinary reason. Because a few more mills were set agoing; because a few hundred more people were given employment, because more offals were produced for the feeding of cattle and other stock, therefore, the tax was to be abolished! All who wished to follow the line which they had adopted in the past, all who had self-respect in regard to principle in this matter, all who had in view the economic state of the country were to vote for the repeal of a tax which yielded a revenue of £2,500,000, and would bring no relief to the consumer! He would vote for the Amendment.

*MR. RITCHIE said he had dealt at length with this corn tax on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill, and he did not think it would be necessary for him to go very minutely into the questions raised by the various speakers. His right hon. friend the Member for Sleaford commenced his speech by saying that he had always regarded the proposal to abolish the corn tax, not from a protectionist but from a financial point of view. When this question was under discussion at a previous stage he ventured to say that his right hon. friend had advocated the retention of the tax from a different point of view than that of finance. He remembered reading a speech in which the right hon. Member for Sleaford said that one of the effects which he expected from the tax was that it would bring thousands of people back to the land. His right hon. friend denied that he had ever used any language that justified him in making that statement. He had not the report with him at the time, but he had now provided himself with the speech which was made at Lincoln and contained the following passage—

"We have heard from every part of England and by every post concerning how enormous would be the benefits accruing from the retention of the duty on corn. It would have the effect of providing work and wages for tens of thousands, and bringing back the people to the land."

MR. CHAPLIN said that he must have been misreported. He never could for a moment have imagined that the imposition of a shilling

duty on corn would bring back thousands of people to the land. What he did say was that the duty on flour had resulted in the investment of thousands of pounds of capital in the milling industry and the employment of hundreds of people.

*MR. RITCHIE said he was glad he had given the opportunity to the right hon. Gentleman to correct the mis-report. He accepted at once the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that he did not use the language he was reported in *The Times* to have used. The right hon. Gentleman said that he had never supported the tax as a protectionist. Neither had he himself ever given any reason of the kind; he did not believe that it was protective in its incidence. The price of corn grown at home had not, in fact, risen; and one of his strongest arguments for abolishing the tax was that the farmers who expected to get some advantage from the imposition of the tax had actually suffered from it. When this matter was dealt with during the Second Reading debate he quoted a paragraph from a letter he had received from a Farmers' Association at Bolton to the effect that the farmers in that district actually suffered, in their view, from the imposition of the tax. He had also received from the Somerset Dairy Farmers' Association the following unanimous resolution—

"This Association humbly petition the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider the tax on imported feeding stuffs that was imposed as a war tax, and pray for its remission now that the war is over, as the tax presses very heavily upon this, a dairy farming county."

His right hon. friend had said that one of the advantages which farmers had derived from the imposition of this tax had been that they had been enabled to purchase feeding stuffs more cheaply, and he had alleged that the price of offals had fallen considerably. He had dealt with that question at some length on the Second Reading of the Bill, and showed conclusively that the small additional quantities of offal that were available in this country could not be compared with the enormous quantity of feeding stuffs that were imported, and that the tax could not have the result which his hon. friend claimed for it. He had received a further letter

from the Bolton Association of Dairy Farmers, which stated—

"Mr. Chaplin and his friends are never tired of informing the farmers that, owing to the slight preference given to the English millers, more flour has been produced, and consequently more offal has been thrown on the market, and at a reduced price. I am a fairly large user myself. I have also inquired from the principal dealers in the district, and we all affirm that the prices are practically the same as they were twelve months ago. In fact, if anything they are a fraction higher."

He had a considerable amount of information in the same direction. The *Yorkshire Agricultural Society's Journal*, dealing with the figures to the close of 1902, said—

"The tax upon corn and feeding stuffs has, up to now, been decidedly against the farmer. . . . Feeding stuffs are as a rule £1 per ton dearer."

The *London Corn Circular* for 18th May, 1903 said—

"On grain for feeding purposes the tax has been paid by the British Stock Farmer, who is admitted to be severely handicapped. That British agricultural interests have been in any way benefited is absolutely disproved by the fact that the price of wheat has declined from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. since the imposition of the duty."

He contended, therefore, that his right hon. friend, in assuming that this tax had in any way benefited the British farmers, was maintaining a position which was not justified by the facts of the case.

It had been said that no one who bought his own flour had suffered, and that flour had not been dearer since the tax than before it was imposed. The price of Minnesota first bakers' flour on 6th April, 1902, was 17s. 9d.; on 8th June, 1903, it was 21s., duty included, per sack of 280 lb. Therefore, that flour had increased by 3s. 3d. per sack of 280 lb. That conclusively proved that the wholesale price of flour had advanced far more than would be justified by the amount of duty which had been imposed upon it. He had in his hand a striking illustration of the fact that the price of flour for baking purposes had increased. Last year the Prisons Commissioners had to come to this House for a supplementary Vote of £12,000, and he was informed that a considerable part of that Vote was due to the additional price which they had to pay for articles affected by this tax. It was quite conceivable that a tax of this kind was not immediately felt, but for any one to tell him that a 4 or 5 per cent.

tax upon an article of consumption like this would not ultimately come upon the consumer was to tell him that which he could not by any possibility believe. His hon. friend said that the American millers were the people who were delighted with the taking off of this tax, and that the English millers were the people who did not like its being taken off. Why did not the English millers like its being taken off? It had been said that the difference between the tax on corn and the tax on flour was not protection. If it was not protection, in what way did it benefit the British miller? Then, again, why should the American exporter of flour object to the tax? He had not sent less flour because of the tax, and he had got a much higher price than was justified by the tax. He contended, as he had always contended, that the British farmer lost by this tax. Instead of paying a lower price for his offal in consequence of this tax, he had to pay a higher price for his feeding stuffs, and it would take a good deal to persuade him that the tax of £600,000, which was at present levied upon imported feeding stuffs, and which was now to be taken off, was not a tax which did harm to the farmer, or that its abolition would not do good to the farmer. In his opinion, the consumer paid in one way or another. He could not add anything to the speech of his hon. friend the Member for Oldham on this point.

Although this tax of £2,500,000 was undoubtedly in a sense a broadening of taxation, it could not be called in the best sense broadening of taxation if it fell upon exactly the same class of taxpayers. It was admitted that the tax upon tea fell very largely upon the general consumer, and very largely upon the poor. And so did the corn tax. It had been alleged by hon. Gentlemen that the tax upon corn had not raised the price of bread, and therefore to take the tax off corn would not lower the price of bread. During the greater part of the year the wholesale price of tea, notwithstanding the 2d. duty, had been only a halfpenny per pound dearer than it was before the war. The wholesale price of flour had been raised far more than the duty. Therefore it might fairly be contended that to take the tax off tea would not

Mr. Ritchie.

be nearly so beneficial to the poor as to take off the tax on corn. It was right, while remitting a large amount of direct taxation, that they should also remit a portion of indirect taxation, and, after considering carefully which of the articles of consumption they should take for remission, he was perfectly certain that they came to the right conclusion in selecting corn. It had been stated over and over again that the Government had proposed the remission of this tax because they were of opinion that it was capable of misrepresentation. He never used that as an argument. His argument was that the tax pressed most heavily on the very poor, and therefore he proposed to take it off. He did say, incidentally, what must be acknowledged to be true by everybody, that a duty on corn, however slight it might be, was a tax which was very capable of misrepresentation. He made no apology whatever, for having used that term, but he merely wished to say that he never used it as the argument which led him to recommend his colleagues to take off this tax. He would not enter into any of the larger questions which had been adverted to by some of his hon. friends. It was sufficient for him to say that this tax was proposed to be taken off in the Budget upon his recommendation and advice to his colleagues, and it was agreed to unanimously by his colleagues. He hoped the Committee, in coming to a decision on this question, would show clearly that in their opinion the Government had done right in remitting a tax which, as his hon. friend the Member for Oldham had shown, pressed most heavily on those who were most poor. It was the last tax imposed before the conclusion of the war, so it ought to be the first tax taken off now the war was over.

Mr. MIDDLEMORE (Birmingham, N.) said he took it from the cheers that had been given that hon. Gentlemen opposite entirely concurred in the remarks the right hon. Gentleman had made, and would rightly welcome him if he were to cross the floor of the House and join them. He unfortunately had not been able to hear the first half of the speech of the hon. Member for Oldham, but judging from what he heard

it must have been a most powerful speech. That speech also was greeted with hearty cheers from the Opposition, and the Opposition only, of which he perhaps had no reason to complain, because he in his humble way had at times drawn cheers from hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Member for Oldham had said that bread was the staple food of the poorest of the poor. On this he was sure the hon. Gentleman did not speak with experience equivalent to that which he himself possessed. In his daily intercourse with the poorest of the poor in the common lodging-houses, he had found that they, more than any other class, ate herrings and bacon, and that bread was not so important an article in their diet as it was in the diet of those who were not so poor. Was it too late to ask the Government to reconsider their position in regard to this tax? At a similar stage in the Education Bill recently they recast that measure, and there were reasons at least as cogent for asking the Government to recast the present measure, but that he knew it would be useless to ask for. He protested against this policy of playing shuttlecock and battledore with the financial policy, undoing one year what had been done in the previous year. It was undignified; it would break up the Unionist Party; some of the arguments in its favour had been pure nonsense; and it would alienate most of the supporters of the Government who valued consistency. This tax was imposed after long debate, after many appeals to political economy, after almost passionate demonstrations from the Front Government benches that the policy of free trade was in no way violated. This tax was imposed as a permanent tax, and it could not be withdrawn without dealing the Unionist Party a blow still more heavy than the blow dealt in the Education Bill. It was like a blow in the wind followed by another in the same spot by the same fist. They were puzzled. They did not know what they were to fight for in the future. They did not know what they were to speak for in the future except a fetish which, whatever might be said to the contrary, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had discarded, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had refound.

The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich and many people, both inside the House and out of it, would seem to have raised this doctrine of the unconditioned import of goods into this country to the level of a religion.

*THE CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member was not entitled to go into the general subject on this occasion, but must confine himself strictly to the matter contained in the first clause.

MR. MIDDLEMORE said in that case he would drop the general question of free trade and would simply say that, for the sake of the repeal of this corn tax, there were people in England who would sacrifice everything we had; who would see the people alienated from the soil from which they had sprung, the restoration of whose manhood and womanhood depended upon their being restored to the soil. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to him to have shown a grave hiatus in his personality, and had shown a great lack of sense of humour. It was better to be non-existent altogether than to be so partially existent as to exist without any sense of humour at all. If the right hon. Gentleman had had any sense of humour at all, even of the burlesque kind, he would have seen the plight to which he was reducing his followers; he would have seen the absurdity of asking them to repudiate all the principles which they had been relying on when making their speeches in regard to this tax, and which they understood were shared by him; he would have understood the absurdity of asking them to appear naked before their constituents, denuded of every rag of principle which they had been proclaiming from the housetops; he would have seen the absurdity of 400 or 500 gentlemen of England falling down on their hands and eating the leek he presented to them. It was a sorry sight, but the sorryness of the sight was swallowed up in the infinite absurdity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fancy the right hon. Gentleman stripping them of all their principles; fancy him doing it to those on whom the life of the Government depended, and whose life depended on the Government. What

a perfect comedy of errors! What an absurdity for millions of people to laugh at! What transcendental and ludicrous absurdity, and all propounded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a grave face and a long-drawn visage, who saw no fun whatever in the screaming farce of which he was the author. The absurdity and ignominy of their present position was seen if they compared it with their position of last year—a position which had been scientifically defined by the hon. Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow. That hon. Member had argued that the supply of corn on which this country depended would not be restricted by this tax, and that, consequently, the price would not be raised. Experience had demonstrated the truth of both those propositions. It was known, also, that corn freights had been reduced in America to meet the tax, that a portion of the burden, at any rate, was borne by the foreigner, and that the duty producing a revenue last year of £2,500,000, was now being absolutely thrown away. The revenue derived from this tax might have provided a great system of higher education—not much longed for, he feared, on that side of the House; or it might have established a great Imperial University, with post-graduate courses, which would have bound the higher life of the colonies with the higher life of England. [An Hon. Member: Old-age pensions.] He was keener on the revitalisation of England than on supplying crutches for the decaying life. What had Lord Goschen said recently?

*THE CHAIRMAN reminded the hon. Member that he was not entitled to reply to the debates in another place.

MR. MIDDLEMORE said he desired not to reply to, but to endorse and embrace two declarations of Lord Goschen—viz., that the tax would not enhance the price of bread, and that there were circumstances with which it would be perfectly right to deal in a protectionist sense. As to the relations of Members to their constituents, he had found that supporters were very generous to Members who dealt fairly straight with them; they would make

Mr. Middlemore.

every allowance for vagaries, for egotistical independence, and “kicking over the traces,” but they did not like pulpiness, emasculation, ignorance of one’s own mind, or the abandonment of a position which had been strenuously defended and declared to be impregnable. Nor would they like the shifty policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the passive obedience of his followers, some of whom were ready to lie down like tame wethers and let the right hon. Gentleman shear them. Constituents liked to see some elements of leadership in their leaders, but what elements of leadership could be found in the right hon. Gentleman? What remained for Members on the Government side to do? They had either to sit down quietly or stand up and explain away their previous speeches. They had got to tell their constituents that they did not mean that which they really did mean, that they were not in the future to be taken seriously, that their principles were reversible, and that the chief end of their political life was to be sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves with lightning rapidity to every condition of political affairs. He would be out of order in concluding as he had desired to conclude, but he would say that the physical degeneration of the people had been coincident with the doctrine of the unconditioned import of food—

*THE CHAIRMAN said he had already pointed out that the general question of the unconditioned import of food was not the question before the Committee. The hon. Member had been warned twice, and he must ask him to obey his ruling.

MR. MIDDLEMORE assured the right hon. Gentleman that he had been warned only once.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should be more respectful to the Chair.

MR. MIDDLEMORE said he wished to be both respectful and pertinent; he had honestly tried, and would continue to try to be both. If he had said anything disrespectful to the Chair he deeply regretted it, and would immediately withdraw it. He desired to say in conclusion that he would have to vote against the

Government, but he hoped that at a future day, after the elections, they would meet on happier terms, though he was afraid it would be on the other side of the House.

SIR HARRY SETON-KARR (St. Helens) agreed with the hon. Member for North Birmingham that there were elements in the situation entirely devoid of humour. He certainly did not like being one of a small minority of twenty-eight, whom he believed to be absolutely in the right, but his convictions were so strong that he would vote against the repeal of this duty, even though he and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division were alone in so doing. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer believed the tax was such a bad one, that it was paid by the consumer, and that it ought to be repealed, how came he to be a member of the Government which last year imposed the duty with the object of permanently broadening the basis of taxation? He was absolutely unable to reconcile the position of the right hon. Gentleman last year with his present attitude. His main object in rising was to allude to one point made by his hon. friend the Member for Oldham in the very able speech which he addressed to the House. He pointed out how this tax might or might not affect their food supplies from across the Atlantic. Last year the amount of breadstuffs imported into this country from the United States was just about one-half of their whole consumption, or, in other words, half of their daily bread came from the United States. He thought there was a great element of danger in that, because it meant that if anything interfered with their food supply from the United States they would run the danger of starvation in this country. If the United States exported such a very large amount of breadstuffs to this country, surely, whatever tax was imposed upon corn, they would be willing to pay that duty in order to have the freedom of our markets. In regard to this tax he thought it was absolutely certain that they had paid their share of the corn duty, and no matter how ingenious the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Member for

Oldham might be, it was a fact that the price of bread had not gone up in consequence of the tax. In the face of these facts, it was impossible to prove that the consumer had paid the tax. The British market was so important to the United States, that it was absolutely necessary for them to send their commodities to this country, and he believed that they would be willing to pay a higher tax if necessary. They had, by this tax, an opportunity of making the United States contribute to our revenue for the privilege of enjoying the freedom of our market.

It was said that the time was not far distant when the United States would not be able to export so much grain to this country, because the soil was being exhausted by successive wheat crops, and the result would be that the United States of America would probably require the food supplies produced there for domestic use in their own country. But along the borders of the United States for 3,000 miles was one of their most important colonies, which he thought in the past they had treated very badly. Canada had a magnificent wheat area, comprising about 150,000,000 acres of land, and in this tax he saw a splendid opportunity to encourage the cultivation of wheat, which would enable Canada to become the granary of this country. That was why he was so much opposed to the repeal of this tax. Someday the position of affairs would be changed, and America would be using her own supply, and this was an opportunity for accelerating wheat production in Canada. They might have kept this duty on American corn and reduced it in favour of Canadian corn. That would have encouraged the cultivation of Canadian wheat. He was afraid it was too late to move the Government upon this question, but in the last hour he thought they might have left this duty on foreign corn in order to give a preference to colonial corn. By this very simple method they might have encouraged good feeling between this country and the great colony of Canada, which in the past they had neglected, and to some extent ignored. For those reasons he should vote against the repeal of this tax. He

entirely differed from his hon. friend the Member for Oldham in what he said about Lancashire feeling. He knew something about Lancashire people, for they were practical men, and they declared that they had not felt this tax. He was not going down to his constituents to try to make them believe that a tax which was imposed for the purpose of broadening the basis of taxation in one year was the right tax to repeal the next year. He believed the hon. Member for Oldham would find the feeling of Lancashire against him upon this point.

MR. CHARLES MCARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange) said he did not know how far his hon. friend was to be taken seriously. He did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be accused of inconsistency in maintaining his opinion on this question. He wished to address one or two observations to the Committee upon this tax as to its incidence in the past, because that was the turning-point of the whole discussion. They had been frequently told that this tax was paid entirely by the foreigner. If that were so it appeared to him to be a most foolish thing to repeal a tax which did not fall upon the people of this country, but which was paid by the foreigner. Upon the other hand they had been told that this tax fell almost solely upon the consumer. But what had been the real incidence of this tax? Had it fallen mainly upon the foreigner or upon the consumer? He did not profess himself to be an authority upon this question, but he had endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the view of commercial men in Liverpool who were practically acquainted with the question, and he would read the reply to certain questions he had put to the Directors of the Corn Trade Association of Liverpool. The President of that Association replied as follows—

"After careful consideration of the points in reference to the Corn Duty upon which you desire information, I was requested to reply:

"(1) That the imposition of the duty last year created considerable disturbance to our trade.

"(2) That the fear that it might be repealed without notice caused great anxiety which threatened to seriously curtail the volume of business.

Sir Harry Seton-Karr.

"(3) That its repeal has lead to further trouble and confusion.

"The repeal of the duty is viewed with feelings of great relief, and it is sincerely hoped that the trade may never again be troubled with it."

As to who this tax was paid by he asked them had it been paid by the foreign exporter, by the shipowner in the shape of reduced freights, by the milling merchants, the baker or the consumer. Their reply was—

"With regard to your other question I am to say that the Directors are of opinion that no part of the duty was borne by the foreign exporter, the shipowner or the merchant. A small part of the tax was borne by the baker, but the main burden fell upon the consumer."

He was not quite satisfied with that reply, because it did not appear sufficiently explicit, and he asked them if it fell upon the consumer, how had it fallen upon him and had it fallen upon him in the shape of an increase in the price of bread or in what way? They replied as follows—

"When the tax was first imposed the merchant and the miller were unable to recover the full increased price from the small dealers, bakers and others, and consequently they had to bear the loss. But after a short time, when price could be properly adjusted, the full duty was added to the price of wheat and flour. In many places the bakers increased the price of bread by $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per 4 lbs., and so recovered four times as much as the tax; but in large cities like Liverpool, where competition among bakers is necessarily keen, this could not generally be done, but, to some extent, the quality was lowered, and later when the price of flour was further increased from ordinary market causes the baker was able to advance the price of his bread."

He took it that this was correct, coming from persons who did a large trade in corn in this country. He had received letters confirming this position, among others, one from the hon. Secretary of the Liverpool Millers Association. In that letter this gentleman said—

"The idea that any portion of the tax was paid by the foreign grower or exporter is now entirely given up. When England was almost the only buyer of foreign wheat this might have been the case, but the increase in the importation of foreign grain to the Continent, namely, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, has, during the last few years, been enormous, until now the Continent is a much larger importer than the United Kingdom, especially during the last twelve months the shipments of foreign grain to the Continent since 1st August last, being 27,000,000 quarters and to the United Kingdom 22,000,000 quarters."

He ventured to say that the facts and figures he had quoted fully substantiated the position taken up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He believed that the trade was not entirely unanimous on the point. He might say that the London Corn Trade Association did not entirely take this view. They said that some part of the duty had been recovered from the foreign importer. His own opinion was that in the main this duty had been borne by the consumer, and in view of the great interest attaching to any tax on corn, the mainstay of the life of the people, and in view of the fact that any increase in the price of food must impair the vitality of our people and sap the foundation of our trade, he heartily concurred in the removal of this tax, and trusted it would never be reimposed.

MR. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said the very effective speech of his hon. friend on his left, the Member for the Exchange Division, would be somewhat impaired when he told the Committee he also had made similar inquiries from the same people with entirely opposite results. He thought the right person to consult was the President of the Liverpool Corn Trade Association in regard to this tax. He wrote to him on the subject, and held his letter in his hand. [Cries of "Date."] The date was the 7th May, 1903.

MR. CHARLES MCARTHUR: My letter is dated the 19th June, 1903.

MR. DAVID MACIVER said he would like his hon. friend to supplement that by telling the Committee what were the politics of the Gentleman who had written his letter. He did not know the politics of the Gentleman who had written his own. His correspondent said—

"The tax of 5s. per ton is so small as to be scarcely felt. Five shillings a ton on wheat is 2½d. per 100 lbs., or cental (the measure by which we sell in Liverpool), equal to 1s. per sack of 280 lbs. of flour. We importers did not feel it, nor the dealer either. It was so small that one in the general grain trade did not perceive it. But the baker did, and for this reason. It requires a rise of 4s. per sack on flour (i.e. 1s. per 100 lbs. on wheat) to be a ½d. on the quartern loaf. Now, during the year that the tax has been on, the price has never advanced to more than 2s. per sack—too little to find its way to the 4lb. loaf and the consumer. The duty has nothing to do with a rise or fall in the market. That fluctuation is

caused by the great law of supply and demand. It caused great dislocation when it was imposed, and it is causing more now in the manner of taking it off. The Americans did reduce their freight charges for a while, but it did not affect us. American flour does not make the price of flour here. Prices are rather dearer now than a year ago. But this is not to be attributed to the duty, but rather to supply and demand and to the many cross-currents and wheels within wheels impossible to describe to those outside the trade."

He was not an outsider, and he knew that that was correct. He knew that what really did affect the price, notwithstanding what his hon. friend had said, was the great law of supply and demand. When the United States or any other country had a large crop, and was obliged to sell it in a limited market, which was the case generally in the United States, the duty fell upon the man most anxious to do the trade; the man anxious to sell. If this country was very anxious to get wheat, and had no other source of supply, they would have to pay the duty. It was a fact that as regarded wheat, or any other article, the duty was borne, not necessarily by the consumer or producer, but by the man most anxious to get the trade. Where the seller was obliged to sell, the seller would pay the duty; where the buyer was obliged to buy, the buyer would pay the duty; where it is something between the two the duty will be adjusted between them. The hon. Member for St. Helens somewhat exaggerated the importance of the United States supply; he forgot such countries as Russia and the Argentine.

SIR HARRY SETON-KARR: Is the hon. Member aware that Russia has sent us hardly any wheat for the last two years?

MR. DAVID MACIVER said he would rather confine his observations to the Argentine. A gentleman who knew more about Argentine products than probably anybody else said to him some years ago that he did not know why this country did not tax meat and grain importations, and that that would be better for the Argentine, because they were better able to pay the tax, owing to the good profits of farming, than others were. That gentleman was specially referring to the United States

of America. The time was coming when the United States could not send this country so much as she did at present. He had no hesitation in saying that he did not approve of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposal. What he had to tell his constituents was that the withdrawal of those grain duties had simply thrown away £2,500,000, which would have to be provided from some other source which they would feel. He did not know how the hon. Member for the Exchange Division was going to get over it, but he would explain that if this tax was repealed they were none of them a halfpenny the better, and that they paid the same for their bread as before. It had not given them old-age pensions and half-a-dozen other things which the Government might have given if they had not thrown away the money. Something ought to be done with respect to the coal duty, for instance. He utterly differed from the Prime Minister in the view that they did not want the money. He did not wish to say anything unkind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but if ever he wanted another constituency he had better not go to Liverpool. He was the one member of the Government who was most out of favour with the entire shipping community all over the country. The shilling duty on grain ought to be kept because, amongst other things, it would enable the light dues to be abolished. At present they were protecting foreign ports as against British ports. He had listened with interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Oldham. He knew his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, before the hon. Member for Oldham was born, and he knew his father's views upon that subject. The hon. Member for Oldham respected his father's memory, and if he had known what his father thought of that question—

LORD HUGH CECIL: What question?

MR. DAVID MACIVER: And what the noble Lord's father thought of it, his views might be different. The late Lord Randolph Churchill's views were absolutely in accord, not only with the maintenance of that tax, but with the

Mr. David MacIver.

larger question which the Colonial Secretary had introduced.

*THE CHAIRMAN: These references are really not relevant to this matter. Some other time the hon. Gentleman might introduce this.

MR. DAVID MACIVER said he would not press the matter further except to say that he believed a much larger number of hon. Members sympathised with the views of those who opposed the repeal of the duty than was generally supposed. He would go into the lobby in support of his right hon. friend.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) said they must all sympathise with the hon. Gentleman, who was evidently suffering from being overburdened by the possession of a vast amount of information as to the opinions of other people, which no doubt it would be very instructive for the House to know, but which he was unable to communicate to the Committee because of the narrow scope of the question before it. What a pity, then, it was that the hon. Member did not persevere with the Amendment which stood in his name on the Notice Paper, which would have given him all the opportunity he desired to deliver this information. They had been puzzled to know why it was that the hon. Member, who did not lack courage, and did not even require a sympathetic audience—which was the ordinary inducement to make a speech—on this memorable and important occasion should not only have run away from his Amendment, but should have deliberately withdrawn it from the Paper after he had in so ingenious a way furnished himself with the opportunity he desired. This debate had lasted the whole sitting, and it would be noticed that no Member from that side had made a contribution to it. That they could well understand, but it would have been almost indecent if some one had not risen on that side to take a humble, modest part in this long discussion. They had been enjoying the debate; such a debate as was almost unparalleled in the experience of most of them. In the first place, they had heard all their own arguments on the subject

of the corn tax repeated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the hon. Member for Oldham, in a speech which commanded the admiration of the Committee. That in itself was enough to induce them to keep silence, because he thought they could have added nothing to, and they might have detracted something from, the force and cogency of the arguments used. They were their own old familiar arguments, and, therefore, they gave great satisfaction to them. But they were still left in a little doubt. They knew now from the Chancellor of the Exchequer the reasons why he had proposed the withdrawal of the tax, but they did not know quite at this moment why the Government as a Government proposed to withdraw it. He was speaking of the Government as an entity—if it maintained the character of an entity, of which they might entertain some doubt. But they were still as ignorant as they were, of the reasons that induced the Cabinet, who were so strongly unanimous in support of the tax last year, to propose its withdrawal now.

They had seen also in the ranks behind the Government bench a pleasing diversity of opinion. Very strong language had been used, stronger than he had ever heard employed by Members of the House with regard to Ministers whom they supported in authority. [Some MINISTERIAL cries of "No, we don't."] Well, perhaps the hon. Member for Sheffield did not use strong language, and the right hon. Member for Sleaford adopted an ingenious mode of relieving his feelings, for he dressed up an imaginary agricultural labourer, and quoted his language with such unction that they could easily see that it was genuine in its origin. But he was bound to say that the hon. Member for Birmingham went a little beyond what was justified by the circumstances in the way in which he spoke of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would not do the Chancellor of the Exchequer the ill turn of supporting him against his own followers, which might lead Members to view him with some suspicion, but he thought in the interest of almost common civilities in the House he must enter some protest against the violent, though humorous, but none the less violent because humorous, objections raised by the hon. Member for Birmingham to the conduct and policy of the right hon.

Gentleman. In other quarters also they found a pleasing diversity of opinion. Even Liverpool was divided against itself, not only on the facts and theories, but in the authority of its representatives. They were often on that side supposed to be subject to differences of opinion. [Cries from the MINISTERIAL Benches of "No, no."] He was glad to hear the denial, but could at least assure hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite that he had not as yet been able to detect in any quarter of that side of the House any diversity of opinion on the subject now before the Committee. They had arrived, or were about to arrive, at a conclusion of the matter eminently satisfactory to them. They were opposed to the tax last year, not to its intention, because he entirely believed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol did not anticipate any of those evil results which are now more apparent than they then were. They were opposed to this tax on the assured and settled grounds that it might lead to further extension of protectionist doctrines, that it was a tax on the food of the people, of the poorest people, who ought not to be laid under the burden of it, and they opposed it with other arguments with which the Committee were familiar. They found themselves amply justified that day. They should take part in the division with perfect unanimity and great heartiness, and they hoped they should see the last of a tax injurious to the best interests of the country and oppressive to the people of this country, and they hoped the tax would never be renewed.

MR. CHAPLIN said he was not at all surprised at the satisfaction of the right hon. Gentleman that all the arguments which had been used by his own side of the House had been repeated by the hon. Members who spoke on that side of the House in support of the remission of the duty. Nor had he any quarrel with anything that had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, except in one particular point. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the agricultural labourer to whom he referred was very far from being imaginary; he was an actual individual, he was a genuine article, and he had used precisely the language quoted. His hon. friend below him had criticised the statement he had made in regard

ne result of the tax of last year in producing a cheap and abundant supply of offals. In the deputation which had been so often referred to there were farmers from all parts of the country, and they knew the actual facts in reference to the tax. They knew what they had paid for the articles before the duty was imposed, and what they had paid after. His hon. friend had asked him to reserve his efforts for larger occasions which might occur in the future. He could assure him that when these occasions arose he would not find him backward in any way; he would be at the front; and he hoped to do all in his power to forward a proposal of

which he approved. But he could not respond to his hon. friend's wishes on this occasion, for a reason with which his hon. friend could sympathise. He was pledged to a number of supporters beyond the walls of the House to do all in his power to press this matter to an end, and he had never thrown over a backer yet. He therefore would press the matter to a division, and he hoped his hon. friend would vote with him.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 416; Noes, 32. (Division List No. 125.)

AYES.

Abraham, W. (*Cork, N.H.*)
 Abraham, William (*Rhondda*)
 Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Aird, Sir John
 Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
 Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
 Allhusen, Aug. Henry Eden
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbt. Hy.
 Atkinson, Right Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. H. Sir H.
 Bailey, James (*Walworth*)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarras, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manch'r*)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Barry, E. (*Cork, S.*)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Bell, Richard
 Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
 Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Black, Alexander William
 Blake, Edward
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Bond, Edward
 Bowles, Col. H. F. (*Middlesex*)
 Bowles, T. G. (*Lynn Regis*)
 Brasey, Albert
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brown, Sir Alx. H. (*Shropsh.*)
 Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
 Bryce, Right Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Bull, William James
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas

Butcher, John George
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Cameron, Robert
 Campbell, Rt. Hn J A (*Glasg.*)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Carew, James Laurence
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
 Cavendish, V C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
 Cawley, Frederick
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon J (*Birm*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J A (*Worc*)
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Cochrane, H. n. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
 Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
 Cox, Irwin Edwd. Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim S.*)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
 Cranborne, Viscount
 Crean, Eugene
 Cremer, William Randal
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Crombie, John William
 Crooks, William
 Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardig'n*)
 Delany, William
 Denny, Colonel
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (*Galway*)
 Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)

Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dillon, John
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
 Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
 Duffy, William J.
 Dunn, Sir William
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Edwards, Frank
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Ellis, John Edward
 Emmott, Alfred
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas
 Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
 Faber, E. B. (*Hants, W.*)
 Faber, George Denison (*York*)
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
 French, Peter
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Flower, Ernest
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Sir Michl. (*Lond. Univ*)
 Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S.W.*)
 Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
 Gilhooly, James
 Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.

Mr. Chaplin.

Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nairn*)
 Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Gouchen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
 Gretton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (*Berwick*)
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Hain, Edward
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Hambro, Charles Eric
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Lord G. (*Mid'z*)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Harwood, George
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heath, James (*Staffords. N. W.*)
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, B*)
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (*Somerset, E*)
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, John Deans (*Fife, West*)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houlst, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (*Mid'd., Tottham*)
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David B. (*Swansea*)
 Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Kilbride, Denis
 Kitson, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Lambton, Hon. Fredk. Wm.
 Langley, Batty
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks, N. R*)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leamy, Edmund
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Accrington*)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leng, Sir John
 Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
 Levy, Maurice

Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Logan, John William
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Evesham*)
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (*Bristol, S*)
 Lonedale, John Brownlee
 Lough, Thomas
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, O. (*Cumb. Eskdale*)
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 London, W.
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 Maconochie, A. W.
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Arthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 M'Arthur, William (*Cornwall*)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Crae, George
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benj.
 Malcolm, Ian
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Mellor, Rt. Hn. John William
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Molsworth, Sir Lewis
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Mooney, John J.
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morgan, D. J. (*Walthamstow*)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (*Monm'thsh.*)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (*Carmarthen*)
 Morley, Charles (*Breconshire*)
 Morley, Rt. Hn. John (*Montrose*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Mount, William Arthur
 Muntz, Sir Philip A.
 Murphy, John
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (*Louth, S.*)
 Norman, Henry
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 O'Brien, James F. X. (*Cork*)
 O'Brien, Patrick (*Kilkenny*)
 O'Brien, P. J. (*Tipperary, N.*)
 O'Brien, William (*Cork*)
 O'Connor, Jas. (*Wicklow, W.*)
 O'Connor, T. P. (*Liverpool*)
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)
 O'Dowd, John
 O'Kelly, Conor (*Mayo, N.*)
 O'Kelly, J. (*Roscommon, N.*)
 O'Malley, William
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 O'Shee, James John
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
 Palmer, G. Wm. (*Reading*)
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)

Parker, Sir Gilbert
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pease, H. Pike (*Darlington*)
 Pease, J. A. (*Saffron Walden*)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Penn, John
 Percy, Earl
 Philippe, John Wynford
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Pretzman, Ernest George
 Price, Robert John
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Raach, Major Frederic Carne
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Reddy, M.
 Redmond, Jn. E. (*Waterford*)
 Redmond, William (*Clare*)
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (*Dumfries*)
 Remnant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Rigg, Richard
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. C. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Eifion*)
 Roberts, John H. (*Denbighsh.*)
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Robertson, Herbert (*Hackney*)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roche, John
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
 Samuel, Herbert L. (*Cleveland*)
 Samuel, S. M. (*Whitechapel*)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, C. Prestwich (*Leigh*)
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles E. (*Stafford*)
 Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sinclair, Louis (*Bomford*)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Jn. M.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Stroyan, John
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Sullivan, Donal
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (*Oxf'd. Univ.*)

Taylor, Austin (*East Lothian*)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, A. (*Carmarthen, E.*)
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glam., E.*)
 Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. R.*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomkinson, James
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Ure, Alexander

Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (*Exeter*)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, J. Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Weir, James Galloway
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. Taunton
 Whiteley, G. (*York, W. R.*)
 Whiteley, H. (*Ashton-u.-Lyne*)
 Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, O. (*Merioneth*)
 Wills, Sir Frederick
 Wilson, F. W. (*Norfolk, Mid*)
 Wilson, H. J. (*York, W. R.*)

Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson, J. W. (*Worcester, N.*)
 Wilson-Todd, W. H. (*York*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (*Huddersfield*)
 Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Young, Samuel
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christchurch*)
 Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
 Chaplin, Right Hon. Henry
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Dimaei, Coningsby Ralph
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
 Gibbs, Hn. Vicary (*St. Albans*)
 Greene, W. Raymond (*Cambs*)
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.

Hardy, Laurence (*Kent, Ashford*)
 Howard, Jn. (*Kent, Faversham*)
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)
 Lee, A. H. (*Hants, Fareham*)
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. Jas. (*Kent*)
 MacIver, David (*Liverpool*)
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (*Wigtown*)
 Myers, William Henry
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Pierpoint, Robert

Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (*Notts*)
 Wilson, A. Stanley (*York, E. R.*)
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Henry Seton-Karr
 and Lord Willoughby de
 Eresby.

Clause 2 :—

*MR. CHANNING (Northampton shire, E.) said his object in rising was to move the remission of the extra 2d. on the tea duty which was imposed for the purposes of the war. This question would have to be considered from several points of view. When a tax was placed upon a commodity largely used in the country, a Chancellor of the Exchequer had to take into consideration how far such a tax diminished importation beyond the point at which it was a satisfactory and remunerative tax from the point of revenue. The amount of tea imported during the last three years had shown a very marked decrease. For the five months ending the 31st of May last year, there was a decrease of 9,500,000 lbs. as compared with the corresponding period in 1902, and as compared 1901, there was actually a decrease of 20,000,000 lbs. He was quite aware that since the month of May there had been a slight rally in tea imports, but it was quite plain that during the three years of war during which the extra 2d. was placed upon tea there had been a marked decrease

in imports, and these facts ought to be fully considered. He was aware that there was before the two preceding Budgets some forestalments which somewhat disturbed the figures, but there was no doubt that over the whole period here had been a marked diminution in the importation of tea into this country, and a marked increase in the price of tea, a higher price than the extra duty imposed, which pressed most heavily on the working classes. In the opinion of those who knew most of the subject this tax had also tended to the diminution of the production of tea, especially in India and Ceylon. It was high time to consider the revision of this tax from the point of view of revenue and from its results. The relief given on the income tax was a large relief—a much larger relief than many of the income taxpayers expected to receive, and if the facts were looked into with scientific accuracy it would be found that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given a relief of 3d. on the income tax, and distributed the relief of the other penny over other things besides corn he would have more accurately attained the

happy mean of the equalisation of the burden on the various classes who contributed to the revenue of this country. With regard to the incidence of taxation on the working classes he had taken considerable trouble to obtain, from the most careful investigation in his division, a series of accurate budgets of working-class families. Taking the percentage of taxation on the three articles, tea, sugar, and corn, and calculating them in the form of an income tax upon the poor, he had found in thirty-nine of these carefully prepared budgets of the working classes, that taking the extra duties imposed for the purposes of the war during the last three years, the result was as follows:—The duty on corn amounted to an income tax of 2·926 of a penny in the £, the extra duty on tea to 1·85 of a penny, and on sugar 3·84 of a penny in the £. He would not deal with the other duties, except as to the total which pressed upon the working classes, which suggested to him that some relief should be given on the duty on tea. Taking the average duty paid by those thirty-nine working-class families in respect to the extra war tax on those three articles of food, and calculating their amounts, interpreted as an income tax, and based on the *ad valorem* values laid down by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and other experts, he found that the additional income tax paid indirectly by the working classes through these taxes alone, without touching tobacco or alcohol at all, amounted to 8·61 of a penny in the £. He would ask hon. Members to remember that whereas, so far as these figures gave a reasonable presumption of accuracy, the income tax imposed upon the working classes by these taxes was that no less than 8½d., only 7d. in the £ was imposed upon the income tax payer for the purposes of the war. He found from figures supplied by co-operative societies last year that the total income tax of the working classes, as represented by the tax upon dutiable articles consumed, ranged from 1s. to 2s. in the £ on the income which they possessed. Those figures could not be seriously challenged; they were brought before him by some of the most experienced co-operators of the day, who had to deal with the expenditure of thousands of families.

The consideration he had to place before the Committee was, that they had in these war taxes imposed a larger amount upon the poorer classes than they had by the income tax on the wealthier classes. And it was useless to speak of this taxation as voluntary in the same sense as expenditure on tobacco and liquor. It was an expenditure incurred for the necessities of life. And though the tea duty was not a tax on food in the same sense as the corn duty which touched the vital efficiency of the people, it was a tax which bore heavily on the necessities of the poor. He wished that the Colonial Secretary had been present, because he had desired to invite him to throw some light upon the calculations which the right hon. Gentleman had made in 1885, which were then challenged by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, and by the *Economist* newspaper, but which were never refuted. The present Colonial Secretary in 1885 made out that if they took into consideration the expenditure upon beer, tobacco, and spirits, the income tax paid by the working classes by means of dutiable articles was about 8 per cent of their income. Those figures had the authority of the Colonial Secretary at that time and were produced for as the basis of his policy of "ransom" of equality of taxation and equality of sacrifice. If the figures of the Colonial Secretary were in any way to be relied on as the income tax paid by the working man in 1885, when they had to pay on nothing except tea at a lower duty than now, coffee, currants, and tobacco and alcoholic liquor, he would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite what Budget the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary would have to prepare, having regard to the war duties, when the additional indirect taxation for the war amounted to no less than 8½d. in the £. The Colonial Secretary's figures in 1885 showed an income tax of 1s. 11½d. in the £, and if the additional tea duty and the sugar duty were added, that would mean an income tax of 2s. 5½d. in the £, while, with the corn duty of last year you had an income tax of no less than 2s. 8½d. in the £. He was astonished that hon. Members, with these sources of information before them, did not recognise the enormous gravity of the inequality of taxation which pressed upon the poorest.

classes of the community. To those who understand the narrow circumstances and the terrible difficulties of working people, with incomes ranging from 12s. to 30s. per week, it required very strong arguments to justify the retention of a larger proportion of taxation upon the working classes than the higher classes had to bear. Such a course of action was wholly unjust, and in order to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer one more opportunity of enlarging the sphere of relief to those who were at present certainly over-taxed, he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words 'continue to,' and insert the words 'cease and the duty of fourpence the pound on tea shall.'" —(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'continue to' stand part of the Clause."

*MR. RITCHIE said the Amendment, which he was unable to accept, had been urged on the ground that the consumer had been given less in the way of remission of taxation than the income tax payer, and the hon. Member had advocated that a further sum of £2,000,000 a year should be taken from the income tax payer and devoted to the remission of taxation on commodities. In considering the Budget for the year, he went very carefully into the incidence of direct and indirect taxation, and all the figures seemed conclusively to prove that by taking 4d. off the income tax, and £2,500,000 off indirect taxation, an equitable amount was being taken off each, having regard to the sums contributed by the direct and the indirect taxpayers respectively towards the expenses of the war. He also investigated very closely the burden borne by the two classes of taxpayers for some years past. As the Committee were aware, the tendency of late years had been to relieve the indirect taxpayer at the expense of the direct taxpayer, so that whereas in Mr. Gladstone's Budgets the indirect taxpayer contributed about twice as much as the direct taxpayer, the latter now contributed rather more than the former. Moreover, the reduction now being made left matters more favourable to the indirect taxpayer than before the war. He could hardly be expected to do more than that in the present Budget, but he quite recognised that in

any further remission of taxation care must be taken so to adjust the burden as to give equivalent redress to both classes of taxpayers. It was hardly necessary to refer again to the importance of not keeping the income tax at a higher rate than was absolutely necessary. It ought to be kept at such a figure, consistently with justice to other taxpayers, that it would be an available reserve in case of emergency, and no one would contend that an income tax of 11d. in the £ was as low as was desirable, having regard to the circumstances he had mentioned. He assured the hon. Member he had carefully considered the claim of the working classes, and he was satisfied that in the proposals before the Committee substantial justice was done.

SIR CHARLES McLAREN (Leicestershire, Bosworth) said that tea, so far from being a luxury, was really one of the prime necessities of life, and the tax upon tea fell on the poorest and most miserable class of the community. Those who had studied the question had come to the conclusion that if there was one thing more necessary than another to the enjoyment of life by the very poor, it was tea. Thousands of the lowest class of workers practically lived on what they called "tea" and bread and butter. The poorest of women, who sewed or worked in factories—the drudges of civilisation—found in tea the one solace of life, and the one luxury in which their means permitted them to indulge. These were the people who had no voice, and were not likely to have any, in the policy of the nation; they were too poor, ignorant, and weak to have any influence in the policy of a nation such as ours; they ought to be treated rather as children, and the taxation of the better classes ought not to be reduced at their expense. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he considered his Budget next year, would take this class into account. Another point of view from which the tea duty should be regarded was that of the English investor who had put money into the tea plantations of Assam and Ceylon. At a time when we were taking peculiar interest in the prosperity of the colonies, the question might well be considered of whether this taxation of investments in the colonies should go on. Ceylon, in particular, had suffered from a series of bad years. The

Mr. Channing.

coffee plantations, in which the English investor originally put his money, were swept away, and tea had been put down in their place. The imports of tea had fallen off in consequence of this tax, and the quality of the tea drunk was much lower than when the tax was lighter. People were thus led to buy lower class China tea, and teas which were not in any sense the product of British capital. The tax on its present footing tended to reduce the value of English investments abroad, and to discourage other men from coming forward to increase the plantations which were now in some places so flourishing. For these reasons he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give his attention to the matter.

*MR. LEVY (Leicestershire, Loughborough) said that while the Committee were grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for promising to reconsider this question before the next Budget, there were reasons which might prevent the right hon. Gentleman giving effect next year to any desire he might have to reduce the duty. Many people were disappointed that the tax was not reduced this year. Income taxpayers would have been perfectly satisfied with a reduction of 3d., and the ideal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of equalising direct and indirect taxation would have been more nearly achieved. Out of £10,500,000 surplus the direct taxpayer received £8,500,000.

*MR. RITCHIE: He has contributed more to the cost of the war.

*MR. LEVY doubted whether the direct taxpayer had contributed as much as the indirect taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to Mr. Gladstone's Budgets. In 1895, under the last Liberal Administration, the taxation on necessities of life amounted to a little over 4 per cent., whereas now it amounted to 10½ per cent., so that there was some justification for the demand that a penny less should be taken off the income tax and the tax on tea reduced by twopence.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 2:—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words ‘continue to,’ and insert the words ‘cease and the duty of 4d. the pound on tea shall.’”—(Mr. Channing.)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘continue to’ stand part of the clause.”

*MR. LEVY, continuing his speech, said he had endeavoured to show the right hon. Gentleman that he had not dealt equally with the direct and indirect taxpayer. This tea duty, like the corn tax, was justified by hon. Members opposite, who said that the wage earners of this country having approved of the war, it was only fair that they should contribute to the cost of it. He had never accepted the theory that the wage earners had approved of the war, but if they had they could have only done so by the introduction of facts which were not strictly accurate having been placed before them, and it was therefore somewhat unfair to penalise them for an error of judgment arrived at on the facts presented to them. Even if they did approve of the war, still they should be the first to receive relief now that it had terminated. They were the least able to bear the burden of taxation. While the income taxpayers had an income out of which to pay, the consumers had little or no capital, and week by week hardly knew how to eke out an existence, very often having to buy their tea in pennyworths and ha'porths. That being the case the Chancellor of the Exchequer having been bold enough to differ from those members of the Cabinet who desire to impose fresh taxation upon the food of the people, and who had repealed the corn tax, would surely be bold enough to go a step further and remit this extra 2d. on tea, imposed for purposes of funds for the

war. This year the income taxpayers would, by the remission of 4d. on the income tax, save something like £8,500,000. The indirect taxpayers, by the remission of the corn duty, would save nearly £2,500,000, but it must be remembered that if the Sugar Convention was ratified, as it probably would be against the wishes of the people, the indirect taxpayers would pay £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 a year more for their sugar. That burden would fall mostly on the working classes of this country, and that being so, there could be no justification for saying that the direct and indirect taxpayers were receiving equal benefits. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in addition, anticipated receiving an increased sum of over £2,000,000 from the Customs, and although that sum might be spread over a larger population than hitherto, the people of this country on their food would be paying no less a sum than £10,000,000 in excess of what they paid last year. The stamina of the country depended upon the quality and quantity of the food consumed by the people; many had to look, not to quality but quantity, and by reason of these taxes upon tea and upon sugar the quantity of food which some would consume must be seriously diminished. He therefore appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to remit the extra 2d. which was put upon tea for the purposes of the war; by so doing he would confer a great benefit upon a great mass of the community.

MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) said he was obliged to traverse a good many of the reasons of the hon. Gentleman opposite for the remission of this duty for the sufficient reason, among others, that no Chancellor of the Exchequer could remit taxation when he had not the money to do so. It was perfectly impossible to raise the income tax to such an amount as would enable 2d. to be taken off the tea duty. So far as he personally was concerned he would make an appeal of a different character to the right hon. Gentleman. He would appeal to him not to remit any of the existing tea duty. He was sorry that even the corn tax had been remitted. The reason he so strongly opposed the argument of the hon. Gentleman opposite was because it

was based on a fallacy. He was in favour of treating, with every possible consideration, those who were most needy and those upon whom the burden of taxation pressed most heavily, but hon. Members opposite must not forget that the direct payers also paid a large amount of indirect taxation. No fewer than 112,397 income taxpayers possessed incomes of less than £160 per annum; 138,467 an income exceeding £160 and not exceeding £200, and 94,298 an income of over £200 and not exceeding £300. That made a total of 355,662 of what they must suppose to be heads of families, which multiplied by the usual computation of five, as being the number of the family, gives a total of 1,778,310 who paid income tax on an assessment of under £300 a year. In those persons expenditure, tea, sugar, and tobacco formed a large ingredient, and, therefore, in addition to the oppressive burden of the Income Tax they had to pay a large amount of indirect taxation, yet by a system of equity and logic, which he was unable to follow, hon. Members opposite found their consideration was aroused on behalf of those persons who only paid through indirect taxation and had not a word to say in favour of those who paid in addition the oppressive burden of direct taxation. There was another argument which had not received from hon. Gentlemen opposite that consideration it should have received. He never had any sympathy with those who cried out because the income tax was raised in times of stress or war, but it was the duty of every Government to reduce the income tax to such a level that they could resort to it again in times of stress. The capacity of the income tax as a source of revenue could not possibly be so great when the tax stood at 11d. or 1s., as it would be when it stood at 6d. or 7d. The direct taxpayers contributed more than their share to the expenditure of the country and *pro tanto* they had a greater claim on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for remission than those persons who, whatever they pay in indirect taxation, pay nothing in direct taxation. The right hon. Gentleman had to be very careful how he in any way still further reduced the resources of the country, which, at any rate, at present only existed on paper. He should be the last person in the world to question the

Estimates of the right hon. Gentleman, which were founded on expert advice, but Supplementary Estimates threatened them. In the last three or four weeks they had large possible and probable additions to those Estimates, and they must bear in mind the claims of the Debt and the absolute disappearance of the Sinking Fund. He certainly hoped the right hon. Gentleman would rigidly stand to the not too lavish provision he had made for the expenditure of the country.

MR. DAVID MACIVER said he strongly desired that the tea duty should be reduced. In fact, he had an Amendment on the Paper that it should be reduced by 3d. It was not an answer to say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not got the money. He had thrown away £2,500,000, and he talked about next year. That did not satisfy him. With regard to next year he was not without hope that the right hon. Gentleman would not be there as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that he would have some other and better occupation. Whether that was so or not he wished emphatically to express his dislike to the whole of the first five clauses of this Budget, and especially his dislike to the tea duty. He disliked the tea duty because tea was largely produced in our own dominions. The corn duty represented only 4 per cent. of the value, whilst the incidence in regard to tea was very difficult. Let them take an average price of 1s. a pound. The duty on that was 6d.—half the value. Therefore, it was perfectly clear that a reduction of 3d. would be so large that no tea dealer could possibly do other than take 3d. a pound off the cost. He did not suppose that there was anybody in the House who would argue that the tea duty did not fall absolutely on the consumer. The duty at present was far too heavy, and, so far as he was concerned, he should lose no opportunity, both in that House and elsewhere, of urging that it should be reduced. He had a very strong objection to any tax which increased the cost of the food of the people, and if he had thought that the corn duty would have had that effect he would not have supported it. Tea had now become almost as much a necessity of life as bread itself, and the tax upon tea had become a very serious thing indeed to working people. He

should always urge that the duty on tea should be reduced. He had a very strong objection to everything which increased the cost of the food of the people, and he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member opposite.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) said that if his hon. friend succeeded with the view he had put forward, it would necessitate an increase in direct taxation. He doubted whether there were many Members on the Ministerial side of the House taking a large view of national questions who would consider that the alternative to the remission of indirect taxation should be an increase of direct taxation. He thought the views upon this point put forward by recent Chancellors of the Exchequer were very sound. During national emergencies, if they wanted a fund to draw from, they had the income tax, but if that tax was raised to the war point in times of peace, then they would not have that fund to fall back upon. When the income tax was raised beyond a certain point it pressed severely and unequally on the industries of the country. No doubt there was something to be said in favour of a duty on tea, and they should take into account what the real burden of the tax amounted to. When they had a commodity, the cost of producing which had been reduced beyond all expectation, as was the case with tea, then it could bear taxation without any hardship upon the consumer. Under these circumstances he could not support a reduction of the tea duty.

*MR. RITCHIE said he had already stated to the House the reasons why he was unable to accept the Amendment, but some observations had been made which seemed to call for a few words more from him. He did not desire to minimise the burden of indirect taxation on the working classes and the very poor, but he reminded the Committee that the relative burden of indirect as compared with direct taxation was not now so great as it was before the war. Before the war indirect taxation contributed in the proportion of 52·1 and direct taxation 47·9 to the revenue, but after this Budget was passed the proportions would be 50·9

indirect taxation and 49·1 direct taxation. Considerably more revenue had been raised by direct taxation for the war than by indirect taxation, and the proposals in the Budget to a large extent rectified the balance once more. It had been assumed by hon. Members that the result of adding 2d. to the duty on tea had been to increase the price paid by the working classes to that extent. That certainly had not been the case, because through over-production or some other causes the wholesale price of tea had decreased to the extent of 1½d. out of that 2d. He did not deny that if 2d. were taken off the tea duty the consumer would obtain the benefit; but his argument was that as far as the burden of that tax on the people was concerned, as compared with the period before the war, it was nothing like the 2d. which had been added to the tea duty. He had already explained that he was unable to do anything more in the way of a reduction of taxation this year, and he hoped that he had explained satisfactorily to the Committee that although this year they had taken off direct taxation a much larger sum than off indirect taxation, the balance was still in favour of the indirect taxpayer.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Cambrwell, Peckham) said his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the contributions of the indirect taxpayer and the direct taxpayer now showed a balance in favour of the indirect taxpayer. He wished to point out that the duties on spirits, wine, and beer were included in indirect taxation. These things could not be looked upon as the necessities of life, and when they were eliminated from the reckoning indirect taxation paid very little to the revenue. Tea and sugar produced about £11,000,000 out of a total revenue from taxation of £125,000,000; and if people did not choose to drink or smoke their burdens from indirect taxation were extremely small. As his hon.

friend the Member for Preston had stated, if they took 2d. off tea they had to put it on something else, and unless they revived the corn duty he did not know upon what other article they could put it, and they would have to put it on the income tax. There was no doubt that of all classes those who paid income tax were a class upon whom the burden of taxation in the last few years had fallen very heavily. The working classes had not suffered by reason of want of employment during the war, while wages had continued good, and, therefore, they could not complain if the duty on tea was kept to the figure at which it now stood. He did not believe the tea dealers and grocers would confer the whole benefit of any reduction in the tax upon their customers; if so, it would be the first time in the history of the world in which that had been done. Any number of cases could be produced where a reduction of duty had not led to a reduction in price. The abolition of the corn duty had not led to a reduction in the price of bread, and a reduction of the tea duty would not necessarily lead to a reduction in the price of tea. When the coal dues were abolished in the City of London that did not lead to a reduction in price, and there was scarcely any instance where a reduction in the tax upon an article had been followed by a reduction in the price. He did not know whether the mover of the Amendment gave any indication of what article he would put the tax on in place of this 2d. on tea. He urged the Committee to hesitate before they took this 2d. off tea, which he did not believe was felt by any one. He was not aware of any other tax that could be put on in its place which would not be a greater burden.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 154; Noes, 92. (Division List No. 126.)

AYES.

Allhusen, Aug. Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope

Mr. Ritchie.

Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Right Hon. John

Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Man'r*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George

Barry, E. (*Cork, S.*)
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Bill, Charles
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Brassey, Albert
 Brodric, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Burke, E. Haviland
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Campbell, John (*Armagh, S.*)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Worc*)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
 Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
 Cranborne, Viscount
 Crean, Eugene
 Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S. W.*)
 Gardner, Ernest

Gilhooly, James
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nairn*)
 Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby- (*Linc*)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Ld. G. (*Midz*)
 Harris, Frederick Leverton
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heath, James (*Stafford, N. W.*)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Som'rs't, E*)
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B'tside*)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
 Johnston, Heywood
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
 Keswick, William
 Lambton, Hon. Fredk. Wm.
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Lawson, Jn. Grant (*Yorks. N.R.*)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Lockwood, Lieut. Col. A. R.
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (*Bristol, S*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 M'Arthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriesshire*)
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Myers, William Henry
 Nolan, Joseph (*Louth, S.*)
 O'Brien, Patrick (*Kilkenny*)
 O'Connor, Jas. (*Wicklow, W.*)

O'Shee, James John
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. Robt. Wellesley
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter B.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pratyman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Biss
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, Herbert (*Hackney*)
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Lincolnhouse*)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, James Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Lord (*Lanes.*)
 Stroyan, John
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (*Notts*)
 Williams, Colonel R. (*Dorset*)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. Stanley (*York, E.R.*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quinn, Major W. H.
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, William (*Rhondda*)
 Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
 Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Bayley, Thomas (*Derbyshire*)
 Bell, Richard
 Brigg, John
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Cawley, Frederick
 Cremer, William Randal
 Crombie, John William
 Crooks, William
 Delany, William
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (*Galway*)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dillon, John
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Duncan, J. Hastings

Edwards, Frank
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ffrench, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, H*)
 Hope, John Deans (*Fife, West*)
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Joyce, Sir James
 Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Jordan, Jeremiah

Joyce, Michael
 Lambert, George
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Accrington*)
 Leng, Sir John
 Lewis, John Herbert
 London, W.
 MacIver, David (*Liverpool*)
 M'Crae, George
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (*Carmarthen*)
 Murphy, John
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)
 O'Kelly, J. (*Roscommon, N.*)
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 Pease, J. A. (*Saffron Walden*)
 Philippe, John Wynford
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Redmond, William (*Clare*)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Bifon*)

Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
 Samuel, S. M. (*Whitechapel*)
 Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Shipmen, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sullivan, Donal

Taylor, Theo. C. (*Badcliffe*)
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glamorgan, E.*)
 Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. R.*)
 Tomkinson, James
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)

Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, O. (*Merioneth*)
 Wilson, H. J. (*York, W. R.*)
 Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. Broadhurst and Mr.
 Levy.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3.

MR. DAVID MACIVER moved to leave out the clause. He said the argument that this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not got sufficient money to carry out what he now proposed did not meet the case, because the life of the nation was not a matter of one year only. It was a matter of grave doubt how far they were wise in raising so large a proportion of their revenue from alcoholic drinks, and other things, the reasonable use of which was right and proper. No question of temperance, or what was best for the people, entered into the Exchequer's consideration in that matter, but simply how the greatest possible revenue could be raised. The excessive taxation of the articles concerned was very bad for everybody. The State made itself a partner with the brewer, distiller, and publican, and a partner which took as much as possible out of the interest concerned, and did as much as it could to stimulate the consumption of alcohol in this country. From a social and national point of view, not less than that of the traders affected, and of those who abused the good things of this life, the present system was undesirable, and for those reasons he moved the omission of the clause.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, to leave out Clause 3."

Question put, "That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill," and agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5.

MR. DAVID MACIVER moved an Amendment with the object of confining the income tax to profits derived from

investments beyond the limits of the British Empire. His objection to income tax was probably greater than to any other part of the Budget. The income tax was not only a tax upon those who directly paid it, but upon the trade and industries of the country. He had nothing whatever to say so far as it meant taxing the investments of those wealthy people who put their money into foreign concerns which competed with the industries of this country, and many of whom escaped the tax. He would like to see income tax abolished so far as the industries of this country were concerned. He was very far indeed from sharing the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others as to the right proportion between direct and indirect taxation, because he could not help remembering that a greater authority than any of them wished to abolish income tax altogether. However little he might agree with Mr. Gladstone in most matters he agreed with him in that. He was aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not got the money and that it could not be done, but he raised the question with a view to the future. There was no more abominable tax than the income tax, which was very unfair so far as it related to those who earned their daily bread as shopkeepers, clerks, or professional men. Minorities were not always wrong, and he was perfectly certain there were many who thought with him who would not vote in favour of the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 11, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'as regards all profits derived from investments other than in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or in any other part of His Majesty's Dominions.'"—(*Mr. David MacIver.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. RITCHIE: My hon. friend has supplied the practical answer to his own Amendment. He says it is quite impossible for me to do it. Indeed, we should be in a state of hopeless bankruptcy if we attempted it.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked whether anything had been done with regard to the Committee on the income tax which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised.

*MR. RITCHIE: The arrangements are not finally settled, but I hope to announce them at an early date.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked whether the inquiry would be by a Select Committee or otherwise.

*MR. RITCHIE said the Committee would be a Committee of the House appointed in the usual way.

Question put and negatived.

*MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) had an Amendment on the Paper in the following terms—

“In Clause 5, page 3, lines 11 and 12, leave out ‘rate of eleven pence,’ and insert ‘following rate, namely: In respect of incomes exceeding one hundred thousand pounds a year, two shillings: In respect of incomes exceeding fifty thousand pounds and not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds a year, one shilling and ten pence; In respect of incomes exceeding twenty thousand pounds and not exceeding fifty thousand pounds a year, one shilling and eight pence; In respect of incomes exceeding ten thousand pounds and not exceeding twenty thousand pounds a year, one shilling and six pence; In respect of incomes exceeding five thousand pounds and not exceeding ten thousand pounds a year, one shilling and three pence; In respect of incomes exceeding two thousand pounds and not exceeding five thousand pounds a year, one shilling and two pence; in respect of incomes exceeding one thousand pounds and not exceeding two thousand pounds a year, one shilling; In respect of incomes exceeding seven hundred pounds and not exceeding one thousand pounds a year, eleven pence; In respect of incomes exceeding six hundred pounds and not exceeding seven hundred pounds a year, ten pence; In respect of incomes exceeding five hundred pounds and not exceeding six hundred pounds a year, nine pence; In respect of incomes exceeding four hundred pounds and not exceeding five hundred pounds a year, seven pence halfpenny; In respect of incomes exceeding three hundred pounds and not exceeding four hundred pounds a year, six pence; In respect of incomes exceeding two hundred pounds and not exceeding three hundred pounds a year, four pence; In respect of incomes exceeding one hundred and sixty pounds and not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, three pence.”

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*THE CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member could not propose a higher income tax than that named in the Bill, and, therefore, only the latter half of the Amendment, beginning with the proposed payment of 11d. for incomes over £700 a year, would be in order.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said he would restrict his proposals accordingly. He was under the impression that, as the scheme he proposed would not increase the total revenue from income tax provided for in the Bill, it would not be out of order, but under the circumstances he was bound to move the second part of the Amendment only. He appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to discuss the question without taking advantage of the technical difficulty. The point he wished to raise was whether the income tax should be graduated or not. It was one which had been raised on several occasions in the House, and he believed it was one which was growing in public favour. He need not argue the principle of graduated taxation. The history of English fiscal legislation contained many instances of that principle culminating in the Finance Act of 1894. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in that year, proposed a scheme of graduated death duties, the object being to impose a differential estate duty, and to equalise taxation between the property owner and the man who earned his income. In 1897–8 the estate duty yielded £11,000,000, and the income tax £17,000,000, the proportion of the former to the latter being therefore 65 per cent. Last year the amounts were £14,000,000 and £36,000,000, and the proportion 39 per cent. It was therefore clear that there ought to be some readjustment in this respect. When he proposed a Motion of this kind in 1901, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed it on the ground of the extension he had made in the system of abatements, and also because it was a year in which it was necessary for him to ask Parliament to increase the income tax. This year a reduction was being made in the income tax. The late Chancellor of

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the Exchequer stated then that if they had to reconsider the question, the principle adopted in 1894 should be adopted—that of imposing some compulsory taxation to equalise the taxation of the richer with that of the poorer class of income taxpayers. If ever such a case had arisen it had arisen now. Then the right hon. Gentleman said he would not bind himself to any policy or plan in the matter, but he very clearly indicated that some policy or plan would have to be adopted in order to reduce the inequalities which undoubtedly did exist at the present time. So far no step had been taken in that direction. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make some promise to reduce the inequality that, in spite of the exemptions, still prevailed between the larger and smaller income taxpayer.

In practice only a small fraction of the benefit to which people with small incomes were entitled from abatements was realised by them. An enormous number of people were unaware of the exemptions to which they were entitled, and were deterred by difficulties from claiming the exemptions. The proportion of the amount recovered by the taxpayer to the amount due to him he should say was one-eighth or one-tenth; and when he thought what this system pretended to be, and what it really was, he was prompted to use very strong language indeed. If the right hon. Gentleman would look at the first column of the table he would find that there were 308,000 entitled to exemption of £160 a year; and in the last two columns he would find that there were 380,000 employees also entitled to exemption of £160. If they took a fairly low average of these exemptions it would be found that when the income tax was at the rate of 8d. in the £1 these exemptions amounted to £2,500,000 at least. Some time ago he had asked the previous Chancellor of the Exchequer how much was received during a year when the income tax was 8d.; and the reply was that the amount actually paid to persons entitled to exemption was £313,000. There were an enormous number of people who were not aware that they were entitled to these exemptions, and there were a large number who were aware but who were deterred by the difficulties which existed from recover-

ing the sums due to them from the State. There were 300,000 income taxpayers with incomes of less than £200 per year, and 50,000 of those whose incomes were between £300 and £400, and 25,000 of those whose incomes were between £400 and £500, none of whom had received the abatements to which they were entitled. He thought it was the duty of the State, if this system of abatement could not afford relief to the poor taxpayers, to find some other system of taxation by which the small taxpayers should pay only the amount of the tax which the State wished to levy on them. He was well aware that there was one practical difficulty constantly urged by Ministers who had to meet a Motion of this character. It was the difficulty of inducing individuals to aggregate their incomes when derived from many sources; and of checking evasion of the tax. After all, however, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the difficulties were so great. Individuals were obliged to make a statement as to their incomes; these statements were examined, and certain checks applied. If a man had many sources of income, in nearly every case the source would be investments in limited liability companies. Now lists of the shareholders in these companies were public property. It would be quite possible to compile an alphabetical index of these shareholders by means of unskilled clerical labour. As a matter of fact he was told that there were private firms in the City which compiled lists of that character. At all events it was possible for Somerset House, which had these lists under its control, to make such a list, and the cost of that work would be justified when £2,500,000 of the poorer taxpayers' money was concerned. There could be no doubt that the present system, or want of system, did not work, and that the classes who were entitled to relief from income tax did not receive it. We must adopt some different system of graduating the income tax. The public believed that those small income taxpayers got the exemptions to which they were entitled; but, as a matter of fact, it was a mere make-believe, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would

seriously consider the case of these widows, spinsters, and other people with small incomes of £200 or £300, who did not get the relief to which they were entitled; if the right hon. Gentleman was able, to introduce that reform these classes would be deeply grateful to him.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words 'rate of eleven pence,' and to insert 'following rate, namely:—In respect of incomes exceeding seven hundred pounds and not exceeding one thousand pounds a year, eleven pence. In respect of incomes exceeding six hundred pounds and not exceeding seven hundred pounds a year, ten pence. In respect of incomes exceeding five hundred pounds and not exceeding six hundred pounds a year, nine pence.'"—(Mr. J. H. Lewis.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'rate of eleven pence' stand part of the clause."

*MR. RITCHIE said he quite understood that the hon. Gentleman had moved his Amendment not at all with the idea that it could be carried, but only to enable him to make the speech which he had just delivered in regard to graduation and abatements. He admitted that so far as the question of abatements was concerned, the whole of the existing system was one which required to be examined. He hoped that it would be one of the subjects to which the proposed Committee would direct its attention, with a view to seeing whether or not some more equitable arrangement than the present could be devised. But when they came to the hon. Gentleman's proposal in regard to graduation they were landed in absolutely inextricable difficulties. Graduation was discussed by Mr. Gladstone, who had pointed out the enormous difficulty and the impracticability of coming to any settlement of the question which would be equitable all round. It was true that on the face of it it seemed to be just that incomes over £5,000 or £10,000 a year should be called upon to pay more than the smaller incomes. But there were practical difficulties to consider, and it was impossible to contemplate any alphabetical arrangement of names in company lists like that adumbrated by the hon. Member. The intricacy and the difficulty of such a subject as that would be over-

whelming. It should be remembered that two-thirds of the money obtained from the income tax was received at the source—that was to say, deducted from the payment of dividends and the like. How was the Committee going to make the various companies at home and abroad responsible for ascertaining what was the income of an individual who received a dividend? The difficulty was absolutely insuperable. The suggestion, moreover, that the larger incomes should pay a higher duty than the smaller incomes had been to a large extent met in the remodelling of the death duties, which were, of course, something like income tax. As it stood, the income tax was considered by many persons as being of an inquisitorial character, and they resented as improper many of the inquiries made of them. He was constantly receiving complaints from income taxpayers as to the cross-examination and inquiry to which they were subjected, and which they did not consider reasonable or right. But, if the Treasury had to summon persons to the bar of the Department, and to cross-examine them as to whether they had £5,000 or £10,000 a year, and require them to show cause why they should not be so assessed, it was possible a good many persons might be brought into the net who tried to escape, but only at the expense of friction and annoyance to hundreds of other taxpayers. He had looked carefully into the question, and he was convinced that the difficulties were overwhelming, while the cost of the investigation would eat up a large proportion of any additional sum they could possibly receive. Though in favour of some inquiry on the subject of abatements to remedy any injustice that might exist at present, he could not hold out any hope to the hon. Member that he could deal with graduation.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he was glad to hear the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Committee, which they understood the other day was to deal with the question of evasions of income tax, would deal with the question of abatements. In his view it was quite clear that, apart from the question of a graduated income tax, the abatements made under existing circumstances might very well be extended to incomes

of from £700 up to £1,000 a year. At the same time he was bound to agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in opposing the general principle of the graduation of the income tax. He himself should like to feel that the graduation of the income tax could be extended from top to bottom, but he feared that that was out of the question. He hoped, however, that the right hon. Gentleman would allow the question of the death duties from this point of view to be referred to the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for West Bristol, last year admitted that, if the income tax was to remain permanently at a higher level, it would be a fair question to consider whether the death duties should not be proportionately increased.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH (Bristol, W.) said he did not remember ever making such a statement.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he had not brought the quotation with him, but the impression on his mind was that the right hon. Gentleman in the course of the debate last year, or the year before, had stated that if the income tax came to be at a higher permanent level than at present, the death duties should be proportionately increased also. However, he did not wish for a moment to give any expression of opinion which would leave a wrong impression of what the right hon. Gentleman had said. He would be sorry to see any stumbling block put in the way of the collection of the income tax.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH said that last year when he held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, they had a debate of some importance on this matter, and, in response to the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, he expressed his sympathy with the suggestion which he made that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the possibility of either extending the present abatement upon the income tax or of graduating the income tax upon the higher incomes. He did not accept the principle of graduation, but he admitted that his main objection to the proposal was the question of its practicability. He

doubted its practicability; but he thought it a fair subject for inquiry. The Committee he had in contemplation was not a Committee of the House of Commons, but a Departmental Committee of experts, who would deal with the question solely from the point of view of practicability. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone beyond that. He had seen certain matters connected with the income tax which in his opinion demanded inquiry, and he had undertaken that the inquiry should be conducted by a Committee of the House of Commons, and that this point should be included in it. He had been good enough to suggest that he should undertake an important position with regard to that Committee. He did not think that anything he could do—or that anyone in his position could do—could detract from the responsibility of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day in a matter of such vast importance to the country as the proper collection of income tax. But anything he could do to assist the House or his right hon. friend in the matter, of course, would be cheerfully done. He thought this was a matter of considerable difficulty, and it was not settled, as the hon. Member for Poplar seemed to imagine, by anything that Mr. Gladstone might have said or done in the matter. In Mr. Gladstone's days, fortunately for the income taxpayer, the tax continued at a low point. They had now got to a time when the income tax in time of peace stood at 11d. in the pound. Well, that was a very serious matter, because how many of them could really believe that it was possible in the years before them that that poundage could be materially reduced? What was the result? It was this: Anyone who had devoted five minutes to the consideration of this point knew very well that the income tax, whatever rate it might be in the pound, pressed far more severely, as a matter of fact, upon the owners of small incomes as compared with the owners of large incomes. To a man of £50,000 a year what did the income tax matter? The man, again, of £20,000 or £10,000 a year felt the income tax but to a trifling extent compared with the man of £2,000 or £1,000 or £700 or £800. That was a fact that, surely, must come home to all of them if they wished to be

Mr. Sydney Buxton.

fair to the taxpayers of this country. Of course he need not say that the unfairness, if it was an unfairness, was largely increased when the income tax stood at a high level.

Hon. Members opposite had proposed to meet this by graduation. He had no objection to the principle of graduation with regard to the income tax. He had no objection to it with regard to the death duties or the house duty. With regard to the house duty, it had, of course, been long in operation in this country, and with regard to the death duties, during the seven years that he had been Chancellor of the Exchequer he had found the principle of graduation work extremely well. But he was afraid that they would find it absolutely impracticable to extend the principle of graduation to the income tax for the reasons which had been given by his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which he gave to the House himself last year—namely, that the great fortress of the income tax, so to speak, in this country was the fact of its collection at the source, and if they resort to the only means at their disposal—namely, that of an inquisitorial investigation by officials specially appointed for that purpose into the circumstances of persons who were supposed to have more than a certain amount of income, which would bring them into a higher grade for taxation—they would be certain to have all kinds of evasions, qualifications, and mental reservations, which would really prevent any successful issue to the inquiry. It was possible, also, that the cost of such an inquiry might be entirely out of proportion to the results obtained. For the Committee could not too clearly remember that the bulk of the income tax was collected from small incomes—he meant comparatively small incomes—and that the fortunate persons who owned an income of £10,000 or £15,000 a year, or above that sum, were a very limited number indeed. He merely mentioned those matters from his own experience in order to show his appreciation of the great difficulties in the way, not at all as suggesting that they ought not to go very carefully into the subject, with the best expert evidence at their disposal, to endeavour to see

whether anything practical could be done so as to lighten the burden upon the income taxpayers with smaller incomes, and increase the burden upon the persons who at present felt it very little at all. He sympathised with that idea himself, but he would venture to say that he hoped that in the inquiry which was contemplated there would be no idea whatever of placing the whole system of the income tax into the crucible of a Select Committee of this House.

Of course, there were many anomalies and difficulties in the income tax system. He wished every hon. Member of this House and anyone who thought he could remove them would first of all read that speech of Mr. Gladstone's in 1853, in order to appreciate to some extent the present position of the income tax and the difficulties in the way of making any alteration in it. If a Committee of this House was to be appointed to deal with this subject, the reference to it ought to be narrow, ought to be carefully confined to certain points, and ought to be definite. Otherwise he would venture to say that they would have no adequate results from any investigations of the Committee, and they might possibly have as useless a result as that of the Committee of 1860, which did not report at all after examining a great deal of evidence. Certainly they would run a great risk of dangerously interfering with one of the most important sources of revenue of the United Kingdom. He trusted that his right hon. friend, while carefully limiting the reference to this Committee, would include in that reference the principle which had been brought before the Committee in that debate. He trusted that if the Committee were appointed it might be their duty to inquire not merely into the working of the existing system of abatement—which he believed, on the whole, worked fairly well, although it was perfectly possible that some persons entitled to abatements did not receive them—but also that they might be enabled to enquire whether that system could be extended or in any way altered so as to make the income tax at its present high level fairer to all persons in the country who paid it.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) expressed his opinion that it was more imperative this year to continue to urge upon the financial authorities the necessity of inquiring into the question of the graduation of the income tax than it had been in preceding years. At a time when a declaration had been made in important quarters in favour of taxing the food of the people, we must consider whether there were no alternatives to such taxation. The plan of graduation was based on the fact that there existed in the country stores of wealth which we could tax without touching the resources of the poor. He did not lay it down that the proposal was necessarily practicable, but some system of the kind was in operation in one of our colonies and in Prussia, and there was obviously ground for inquiry into the subject. It would not be necessary to touch the present way of raising the existing income tax, but the country might inquire whether it would not be possible to require from the rich a declaration of their whole income in order that we might put upon them an extra tax.

MR. MOULTON (Cornwall, Launceston) said he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol as to the importance of an inquiry into this matter of a graduated income tax. He had never been able to scheme out a system of graduated income tax which was not, in his opinion, thoroughly inequitable. Income was a very poor criterion of a man's wealth or his power to bear taxation. He wished to explain the proposal he was going to make in regard to the inquiry, which was essential in order that it might be useful to the nation. No doubt the whole theory of direct taxation was that wealth and the capacity for bearing burthens were taken regardless of how the income was derived; and the burthen was put on the shoulders of the taxpayer proportionate to that. To take the power of bearing burthens was, however, absolutely delusive. He had given an instance more than once of a man who had £10,000 in Consols, and a man who in the best three or four years of his life earned an income of £250 per annum. Both men were taxed equally,

although one was almost incomparably richer than the other. Parliament had endeavoured to remedy that by the rough-and-tumble method of death duties, which fell entirely on the owners of realised wealth. In that way, they had to a certain extent balanced the income tax, and the owner paid about double the tax on his income that the earner paid when the income tax was at 8d. in the £. He thought that even then the owner was let off very lightly. But if it was proposed to increase the burthen of the income tax and to add to the existing income tax a second income tax graduated according to the amount of the income, justice would not be done unless there was an inquiry made as to the nature of that income. An income might be partly earned and partly derived from realised property, but any attempt to divide income into those two classes would utterly fail. He could imagine a business income which was little more than 4 per cent. or 5 per cent. on the money invested, and which in part might be derived from realised property; and he could imagine a business income which depended entirely on the skill of the person who carried on the business; and between those two extreme classes there would be found such a graduation that it would be impossible to decide in what proportion the two elements of incomes earned and incomes derived from realised property existed. He was, therefore, satisfied that any attempt to put a heavier burthen on a man in proportion to his income would cause a quite intolerable injustice. One man might have an income of £1,000 from Consols, another man might have an income of £1,000 derived from his earnings; but although the latter would be capable of bearing taxation, he would be crushed if he were to be taxed to the same extent as the former.

Income tax had worked well because it was balanced by the death duties, and because a man's wealth was estimated partly by what he could earn and partly by what he owned; and if the income tax was not pushed too far that would be a good, reasonable, and practical approximation to justice. But it should not be imagined for a moment that it would be just if it were not balanced to a certain extent by the death duties. He should like to see an inquiry as to

whether income tax could be graduated and yet justice done; but he was certain that a heavier income tax would mean a heavier tax on the earners. He should also wish to see an inquiry as to whether the death duties should not be dependent on the scale of the income tax. If the income tax were doubled, it was borne equally by those who earned and those who owned—a most unfair division of an extra burthen such as the war expenditure. The only way in which that could be remedied was to get a tax on capital, and the only tax on capital they had was the system of death duties. He should like to see the scale of the death duties doubled when the income tax was doubled, and when the income tax was lowered he should also like to see the death duties lowered. They should satisfy themselves as to the fair proportion of both taxes to be borne by owners and earners; and then the two taxes should go up and down together. It might also be useful to enquire whether the capital tax which was the justification for the income tax should not vary in proportion to the amount of income.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) said he did not know what the terms of reference to the Committee which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was about to appoint were to be. The Committee were given very little information about the range of the inquiry in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He would make an appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the interests of a large and increasing number of poor persons who had incomes varying from 50s. to £100 per year derived from investments in limited liability companies and corporation stock. An income tax of 11d. in the £ was deducted from those incomes, and seldom, if ever, did those persons get a rebate. In the first place, many of them did not know that they were entitled to a rebate; and, in the second place, even if they did know, they were not aware as to the means to be taken to secure it. What he wished was that part of the reference to the Committee should be to devise some simple, certain, ready means of recovering money paid as income tax by persons entitled to it. He did not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer ever had occasion to apply for a rebate

himself. The right hon. Gentleman smiled; and he, therefore, gathered that he never had occasion to apply, as his income was always sufficiently above the water-mark to afford him no hope of recovering money paid as income tax. He wished the Treasury officials would inform the right hon. Gentleman as to the enormous difficulties which attach to any attempt to recover money from the Treasury. Small tradesmen with an income of about £200 a year, part of which was derived from investments, very rarely indeed secured the rebates to which they were entitled. That was a real, genuine, substantial grievance. In his own personal experience he knew many cases where income tax was paid, although the persons paying it were not liable. The process of recovery was so difficult that it was easier to pay it than employ a lawyer to make out a claim. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as his predecessor, spoke in a condemnatory way of the inquisitorial nature of levying the income tax. He did not see where that arose. If a man were an honest man, he made a statement of income more or less correct, more generally under the mark than above it. He sat for many years in a court of appeal to hear appeals against income tax; and he knew of his own knowledge that many people paid income tax who were not liable at law to pay it. What he wished was that some protection should be given to this class of income tax payer, from the cruel injustice from which they now suffered. If the right hon. Gentleman saw that this grievance was rectified, he would be conferring an act of justice on hundreds of thousands of people.

He was bound to say he was not quite able to follow the remarks of his hon. friend the Member for Launceston. He usually understood what his hon. friend said; but he was unable to follow him in his argument condemnatory of the principle of this Amendment. He believed that the great majority of the people of this country regarded the present system as unjust. His hon. friend referred to the death duties; but it was not the man who owned the property who paid the death duties, but the fortunate person

who succeeded to it. If he had an experience of that kind, he certainly would not grumble at the payment of the death duties. He believed that the country was tired of the present system; and with all due respect to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, for whom he always had a great regard, he hoped the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would mark a new era in his Chancellorship by making this inquiry as wide as possible. If the Treasury came out victors in argument from the inquiry, so much the better for their own reputation, but he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would provide ample opportunity for arguing the question at a public inquiry. In any case, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see that poor people were no longer robbed in the manner he described. Although he had had some little experience of public affairs, he found it was no easy matter to satisfy Somerset House that he was entitled to money which had been illegally deducted from his income.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said he agreed that great trouble was experienced in securing rebates of income tax. There seemed to be a system at Somerset House of obstruction and delay designed to prevent people from getting the return of money to which they were entitled. That seemed very unreasonable; and there ought to be some simple process by which people would be able to show that they were entitled to a rebate, and when that was shown payment should be made without further trouble. At present there seemed to be an idea that getting money from Somerset House was like getting butter out of a dog's mouth. He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take some steps to secure that those cases should be more readily attended to without all the annoyance and irritation which now existed. With regard to the inquiry, he had advocated an inquiry for fifteen years. He did not think that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer quite liked the idea; and he himself had no doubt that it would lead to some loss of revenue; but there were at present many cases in which hardship existed, and they should be inquired into. To tax the two classes of income

equally was neither logical nor fair; but he agreed with the hon. Gentleman that the death duties very largely put that right. The imposition of the death duties [generation after generation led to a large proportion of the value of property being transferred to the Exchequer. He thought that system was fairly just; but there were certain anomalies which he hoped would be considered by the Committee. Another matter which should also be considered was the mode of assessing, and the question of appeal. He thought the present system of appeal was most unfair, and that it led to great hardship. A system under which a man was not allowed to be represented, although his opponent was represented, wanted inquiring into. The income tax was a permanent tax; and unfortunately it did not look as if it could be reduced for many years. Therefore some system should be devised whereby it could be collected as fairly as possible.

*MR. J. H. LEWIS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he was right in supposing that the inquiry would include the system of granting and obtaining abatements; whether it would also include the desirability of extending the system to higher incomes, and, if so, how that could be done; also whether the inquiry would extend to the comparative incidence of the estate duty and the income tax respectively; and the practicability of adopting a system of graduated income tax.

*MR. RITCHIE said the form of reference had not yet been settled. It was proposed to inquire into the question of evasion, collection, abatements, and many other points in connection with the income tax. The Committee would agree, he thought, that it was very desirable that the inquiry should not range over so varied a field as to prolong the proceedings. They wanted to have an inquiry which would lead to some reform of these pressing matters in a short space of time. He could not undertake to say that the inquiry would include the question of graduation. He had been inquiring into that matter himself, and he was persuaded that the difficulties were immense, and he did not really see his way out of the difficulties

which presented themselves to him. But the reference had not been finally decided yet, and until it had been decided he was not prepared to say exactly what the scope would be.

*MR. J. H. LEWIS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would go so far as to inquire into the system of graduation which was at present in vogue in at least one British colony, as well as elsewhere.

*MR. RITCHIE said he could not add anything to what he had said. Of course he would consider all the proposals that had been made that night before the reference was finally settled. With regard to the question of the hon. Gentleman opposite, he presumed the Committee would naturally inquire into that particular point when they inquired into the whole question of the equity of abatements. He agreed that they ought to see whether they could not make it more easy to obtain the return of money that had been paid. With regard to what his hon. friend the Member for North Islington had said, he was convinced that there was a good deal to be said in favour of some alteration in the present mode of appeal, so that the appellant might have power to appoint some one to put his case before the Commissioners, either counsel or a solicitor. He was quite sure something of that kind ought to be done, and he hoped he might be able to do it without inquiry at all. There were several small matters in connection with taxation with which he hoped to deal in what he might call an Omnibus Bill, and, as they were none of them of a contentious character, he imagined there would be

no prolonged discussion when they were dealt with.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: What about the death duties?

*MR. RITCHIE said he did not think they could extend the inquiry.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH hoped the hon. Member would not put the Committee to the trouble of a division. He was anxious, as he had said, that the inquiry of this Committee should extend not only to the question of abatements, but also to the practicability of graduation. He had endeavoured to impress his views on his right hon. friend, and, though he did not himself believe it was practicable, he felt quite sure that, if it was impracticable, it would be a good thing for everybody if it could be shown to be so. If the hon. Member took a division on his Motion now, on the ground that he was dissatisfied with his right hon. friend's answer, he thought he would injure the cause he had at heart. He quite understood the position of his right hon. friend, who was not yet authorised to state precisely what the inquiry would be, and he was sure his right hon. friend would bear in mind what had been said in the course of the debate.

*MR. J. H. LEWIS said, in view of the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had by no means given anything in the nature of an absolute negative to his question, and in view of the remarks just made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) complained of a lack of uniformity as between England and Scotland in the collection of income tax. While 93 per cent. was collected in Scotland at 28th February only 53 per cent. was collected in England, representing a loss to the revenue of £30,000 a year in interest. He thought they were entitled to an assurance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, until the collection of income tax in England was brought up to a higher standard, they in Scotland should have extended to them the same time for payment as was given in England. He asked that until a re-arrangement had been made the two countries should be put in a position of perfect equality. He had made representations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and although he had been told there was no difference in actual law, the collection was a month or six weeks earlier in Scotland than in England.

*MR. RITCHIE said that as far as he was aware there was no inequality. In Scotland, however, they were rather more eager to pay quickly than in England, as he should expect from his fellow-countrymen, who always liked to discharge their debts as quickly as they could.

*MR. McCRAE said it was not a question of eagerness, but of compulsion.

*MR. RITCHIE said that as far as the law was concerned there was no difference between the two countries. He had made inquiry, and could find no reason why the collection should be

earlier in Scotland, unless it was that the collectors were more prompt.

*MR. McCRAE said it was really a serious matter, and was exciting much dissatisfaction in Scotland.

*MR. RITCHIE pointed out that to bring England up to the level of Scotland would not benefit Scotland. He thought it would not be desirable to push the matter or to adopt more stringent measures; the tax was a very heavy one, and he was unwilling to give another turn to the screw.

SIR MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire) stated that the feeling expressed by the hon. Member was common to all Scotland on both sides of politics, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give the matter his attention.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6:—

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to report Progress at this point. There was on the Paper a proposed new clause relating to the coal duty, and that would involve a good deal of discussion. But before that was reached he desired to raise a point with reference to the Sinking Fund, in connection with which he believed some of his hon. friends had points they wished to bring forward. He thought, therefore, this would be a convenient stage to report Progress.

* **MR. RITCHIE** said that while he did not intend to take the coal tax to-night, he thought the Committee ought to finish the clauses in the Bill and then start the new subject of the coal duty to-morrow. The question of Sinking Fund was no doubt very important, but it was not a matter that lent itself to prolonged discussion.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said in that case he would proceed with the observations he desired to make. The point he desired to raise did not cover much ground, but the Committee would see that it was a vital matter in reference to the efficiency of the Sinking Fund. There were a great many of them who made out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's provision of £27,000,000 for the fixed debt charge was short by about £500,000 of what was necessary to bring it up to the old level. Besides that, there was no provision for the reduction of the new debt, the South African war debt. That left the fund, in a sense, inadequately provided for. The right hon. Gentleman himself had stated—

"In January next we are to receive £10,000,000 more out of the loan which has been underwritten by the Transvaal mine-owners, so that within twelve months we shall receive £14,000,000, and the interest on that £14,000,000 will be £400,000, which will be added to the Sinking Fund of the fixed debt charge, so that the amount of the fixed debt charge available for the extinction of the debt will be increased by nearly £500,000. . . . In another year we shall get another £10,000,000, and the year after that we shall get a further £10,000,000, so that we are going to put on the Sinking Fund £1,000,000 odd in three years. That will go on being added to the Sinking Fund, so that by the time this £30,000,000 Transvaal Loan is paid we shall have a Sinking Fund of close on £9,000,000 sterling."

In short, the right hon. Gentleman admitted the insufficiency of the pro-

vision for the Sinking Fund as it stood, but looked to the Transvaal loan of £30,000,000 to furnish in two or three years an adequate sum to make it good. But was it a certain asset on which the right hon. Gentleman was calculating? What security was there that the Transvaal loan, and especially the second and third instalments, would be paid? Was the right hon. Gentleman justified in relying upon the certainty of the receipt of that large sum of money? He noticed in the report published by a Johannesburg newspaper of the meeting at which the arrangement with regard to the loan was arrived at, that Sir Percy FitzPatrick used the following words—

"Never in the history of the world has a young and struggling State taken on the burden of £30,000,000 of unproductive debt. None of us here to-day know enough to express a confident opinion; we are a great deal in the dark. I believe in the future of this country, and I believe that, given reasonable time, we shall be able to bear the burden of this debt; but you must realise that it is an experiment, a great experiment. If we face this, and if we brush on one side those stipulations which would safeguard us in making this experiment, if we abandon them and leave it entirely to the wisdom of the mother country and to her—well not magnanimity, that is not the word, let us say to her wisdom in the highest sense of the word to deal gently with us, should it prove that our condition and our needs in the future require it, we may be neglecting business precautions, we may be even committing an act of what is called folly or indiscretion, but we are doing it because it is our duty and would do no less. We have confidence in the good sense and the goodwill of the British people, who having it in their power, if needs be, at a future date to lighten the burden, will most certainly not impose upon us that which we cannot bear. They have in reserve the two unguaranteed instalments amounting to £20,000,000. My conviction is that if we cannot bear it when due they will defer it until we can."

That was a perfectly natural position for Sir Percy FitzPatrick and his friends to take up, but it was wholly subversive of the theory that this loan

was a fixed and certain income to make up for any insufficiency there might be in the provision for the Sinking Fund? He did not know, nor was this the occasion on which to inquire, how, when, or by what authority, this loan was to be granted, guaranteed, and secured, but in order to gain information on the specific point to which he had referred he moved to leave out Sub-section 1 of the clause.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 27, to leave out Sub-section (1)." (*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (1) stand part of the clause."

*MR. RITCHIE said it was hardly accurate to represent that no provision had been made in the £27,000,000 for a Sinking Fund for the war debt. There was an immediate addition of £750,000. It was quite true that in arguing that £27,000,000 was sufficient he confidently expected that in the next three or four years there would be a repayment of £30,000,000 from the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman asked what was their security. His right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies, in his statement on the subject of the finances of the Transvaal, fully explained to the House how that matter stood. The Transvaal was at present a Crown colony, and it was not necessary that we should take from them, in the ordinary sense of the term, security for the payment of debt which they were willing to incur. It was not necessary, because the matter was practically in our own hands. But, of course, they would not be justified in making the

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

assumption that the Transvaal could pay that money unless they had had some assurance from those who were interested which led them to believe that they would receive the money. The Colonial Secretary had informed the House that the contribution was assented to by an assembly representing the various interests of the colonies for the purpose of considering the contribution of the colonies towards the expenses of the war. At the first meeting some of the representatives of labour dissented, but subsequently, on the proposal being explained exactly, the dissentients withdrew their objection. Another meeting representing all interests, including those of labour, came unanimously to the resolution that they would be prepared to find the £30,000,000, and the mine owners guaranteed at least the first £10,000,000. Therefore, so far as the first £10,000,000 were concerned, we were quite safe. If, therefore, we only received that £10,000,000, and also the amount of money which we should receive back in repayment of the loan from the Transvaal, which undoubtedly we should receive in the course of the present year, we had at once an appreciable sum which would represent an addition to the Sinking Fund of £400,000 or £500,000. The Government were confident that they would also get the remaining £20,000,000, and they were supported in that belief by Lord Milner's review of the prospects of the finances of the Transvaal during the next three years. Lord Milner had arrived at the conclusion that that money would be forthcoming, and the progress which had been made since he made that forecast justified the view which he had

taken. Therefore, although the Government had no actual guarantee so far as the whole £30,000,000 were concerned, all the interests in the colonies had agreed to the proposals of his right hon. friend for the payment of that sum. Having regard to the fact that at the end of four years, if they obtained that £30,000,000, they would have a fixed charge containing within it some £9,000,000 towards the Sinking Fund, or 1.25 per cent. of the outstanding debt, which was a larger percentage than ever existed before, they would not have been justified in increasing the burden of the people of this country in the shape of taxation.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH said it was not easy to discuss the matter at that time of night, but he had no wish to delay the progress of the Bill. He certainly should be sorry to blame His Majesty's Government or the Secretary for the Colonies for having settled with the Transvaal for the contribution of £30,000,000 towards the expenses of the war. He thought it was a good settlement, and it was as much as he ever expected to get. He thought, however, it would be a bird in the hand, and from the Budget speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the speech of the Colonial Secretary it was so considered in their calculations. But he was sorry to hear from the speech of his right hon. friend that he was a little doubtful about £20,000,000 of the sum of £30,000,000.

*MR. RITCHIE: I have no doubt at all.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH said he wished he was as certain as his right hon. friend. It was a rather delicate matter to discuss in the House, and they certainly ought not to throw any doubt on

the probability of recovering that sum. But what was the position? The revenues of the Transvaal depended largely on the railway receipts, that was admitted, and the railway receipts had been very large during recent months, and were estimated by Lord Milner at a very considerably increased sum for the ensuing year. With his knowledge of Lord Milner's financial powers he would not wish to throw the slightest doubt on the estimate, but it must be remembered that this was the time when railway receipts in the Transvaal must necessarily be very large, for everything was coming in for restoration work in the territory. But taking Lord Milner's calculations and assuming them to be perfectly justified, there would be, as he understood from Papers laid on the Table, a deficit of some £200,000 or something of the kind in the third year, assuming that the second and third ten millions of the thirty were to be raised, and this was to be made good by increased revenue. The calculations might be right, but there were other factors in the situation. We expected to receive £10,000,000 next January, and that might be taken as certain, and then again £10,000,000 in January, 1905, and £10,000,000 again in January, 1906. Well, 1905 was some way off, and January, 1906, a long way off, and the Transvaal was a country that above all others would pay for development, and there would necessarily be a conflict to some extent between the funds required from the revenue for providing the second and third £10,000,000 and the sum required for further development required in the Transvaal. He suggested that his right hon. friend would make the second and third millions far more secure if His

Majesty's Government would insist on a provision in the ordinance that certain receipts should be ear-marked to provide the interest for the £30,000,000; in other words, that the receipts not from taxation, but from mines or property of that kind, should be ear-marked to provide the interest on the £30,000,000. Last year it occurred to the Government that it would be better that there should be no fixed sum named as the Transvaal's contribution to the war expenditure, but that certain revenue of the Transvaal should be set aside practically indefinitely in order to provide that contribution. His right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary went out to South Africa with that idea, but he found it was impracticable—and he thought he was absolutely right—because it placed a burden of an indefinite amount on the Transvaal for an indefinite time, and that might check development altogether. What he suggested was a different matter—namely, that in the ordinance certain revenues should be ear-marked for providing the interest on the £30,000,000 and no more. He ventured to hope that his right hon. friend and the Government would give the matter their attention, because he thought at present there was some slight danger of losing the later contribution towards the £30,000,000 which the Transvaal had agreed to as a fair contribution from that colony towards the war expenditure.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said that very important considerations were raised by the facts which had been placed before the Committee by the Leader of the Opposition and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol,

Sir M. Hicks Beach.

and it would greatly conduce to the proper discussion of the matter if the Government would now consent to report Progress.

*MR. RITCHIE admitted that the matter was important, but it had been debated on more than one occasion, and the facts and arguments were really confined within very narrow limits. He hoped, therefore, the Committee would dispose of the matter tonight.

MR. BUCHANAN contended that the facts showed clearly the absence of certainty with regard to this one and only source of any repayment of the war debt.

*MR. RITCHIE said he had endeavoured to point out that so far as the contribution towards the war expenses was concerned they had the first £10,000,000 assured while the other two sums of £10,000,000 each would bring the amount of the Sinking Fund up to a figure it had never before reached.

MR. BUCHANAN pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman was mixing up two subjects—the sufficiency of the sum quoted for the Sinking Fund, and the adequacy of the means being taken for the early extinction of the war debt. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his various Bills for raising money, always made a strong point of the fact that the borrowing for the purposes of the war should be temporary, not permanent, and that the first obligation on the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the conclusion of the war would be to take effective steps for the early extinction of the war debt. The only two conditions which the right hon. Gentleman imposed upon himself or his

successor were that the war should be over, and that he should be able to state the amount of the contribution to be obtained from the Transvaal. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated the amount of the Transvaal's contribution, but the Committee had seen the comparatively slight security for the second and third instalments. Even though the whole £30,000,000 were paid, it was a comparatively small fraction of the total war debt, which amounted to £67,000,000 unfunded debt, and £90,000,000 funded debt. They had expected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to make some clear and definite statement of the intentions of the Government in the immediate future in regard to the debt, but the right hon. Gentleman had disappointed them: he had made no attempt to deal with the question upon which his predecessor had laid so much stress—viz., the necessity at the earliest possible date of some diminution in the amount of the unfunded debt. £10,000,000 of Exchequer bonds would mature in about six weeks, and it was

time the right hon. Gentleman gave some assurance as to what he intended to do with regard to them.

*MR. RITCHIE said that he thought it was not desirable to make any definite statement as to the way in which the £10,000,000 of Exchequer bonds, or indeed the unfunded debt generally, was to be dealt with. But he did not regard the amount of that debt with satisfaction, and he intended to make inroads upon it as quickly as the resources at his command would permit. With regard to the war debt generally, he anticipated it would be extinguished by March, 1915, the whole debt would then be reduced to a figure below that at which it stood in March, 1899.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question put, "That Clause 6 stand part of the Bill."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 154; Noes, 36. (Division List, No. 127.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Allhusen, Aug. Henry Eden
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarras, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manchester*)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christchurch*)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, E. (*Cork, S.*)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
 Bill, Charles
 Bond, Edward
 Brassey, Albert
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ.*)
 Carron, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cantley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbysh.*)
 Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Worcester*)
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Clive, Captain Percy A.

Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
 Cox, Irwin Edwd. Bainbridge
 Cranborne, Viscount
 Crean, Eugene
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Cullinan, J.
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (*Galway*)
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwm
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
 Fellows, Hon. Ailwyn Ed.
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S. W.*)
 Fyler, John Arthur

Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
 Gore, Hn G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
 Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
 Greene, Sir E. W. (*Bury St. Ed.*)
 Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
 Gretton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Guthrie, Walter Murray
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Ld. G. (*Midx*)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, Frederick Leverton
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heath James (*Staffords, N. W.*)
 Henderson, Sir Alexander
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somerset*)
 Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B. side*)
 Houlst, Joseph
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Joyce, Michael
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Keswick, William
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasyow*)
 Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)

Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks, N.R.*)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
 Long, Rt. Hn. W. (*Bristol, S.*)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 London, W.
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Montagu, G. (*Huntingdon*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morgan, D. J. (*Walthamstow*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Murray Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Joseph (*Louth, S.*)
 O'Brien, Patrick (*Kilkenny*)
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)

Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
 Redmond, Jn. E. (*Waterford*)
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Ridley, Hu. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Scott, Sir S. (*Marylebone, W.*)
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, E.*)
 Smith, James Parker (*Lanarks*)
 Spear, John Ward

Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Austin (*Last Toxteth*)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
 Tuke, Sir John Batty
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Webb, Col. William George
 Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (*Notts*)
 Whiteley, H. (*Ashton-u.-Lyne*)
 Williams, Colonel R. (*Dorset*)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, A. Stanley (*York, E. R.*)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P. (*Glouc., Stroud*)
 Asher, Alexander
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Black, Alexander William
 Brigg, John
 Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
 Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton

Helme, Norval Watson
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, E*)
 Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Leyland-Barratt, Francis
 Levy, Maurice
 M'Arthur, William (*Cornwall*)
 M'Crae, George
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Norman, Henry
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Wigan*)

Roe, Sir Thomas
 Samuel, Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
 Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. R.*)
 Toulmin, George
 Walton, Joseph (*Barnsley*)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. M'Kenna and Mr.
 Buchanan.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Put and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this day.

NEW BILL.

ANCIENT LIGHTS.

Bill to amend the law relating to Easements of Light, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Robson, Mr. H. D. Greene, and Mr. Herbert Robertson.

ANCIENT LIGHTS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Easements of Light," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 254.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

On the Motion that the House do now adjourn.

SIR ALEXANDER ACLAND HOOD (*Somersetshire, Wellington*) said that after the conclusion of the Committee stage of the Finance Bill that day the Employment of Children Bill, as amended, would be considered as the first order.

Adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 23rd June, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with: Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Transfer).

Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills: Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order; Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order.

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Metropolitan Police Provisional Order; Military Lands Provisional Orders.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the following Bills ought to be dispensed with, and the Bills allowed to proceed: Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers); Wigan Corporation Tramways; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway; Romford and District Tramways; Beckenham Urban District Council.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the petition for additional provision in the South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.] ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to the Committee on the Bill to insert the additional provision.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill ought not to be dispensed with, but that the Bill may be allowed to proceed, subject to Clauses 8, 10, and 11 being struck out of the Bill.

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That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed, on a proviso being inserted in the Bill for the protection of the debenture and preference shareholders, and subject to the Bill being submitted to the meeting of the proprietors of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company now summoned to meet.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Stroud and District Tramways Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed, subject to the names of James Grainger Bellamy and Alexander Siemens being struck out of the Bill.

Read and agreed to.

Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill. Reported without Amendment.

Kip's Patents Bill [H.L.], Bangor Corporation Bill [H.L.], Fishguard and Ross-lare Railways and Harbours Bill. Reported with Amendments.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1.) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Thursday next.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Thursday next.

New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported with Amendments.

Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill; Stroud and District Tramways Bill; Romford and District Tramways Bill; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill

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brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bills read 2^a accordingly.

Great Eastern Railway Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Scottish Central Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill; Stroud and District Tramways Bill; Romford and District Tramways Bill; London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. Committed: The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill; Grindleford Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill. Committed.

Bradford Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

South Shields Corporation Bill; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill. Brought from the Commons, read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Wirral Railway Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons amended.

Public Accounts—Message from the Commons for leave for the Clerk of the Parliaments to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee of that House. Leave given accordingly, and a Message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. (No. 127.) A Bill to confirm a Pro-

visional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation (Police).

Glasgow Corporation Tramways Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. (No. 128.) A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation Tramways.

Were presented by the Lord Balfour, read 1^a; and to be printed.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill; Crystal Palace District Gas Bill; Leigh Corporation Bill; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill; Middlesbrough Corporation Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.), E. Mayo, L. Braye, L. Strathspey (*E. Seafield*), L. Herries (chairman), L. St. Oswald; agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Tuesday next at Eleven o'clock; and all Petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Naval Works Provisional Order Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill (No. 130); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill (No. 131). Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

PETITIONS.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.].

Petitions in favour of: of Abbot's Salford, Evesham; Aberavon; Aber-tillery; Aberystwyth; Abingdon; Acton Burnell; Aiskew; Alcester; Allerton Park and District; Alnwick; Alston and District; Alton; Altrincham; Amberley; Amble (Northumberland); Ambleside; Anderton; Angmering and Cross Bush; Annitsford; Ascot; Ashbourne; Ashford (Kent); Ashford (Middlesex); Ashington; Ashton-under-Lyne; Atherton; Avon Dasset; Backworth; Bacup; Bake-well and Hassop; Banbury; Bangor; Barking (2); Barmouth; Barnard Castle; Barnet; Barrasford; Barts-tree and District; Barton-on-Humber; Barton-on-Irwell; Basingstoke; Bath (2); Battle; Beckenham; Bedford; Beeston; Begbroke; Bentham; Ber-wick-on-Tweed (2); Bexhill-on-Sea; Biddlestone; Bilston; Birchley; Birk-dale (2); Birkenhead (4); Birming-ham (8); Birtley; Bishop Auckland; Bishops Stortford (2); Bishop Thornton and District; Blackbrook; Blackburn (2); Blackmore Park; Blackpool; Blaenau Festiniog; Blundellsands; Blyth; Bognor; Bollington; Bolton (4); Bolton-le-Sands; Bootle (2); Boscombe; Bournemouth; Brad-ford (4); Braintree; Brentford (2); Brentwood (2); Brewood; Bridgend; Bridgnorth; Bridgwater; Brierley Hill; Brighouse; Brighton (3); Brindle; Bristol (3); Broadway; Bromley (Kent); Brooms; Brough Hall; Broughton; Broxwood; Brynmawr; Buckland; Buckley; Burgess Hill; Burnham; Burscough and Latham; Burslem; Burton-on-Trent; Bury (2); Bury St. Edmunds; Buxton; Byer Moor; Cambridge; Campden; Cannock and

Hednesford; Cardiff (5); Carisbrooke; Carlisle (4); Carlton; Carmarthen; Cars-halton; Castleford; Castleton; Catforth; Chatham; Chelmsford; Chepstow; Chester (2); Chesterfield; Chester-le-Street; Chichester; Chigwell; Chippen-ham; Chipping; Chipping Sodbury; Chislehurst; Chorley (3); Cirencester; Claughton-on-Brock; Clayton Green; Cleator; Clevedon; Clifford; Clifton; Cockermouth; Coedangred; Colchester; Coleshill; Colne; Colwich; Congleton; Corby; Cornforth and District; Cottam; Coughton; Courtfield; Coventry (2); Crawley; Crayford; Crewe; Croft; Crook; Croydon; Dalton-in-Furness; Darlington; Dartford; Deal (2); Denaby Main; Denbigh; Derby (2); Derwent and District; Devizes; Dewsbury; Ditton Hall; Doncaster; Dorking; Dover; Downall Green; Downsine (2); Dudley; Dukinfield; Dunmow (2); Durham; Eastbourne; East Grinstead; East Harptree; East Hendred; East-leigh; Eastwood; Eccles; Egton Bridge; Ellingham; Eltham; Enfield (2); Epsom; Erdington; Errwood and Whaleybridge; Esh; Esh Laude; Euxton; Evesham; Exton and Oakham; Fairfield; Fairford; Fareham; Farnborough; Farnham; Farn-worth; Faversham; Felton; Fernyhalgh; Flint; Florence (British subjects); Folke-stone; Fordingbridge; Formby; Fox-cote; Frizington; Frome; Gainford; Gains-borough; Garstang; Garston; Gates-head; Gillmoss; Glastonbury; Good-wick; Goole; Gosforth; Grange-over-Sands; Grangetown; Grantham; Gras-sendale; Gravesend; Grayshott; Great Crosby; Great Eccleston; Great Hay-wood; Guildford and Godalming; Hainton; Halifax (2); Haltwhistle; Hampton Wick and Teddington (2); Hanley; Harrington; Harrogate; Harrow-on-the-Hill (2); Hartlepool; Hastings and Rye (2); Haunton; Haverfordwest; Haydon Bridge; Hay-ward's Heath; Heaton Norris; Hems-worth; Hereford; Heron's Ghyll; Hethe; Hexham; Hillingdon; Hinckley (2); Hindley; Hoddeston; Holyhead and Beaumaris; Holywell (2); Hornby; Haorsham; Horwich; Houghton-le-Spring Hove; Huddersfield; Hulme; Husbands Bosworth; Huyton; Hythe; Ilford; Ilkley; Ingatestone; Ipswich and Wood-bridge; Isleworth (4); Keighley; Kelve-don; Kemerton; Kenilworth; Kendal; Kew; Kidderminster; Kidsgrove and

Alsager; Kingston-on-Thames; Kingswood; Knaresborough; Knolton Hall; Overton; Knutsford; Lancaster (2); Latchford; Lea; Leamington; Leeds (5); Leek; Leicester (2); Leigh (2); Leominster; Leyland; Lichfield; Lincoln; Liscard; Littleborough; Littlehampton; Liverpool (15); London (101); Longhorsley; Longridge; Longton; Loughborough (2); Louth; Lowerhouse; Ludlow; Lutterworth; Lymington; Maghull; Maidstone; Maldon; Malmesbury; Malvern, Little; Manchester (12); Mansfield; Mark Cross; Market Drayton; Market Harborough; Market Rasen; Maryport; Matlock Bridge; Mawdesley and District; Mawley; Mayfield; Melton Mowbray; Middlesborough; Midhurst; Milford Haven; Millom; Minehead; Minsteracres; Minster-in-Thamet; Mold; Monmouth; Morecambe; Morley; Morpeth; Mountain Ash; Nantwich; Neath; Neston, Cheshire; Netherton; Newark; New Brighton; New Brompton; Newcastle-on-Tyne (8); New Ferry; Newhall (near Burton-on-Trent); Newhaven; Newhouse; New Mills; Newnham Paddox; Newport, Mon.; Newport, Salop; Newport, Isle of Wight; Newsham; Newton-le-Willows; New Tunstall; Normanton; Northampton; Northfleet; North Shields; Northwich; Norwich; Nottingham; Nuneaton; Oakamoor; Oldcotes; Olton; Ongar; Ormskirk; Orpington; Orrell; Oscott; Osgodby; Oswestry; Oxford (2); Pantasaph; Parkminster; Pembroke Dock and New Milford; Penarth; Penrith; Peterborough; Petworth (3); Plowden; Pontefract; Port Clarence-on-Tees; Portsmouth; Poulton-le-Fylde; Preston (5); Prescott; Prestayn and Llanasa; Prudhoe-on-Tyne; Radford; Rainford; Ramsey; Ramsgate (3); Reading; Redditch; Redhill (2); Rhyl (2); Rhymney; Richmond, Surrey (2); Rixton; Rochdale; Rock Ferry; Ross; Rudding Park; Rugeley (2); Runcorn; Ryhope (2); Sacriston; St. Anne's-on-the-Sea; St. Asaph (2); St. Helens (6); St. Helier (3); St. Lawrence-on-Sea; St. Leonards-on-Sea (3); Sale; Salford; Salisbury; Scarborough; Scarisbrick; Scarthingwell and District; Scorton; Seacombe; Seaford; Seaforth; Sedgley; Selby; Settle; Sevenoaks; Sheffield (4); Shifnal; Shoburyness; Shrewsbury; Sidecup; Sittingbourne; Skelmersdale;

Slindon; Smethwick; Souldern; Southampton (2); Southend-on-Sea (3); Southport; Spalding; Spetchley; Spilsby; Stafford (2); Stains; Stalybridge; Stamford; Stanbrook; Standish; Stanley and District; Stock; Stockton-on-Tees; Stoke-on-Trent; Stone; Stonor; Stonyhurst (2); Storrington; Stourbridge; Stratford-on-Avon; Stroud; Studley; Sturry and District; Sunbury-on-Thames; Sunderland (3); Surbiton; Sutton, Surrey; Sutton Coldfield; Sutton Park; Swansea (2); Swindon; Swynnerton; Tadcaster; Taunton (3); Tenby; Thornley; Thornton; Thurnham; Tichborne; Trimdon; Trowbridge; Tudhoe; Turton; Tynemouth; Uckfield; Ugthorpe; Ulverston; Upton Hall; Upton-on-Severn; Ushaw; Usk; Uttoxeter; Uxbridge; Ventr (2); Wadhurst; Walmer (2); Walsall; Waltham Cross; Walton-le-Dale; Wardour and Tisbury; Warrington (3); Warwick; Warwick Bridge; Waterloo; Waterlooville; Wealdstone; Wellingborough; Wellingore; Wellington; Wells; Wesham; Westby; West Drayton; West Hartlepool (2); Westhoughton; West Kirby; Weybridge (3); Whitchurch; Whitewell and Dunsop Bridge; Whittingham; Widnes (3); Wigan (2); Wigton; Willington; Willows; Wilmslow; Wimbledon (2); Wincanton; Windermere; Windsor; Withnell and District; Wolsingham; Wolverhampton; Womersley; Woodchester; Woodford; Woodlane; Wooler; Woolhampton; Woolmer; Woolston; Woolston, Hants; Worcester; Workington; Worthing (3); Wrightington; Yarmouth, Great; Yealand; Yeovil; and York (2). Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

DIVORCE BILL [H.L.]

Petitions in favour of: of persons signing; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION.

Statement of schemes for the formation of Education Committees approved during the month of May, 1903, by the Board of Education under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1902 (in continuation of Parliamentary Papers, Command Nos. 1564 and 1613 of Session 1903), showing—name

of local authority ; number of the council ; number of members of the Education Committee ; number of members of the Education Committee who are necessarily members of the council ; number of women who are necessarily on the Education Committee ; forms of educational experience to be represented on the Committee ; recommendations or nominations (if any).

TRADE REPORTS.

Annual Series—

No. 3006. China (Wuchow).
No. 3007. Paraguay (Paraguay).
No. 3008. Spain (Malaga).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

Additional rule for the disposal of certain documents.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.

Finance accounts of the United Kingdom, for the year ended 31st March, 1903.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX).

Order made by the County Council of the county of Middlesex, altering certain polling districts in the Hornsey Parliamentary Division.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

DECLARATION OF THE SOVEREIGN AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Petition for abrogation of : of Roman Catholics in Preston, Lancashire ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

THE CONSTITUTION OF MALTA.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government a Question of which I have given private notice—whether it is true that letters patent have been issued making important modifications in the Constitution of Malta, and, if so, whether correspondence on that subject will be laid before Parliament without unnecessary delay.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of DEVONSHIRE): The reply to the Question of the noble

Marquess is in the affirmative. The Papers on the subject will be laid on the Table of the House in a very few days.

DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*EARL RUSSELL: My Lords, when I last had the honour of submitting to your Lordships' House a Bill containing somewhat similar provisions to the Bill which is now before you, I commended it to your attention in a speech which I endeavoured to make reasonable, temperate, logical, and respectful to this House. Some comments which reached me after that occasion might have led me to suppose that I had succeeded in that endeavour were it not for the remarkable observations which fell on that occasion from the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack. The usual Motion that the Bill be read a second time that day six months appeared upon the Order Paper, fathered, as might have been expected, by the noble Lord who represents the High Church Party in the Protestant Church, and who endorses the sacramental view of marriage. But that noble Lord and his Amendment were contemptuously brushed aside by the Lord Chancellor, who, in a state of apparent fury, fell upon the remarks I had ventured to make to the House and declared more than once that both my Bill and the observations with which I had endeavoured to support it were an insult to your Lordships. He then proceeded, with the courage of a large majority behind him, to move that the Bill be rejected, a Motion which, so far as I am able to ascertain, has been unknown in the recent history of this House. But that is not perhaps to be wondered at from a member of a Government which has revived several archaic and rusty weapons of the Constitution. Everyone in this House must recognise the conspicuous talent and ability which has raised the noble and learned Earl to the high position he to-day occupies, but many, especially on this side of the House, also regret that he should not yet have acquired that courtesy in debate which we are wont to expect from other noble Lords more imbued with the traditions of this assembly.

It has not hitherto been held to be an insult to the House to propose in a reasonable manner, and to support by arguments, a measure for the amendment of the law where such may seem desirable. But I must not for a moment appear to wish to alienate the sympathies of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack on this occasion, for I hope I may claim him with some confidence as a supporter. In that very small fraction of his observations which dealt with the merits of my proposals, the noble and learned Earl called attention to a clause in my Bill permitting a divorce after one year's separation on the joint petition of the parties. That clause is not in the Bill now before your Lordships, and as it was the only one to which the noble and learned Earl specifically objected I hope that to-day I shall not be mistaken in looking for his support.

If your Lordships will refer to the Bill you will see that by the first section it is proposed to extend the causes for which a marriage may be dissolved. The present ground of adultery remains, with the extension of that remedy to a wife who has been wronged as well as to a husband who has been wronged. In addition to that it is provided that cruelty, which is now a ground for separation, shall be a ground for a divorce *a vinculo*. The third, and to my mind the most important provision of all, is that either party to a marriage may present a petition for dissolution of the marriage on the ground that during the three years preceding the presentation of the petition the parties to the marriage have lived apart, and that throughout that period either of the parties did not intend to resume cohabitation. The effect of that clause is that when two married persons have lived apart for three years, and during the whole of that period one at least of them has never intended to live as the husband or wife of the other party, then the Court shall be empowered to grant a divorce. In support of that proposal I quoted to your Lordships last year a large number of authorities with which I do not propose to trouble you in detail on this occasion. But, among others, I would remind your Lordships of the opinion of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, who was opposed to divorce altogether, nevertheless said that if adultery was a cause for divorce

Earl Russell.

there were other causes equally entitled to give relief at law to the husband or the wife who suffered from them, and he specifically mentioned desertion and cruelty. I also called your Lordships attention last year to the fact that the *Reformatio Ecclesiasticarum Legum*—a document prepared by divines and lawyers of the highest authority at the time of the Reformation, also proposed to grant a divorce for desertion. That document was drawn up by the authority of the Church and under the immediate superintendence of the Church, and nothing but the untimely death of the Sovereign prevented it becoming law in the reign of Edward VI. But the Church has now departed from that attitude. Since I last referred your Lordships to that document I have had an opportunity of considering the actual words in detail, and I find them even stronger than I supposed, for an article of Archbishop Cranmer most expressly says that, where a spouse has been deserted by the other spouse, it is just that the tribunal should grant a divorce with liberty to proceed to a fresh marriage. He also grants the same remedy for offences which he calls mortal enmities, meaning, apparently, the attempt of one spouse on the life of another. The same remedy of divorce is granted in the case of extreme cruelty, and at the end there appears a very significant prohibition. He there lays down that judicial separation should be altogether abolished, because judicial separation has brought into marriage many evils in its train—the very argument I ventured to urge last year in support of these proposals. It is clear that at that time those who were responsible for the conduct of the Church, assisted by eminent lawyers, came to the conclusion that adultery alone should not be retained upon the Statute-book as the only cause for divorce and that other causes which made married life impossible should also be included.

The effect of the third proposal under the first section is simply to ask that the law should recognise a state of things which in fact exists. The two parties to the marriage must have, to all intents and purposes, divorced themselves before the law is put in operation; they must have lived apart for three years without the intention of living together again. During that period they will have had ample opportunity for changing their

minds and for reconciliation, and it must be assumed that if at the end of that period they proceed to address to the Court a petition for relief they have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live together. Last year the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack described the Bill as one to abolish marriage. I hear a noble Lord beside me say, "Hear, hear." The marriage which it proposes to abolish is a marriage which has already ceased to have any element of marriage—it is a marriage in which the spouses have already ceased to have the mutual comfort and assistance one from the other. If that is the ideal of Christian marriage that commends itself to this House, then I do propose by this Bill to abolish marriage. But that is not the sort of marriage which any legislature or Church has ever contemplated—it is a marriage which has ceased to be a marriage in everything but the legal tie. It can no longer have the sanction of the Church, for the Church has contemplated that the parties should live together and support each other. It is a state of things, a separation of two married people, which is immediately productive of immorality and social harm, and if that is what is meant by noble Lords who speak of the Christian institution of marriage, it may, I think, very well be abolished, for the only thing left is merely a legal tie uniting two persons, and preventing them from ever contracting a respectable and legal tie with any other persons of the opposite sex. Therefore, in Clause 7 it is proposed that after the commencement of this Act no petition shall be presented for judicial separation or for restitution of conjugal rights.

As I ventured to point out last year the attempts at restitution of conjugal rights have a contrary effect. The pretence is to restore the deserting spouse to the arms and to the home of the other spouse, but it is well known that the effect of that action is not to arrive at that happy result. It does not, in fact, restore the two spouses to a united home. It is nowadays used in order that it may proceed to a judicial separation being established on the ground of desertion. It therefore has no longer the effect which the Church that instituted restitution intended it to have. The Church intended that this should be a spiritual

admonition to two persons to carry out their marriage vows. The idea of forcing a man and woman to whom union is repugnant to live together is abhorrent, and, though the action in form proceeds, the provisions of the Weldon Act have made it inoperative. I may say that the other principle in connection with the dissolution of marriages, which I have endeavoured to establish by this Bill is the principle of equality of the sexes—a principle which, I am sorry to say, seldom commends itself to an assembly of male legislators, and the non-recognition of which was the subject of some very scathing observations by Mr. Gladstone in the Lower House. Women protest, not often vocally, but they protest and suffer constantly from the injustice of the present law, which denies to them the remedy for the same offence for which it grants it to the husband, and many women are unable to obtain the relief to which they are entitled, the protection and the freedom they desire, on account of the inequalities of the present law. I have therefore ventured to propose in this Bill that the same remedies shall be given to both sexes, and that they shall be put upon an equality before the law in this matter.

It is frequently said that the effect of loosening the marriage ties will be to cause a large number of people to rush to the Divorce Court and to avail themselves of the facilities offered, but under the provisions of this Bill they will have to be people who are already divorced in fact, and it cannot be supposed that other persons, who are not divorced in fact, will qualify for the remedies offered to them in consequence of the Bill becoming law. I am not prepared to admit that the majority of married couples in this country are held together merely by legal sanction or even by ecclesiastical sanction. I hope, and I trust I am not mistaken, that the vast majority of married couples in this country are held together by mutual affection, and have no desire to part, and I have no reason to believe that that affection and mutual devotion will be interfered with by any legislative measures whatever. Legislation is passed for the cases which it affects. There are upon the Statute-book a large number of criminal statutes dealing

with forgery, burglary, theft, and so on; but it is never suggested that the effect of those statutes is to make people forgers and burglars, or that they affect in any way persons who have no tendency in that direction. In the same way, I submit that the alteration of the law of divorce will in no way affect any except those who would, under any circumstances, be anxious to avail themselves of these remedies.

The Bill deals with the question of County Court jurisdiction, which I introduced to your Lordships' notice last year, and provides that where the total joint annual income of the parties does not exceed £500, they shall be able to obtain relief from the local County Court. That is a provision which I should have thought would have commended itself to everyone who wished the law to be equal for the rich and for the poor. At present the whole business of divorce is centralised in a Court in London, and all persons living in any part of the kingdom have to come themselves, and to bring their witnesses to this central Court in London in order that their case may be heard. The effect of that is to deprive by far the larger proportion of the community of any remedy at all. If there is a legal remedy to which persons are entitled, surely they should not be deprived of its exercise merely because they cannot afford to come to London to prosecute their suit. This inequality was pointed out when the Act of 1857 was passed through Parliament, and among others who called attention to it was a then occupant of the Episcopal Bench, who said that the measure failed signally to fulfil the avowed intention for which it was introduced—namely, of making a legal remedy available to all. That this provision does work injustice must be known to everyone. It is universally known to solicitors, and those who have to do with the getting up of cases. It should be known to right rev. Prelates, who must be cognisant of cases where, even under the present law, persons entitled to divorce are unable to obtain it on account of the expense. A very striking instance has come under my own observation, in which an unfortunate woman has been

deserted for nine years by her husband. There is no question that her husband has committed adultery, and the facts are easily susceptible of proof, but the deserted woman has no money with which to prosecute her case; and even if she were to proceed *in forma pauperis*, the expenditure which would be necessary puts it absolutely out of the question, either for the woman herself or any of her immediate friends to find the money to remedy the injustice from which she is suffering. It is admitted that even under the present law she is entitled to a divorce, but simply for want of money she cannot obtain that divorce from her husband who deserted her nine years ago. If she were able to go to the local County Court, within a few miles of where she is, she would be able then to conduct her case with the minimum of expenditure, and where she would now have to pay pounds she would then only have to pay shillings.

I can quite understand that those who are opposed on principle and altogether to any relaxation whatever of the divorce laws, and to any extension of the remedies, may think it a good thing that even the remedies which the law now provides should be denied to the poor, but I am surprised that those who profess to desire equality in legislation should support a state of things by which the whole business is centralised in London. That is not the case with other legal business, and until the Act of 1857 such matrimonial legislation as existed could be and was conducted in the local Bishops' Courts of the dioceses. But that Act abolished the whole of the local courts and centralised the procedure in London, thereby putting it out of the reach of persons of very poor means. The present law as to decrees of nullity of marriage is not touched by the Bill now before your Lordships. Clause 5 provides that they shall be heard and determined on the same principles as now exist. There are some alterations in procedure which, however, are matters of detail with which your Lordships should not be troubled at this stage. The Bill proposes to re-enact the present provision as to the performance of marriage of divorced persons by the

clergy. If your Lordships will look at Sub-section 4 of Clause 16 you will see that it is there provided that—

“A clergyman shall not be compelled to solemnise the marriage of any person whose previous marriage has been dissolved, and shall not be liable to any suit, penalty, or censure for solemnising or refusing to solemnise the marriage of any such person.”

That, I believe, is the present law, though a recent interpretation given to it by the Bishop of London would seem to show that the censure to which the clergyman is not to be subjected, does not include the censure of his ecclesiastical superior. The Act of Parliament, which is the governing authority of the Church of England, distinctly provided that he shall not be subject to any censure, but from recent proceedings which have appeared in the newspapers, it appears that the re-marriage of divorced persons in this diocese has exposed a clergyman who had the temerity to perform it to censure. I see no reason to suggest an alteration in the present law on this subject. I might remind your Lordships of what, perhaps, has been forgotten, that in 1857 this House, on no less than three separate occasions, rejected an Amendment proposing individual liberty of conscience to clergymen in the form of the present clause, and insisted that every clergyman should, as a servant of the State, perform any marriage that the State said could be legally performed. However, the truculent attitude of this House towards the Church on that occasion was modified in the more kindly atmosphere of another place, and the present compromise appears to have been the effect of that discussion.

I do not know whether any noble Lord supposes that there is no ground for an amendment, and that there are no grievous cases of injustice and hardship under the present divorce law, which differs in its stringency from the divorce law of every other Protestant country. I have received a vast mass of correspondence, with some few extracts from which I am compelled to trouble your Lordships. One gentleman writes and says—

“My wife left me to return to her father after I lost my money more than eleven years ago. There is no deed of separation and no ground

for divorce, and yet by the law of England I am married and condemned to lead a celibate life with no possibility of relief. Had I committed forgery, burglary, or any other serious crime, I could long ago have expiated my offence, but from an unfortunate marriage there is no release, unless there is cruelty or adultery, which are absent in the case under notice. This state of things I contend is contrary to every law, divine or human, and demands a remedy.”

A woman writes:—

“Your Bill would be a blessing to many poor women. I married at twenty-one a man who turned out to be a great scamp, thief, and forger. My home was sold up, my belongings seized by creditors. When my son was thirteen months old my husband deserted me and went to Canada fourteen years ago. I have never heard of nor seen him since. My wrist was injured for life through my husband's brutality. I have proof of desertion and cruelty, but what chance have I to obtain a divorce?”

Another writes and says:—

“Where the parties have for a number of years been separated and positively refuse to live together again they are, in my humble opinion, *ipso facto* divorced; why then should measures be refused to make such definite estrangement legal? . . . Where mutual love exists the man and woman never part; it is the absence of it that brings about the evil. The sooner there is some law permitting the deserted husband or wife to marry again after a lapse of years, the sooner will immorality and dissipation be reduced.”

Another writes:—

“Are two people grievously unhappy together and without fault or intention, to be literally killed and worn to death, being held together in an unnatural and useless bond, to be made useless to each other and even to their children, while those who live riotously and break all marriage laws are content with them and are often the loudest voiced in upholding them? That is an easy way of carrying out a law impossible often to keep.”

Another writes and says:—

“Realising the impossibility of obtaining legislative relief in this country, I am forced to consider the expediency of settling in America with a view to obtaining there that relief denied me here.”

Another writes and says:—

“It is remarkable how perverted Christianity is trotted out on every possible occasion to bar real progress. To say that reasonable release would destroy Christian matrimony is simply the dictum of a person very ignorant, and very much of a bigot. The Founder never recommended, and certainly would never have enforced, for it would be abhorrent to all his teaching, that two who had got utterly to dislike each other, and whose presence with each other brought out and acerbated all the evil in the nature of both, should drag on a

tortured existence together, degrading to both, and leading to all kinds of evils and a strong temptation to murder even."

A young woman writes that four days after her marriage her husband had to leave on the duties of his vocation as officer in the Royal Navy. For nine years he has not been near her. She has not the money to pursue the evidence for adultery.

A man who occupies a responsible position writes :

"I have been married twenty years to a most unsuitable woman, who has never been any help to me, who has persistently got into debt, falsified accounts, confiscated letters, deceived and lied to me so much that it has produced an utter alienation. For seven years we have occupied separate rooms."

Another writes :—

"Oh this dull, stupid English law, with Scotland's bright example shining so near."

You have to go no farther than Scotland to find divorce *a vinculo* granted for three years' desertion.

I submit this Bill to the House as an honest attempt to remedy an intolerable state of things. I ask whether among all the Members of this House there are none who recognise that the present marriage laws do inflict upon a vast number of men and women in this country great hardship ; that the present marriage laws lead in many cases to the contracting of immoral alliances between separated men and women, and that the granting of a judicial separation is really to throw upon the world two potential adulterers. It is easy to legislate for human nature, but it is less easy to control it after your legislation. The present law offers a divorce as a reward for immoral conduct. It can be obtained where immorality has taken place, but where both parties are unwilling to be guilty of immorality, the present law denies divorce ; and where, as so often happens, women have been deserted by their husbands for an indefinite number of years, they are precluded from ever contracting a fresh alliance, and are compelled to remain for the rest of their lives neither married nor unmarried, with no possibility of establishing a home and all that is dear to the heart of a woman. Is there no one in this House who feels that this state of things needs a remedy ? Are your Lordships satisfied, because in your individual

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cases the law may not bear hardly upon you, to leave such a blot upon the social legislation of this country ? The proposals which I have put before you, and I say this unhesitatingly, make for the increase of social purity and for the absence of adultery. They make for a legitimate dissolution of unions that have long since become impossible, and their adoption would tend to purify the marriage relation, to make marriage a more real thing than it is at present, and to make adultery looked upon, as it is not often looked upon now, as a disgraceful, a discreditable, and an unnecessary crime. I beg to move the Second Reading of this Bill.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^d.—
(Earl Russell.)

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR (the Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, the noble Lord, in the course of a great many observations, has referred to some remarks which I made on a former occasion when a Bill of this character was before your Lordships. I do not propose to repeat what I said then, but I adhere to every word of it. When I made that speech I believe it met with the entire approval of your Lordships then present. I gathered that from the course you then pursued. No one intervened in the debate. The Bill was at once rejected. At present I will only call attention to one aspect of the Bill. The noble Lord does not appear to me to understand the gravity of what he is doing. If your Lordships will be good enough to turn to the schedule of the Bill you will find that he has gone through every one of the Divorce Acts and has swept them all away. They are to be repealed by this Bill, and in substitution he has apparently by the first and second sections made the fact of divorce simply a question whether the parties would agree to it or not ; and if they are away from each other for three years and they desire that the union should cease that in itself would put an end to it. All I will say is that the policy of the law—I speak not now of the higher sanction, which most of us think to be somewhat more important than the noble Lord appears to consider it—has been to prevent anything like

divorce by consent. It requires something, at all events, to justify the dissolution of a marriage. That according to this Bill, would be no longer necessary. The prohibition of divorce by mere agreement is got rid of very easily, because the functions as well as the office of the King's Proctor are abolished by the Bill. All you have to do is to comply with the provisions of the Bill and the divorce is easy. The noble Lord has once or twice referred to what he called the iniquities of the marriage law. Whether such iniquities exist or not I will not discuss. This Bill proposes to abolish the whole of the matrimonial law as it exists and substitutes what the noble Lord has described. It appears to me that the mere statement that, as I have pointed out, all the wisdom of the Legislature, all the care that has been taken from the year 1857, when the Divorce Act was passed, down to the present time to cure any defect in the law, would be swept away in a minute, and for that nothing substituted but simply an arrangement enabling the parties if they think proper to get rid of the marriage, is enough for your Lordships. One observation I made on a former occasion seems to have struck the noble Lord as too strong. I do not think myself that I used language too strong when I said that the abolition of the marriage tie, which in one sense the noble Lord has admitted that his Bill would procure, proposed in such a way to a Christian assembly, was an insult, and I repeat the observation. All I have to add at present, I think, is that I invite your Lordships to reject this Bill, and I hope that we may not have the same proposal repeated over and over again, for the noble Lord and everybody else must know that it is only in the nature of a protest by himself against the marriage law as it exists, but even he has not the faintest notion that any such Bill will be sanctioned by your Lordships.

On Question, Motion negatived.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—
(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I hope I may be allowed to offer some criticisms and to ask for some explanation on the Bill which the noble Earl the President of the Board of Agriculture has just submitted to your Lordships. The Bill, as your Lordships will observe, is one to transfer to the Board of Agriculture powers and duties relating to the fishing industry. The powers which are now exercised by a Department of the Board of Trade with regard to the fisheries of this country are to be transferred to the Board of Agriculture, and that Board henceforth is to be known as the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. What I venture to ask the noble Earl is this: whether he will explain what connection there is between the fishing industry of the United Kingdom and the great national industry of agriculture. It must inevitably have been considered by the Government, and I shall wait to hear the explanation of the noble Earl. As your Lordships are aware, the Board of Agriculture was constituted by an Act of 1879, which came into operation in the year 1890. It took over the powers with regard to contagious diseases of cattle and other germane matters which were previously possessed by a Department of the Privy Council under the Lord President; it took over the duties hitherto exercised by the Tithe Commissioners and the Land Commissioners, and it also took under its care the very important and the very extensive business of the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom. I think your Lordships will agree that all these matters are cognate to the business of agriculture. But now it is proposed for the first time to transfer to the Board of Agriculture duties that have no reference whatever to the business which the Board was constituted to carry on, and the question that has occurred to some agriculturists, at any rate, is this, what relation is there between the great fishing industry of this country and the great national industry of agriculture? What benefit will such a transference as is proposed by this Bill be to agriculture, and what effect will it have upon the future usefulness of the Board of Agriculture? Although I have no doubt that the noble Earl will be able to give a

sufficient explanation, I am bound to say that at first view I do not see what connection there possibly is between fisheries and agriculture.

There may, of course, be some occult reason for this of which I am not aware, and it is for the purpose of eliciting that reason from the noble Earl that I have ventured to put this question to him. I do not for a moment wish to deny that the fishing industry is of the greatest importance to the country, and it may be necessary and right that the duties in connection with that great industry should either be placed under a separate Board or handed over to some other department of the State. It is said that the Board of Trade has too much to do at the present moment and that its Department of fisheries does not receive all that attention that those who are interested in the fisheries would like; but what I venture to say in the name of a considerable number of agriculturists is this, that the Board of Agriculture, which was constituted to assist them in their industry, should not be made the dumping ground for the surplus products of the Board of Trade. So far as the expansion of the Board of Agriculture is concerned, I have no objection to it; on the contrary, I have always advocated it, but I think it desirable that that expansion should be in the direction of those subjects which are beneficial to the agricultural industry.

If there were no ways in which expansion could be made in this direction I should perhaps not offer any criticism as to the addition of these duties, but there are many directions in which the Board of Agriculture could be usefully expanded in a manner which ought to benefit agriculturists generally. There is the question of the Veterinary Department. I have not a single word to say against those able and capable officers, with whom I have had the honour to work in the past; but I think that their Department might be in some way expanded and made more useful to agriculturists generally. They might be encouraged to make experiments in bacteriological research and other scientific matters which would benefit agriculture as a whole. Then there is the matter of chemistry. I hope to hear that the question of chemistry, which is so useful to the scientific culture of the land, has

been considered in any view of expansion of the duties of the Board of Agriculture. Then there is the question of botany. I am glad to hear that Kew Gardens have now been taken over by the Board of Agriculture. There was another Board of Agriculture some years ago which was not so fortunate as the noble Earl's Board to obtain assistance from the Treasury to get Kew Gardens under its care. I remember that my attention was drawn very closely to the matter in 1893. Kew Gardens had for years past done excellent and efficient work for India and the colonies in botanical experiments, but I found that nearer home nothing at all had been done for agriculture in this direction. The finances were not so prosperous then as they are now, and if I could have obtained something like £150 a year Kew Gardens would have been under the care of the Board of Agriculture in 1893 instead of 1903.

There is another of these small Departments which has no political head and which I think the noble Lord might have included in his Bill if he was seeking for the expansion of his agricultural duties, and that is the Meteorological Department. The weather has certainly a great deal to do with agriculture, and any good forecast of the weather which could be obtained and circulated amongst farmers would be of great advantage to that industry. Some ten years ago an experiment was made in that direction, but the forecasts were only issued some twenty-four hours beforehand, and that fact made them rather useless for farmers who did not see them in time to make them of value. If the noble Earl could take over the Meteorological Department, I think it might be of use to agriculture generally. These departments have no political head, but are practically under the Treasury, and I have very grave doubts myself whether it is for the advantage or the efficiency of those particular Departments that they should be solely represented by the Treasury in the House of Commons. The Treasury is certain to do everything possible to promote economy, and I venture to think that if the Departments were gathered under the Board of Agriculture and under a responsible Minister of the Crown, their efficiency would be better looked after.

I come now to the largest of these Departments which might have been

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included under the Board of Agriculture—the Office of Woods and Forests. It is well known that when the Act was passed constituting the Board of Agriculture, it was then discussed whether the Office of Woods and Forests should not be included as a Department of the Board of Agriculture. There were of course objections, and there may be objections now to such a course, but, so far as I know, the advantages which would accrue to the agricultural interests by such an incorporation would certainly outweigh any objections which I have heard up to the present moment. I imagine that there are very few in the Board of Agriculture who have any practical connection with the management of land. The Office of Woods and Forests manages the Crown lands of this country, and by making that Department a part of the Board of Agriculture, the latter Board would obtain a practical knowledge of the management of land which would be of great advantage, not only to them, but to agriculturists generally. I believe the Treasury object to that proposal on the ground that it might not be so economical, but that is not borne out by contemporary history. The same change which I am advocating took place in Prussia in the year 1879, when the State lands of that kingdom were transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Agriculture, and the result of that transference has been highly beneficial—beneficial from the point of view of economy of management, and in another direction, for it has brought in considerably increased revenue. The Board of Agriculture was constituted to assist an industry which, though it may not be quite so depressed as it was in 1893, is certainly not in that flourishing condition which we should all wish, and therefore it is that I question the wisdom of the transfer of any duty to the Board of Agriculture which is not germane to agriculture as a whole.

I think there are some agriculturists who would say that if any transference of duties from the Board of Trade to the Board of Agriculture is to be made it had better be that Department which is connected with railways and railway rates rather than the Department con-

nected with the fisheries of the country. I have ventured to put before your Lordships some criticisms with regard to this Bill, and I hope I shall obtain from the noble Earl the explanations I have asked for. I cannot, however, sit down without saying that we welcome the noble Earl as the President of the Board of Agriculture in this House. I will not go into the somewhat delicate question of whether the head of the Department of Agriculture should be in this House or in another place, except perhaps to say that there is possibly no assembly in this country which is more closely connected with the business of agriculture and which contains amongst its members those more closely connected with practical agriculture than your Lordships' House. I admit that the question is a debatable one. But if you are going to extend the Board of Agriculture and raise it to a position of greater influence and wider scope I do not think it ought to be represented in the other House except by a direct official of the Board. Mr. Fellowes is the representative of the Board of Agriculture in the other House. I had the pleasure of sitting in the House of Commons with Mr. Fellowes and I know him to be a practical agriculturist. I know him to have represented an agricultural constituency and to have taken deep interest in agricultural matters for a long time past, but I think it would be advisable, as he will have to take charge of the Bills as well as the Estimates of the Department, that we should have some direct representative of the Board of Agriculture in the other House rather than a minor Minister brought in as a kind of charwoman. I do not propose to offer any opposition to the Second Reading of the Bill, but if the explanation for which I have asked is not satisfactory I reserve to myself the right of opposing or amending the measure in its future stages.

*LORD HENEAGE: My Lords, I hope the noble Lord who has just spoken will not think me discourteous if I do not go into all the details of agriculture of which he has spoken. I have not the slightest fear that the Minister of Agriculture will be overworked by having the duties with regard to fisheries added

to those he now possesses. I speak as one who is quite as much interested in agriculture as in fisheries, as one who has been Chairman of the Central Chamber of Agriculture as well as one who is now President of the Sea Fisheries Association, and I do not see why there should not be a Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries looking after the harvest of the sea and of the land at the same time. I for one venture to congratulate His Majesty's Government on having introduced this Bill. I know that there has been some delay, but they are in no way to blame for it. I do hope that now the Bill has been introduced it will not only be pressed forward in this House and in the other House, but that no time will be lost in bringing it into operation. I am glad to see that all the duties with regard to fisheries now supposed to be performed by the Board of Trade are to be transferred to the Minister of Agriculture, and I am also very glad to see that the Government have acceded to the request of the Shell Fisheries Association that shell fisheries should also be placed under the same Minister. I would venture to suggest, on that point, to my noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture, that he will require larger powers than he has now to deal with the oyster question, and I would refer him to a Report of your Lordships' Committee some three or four years ago presided over by Lord Harris, and of which the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Tweedmouth, Lord Wenlock and myself were Members. We went thoroughly into this question. There was no difference between the Local Government Board, who introduced the Bill, and the Committee except on one point. We were agreed that powers were required to stop the pollution of the oyster beds, and as the local government authorities were most to blame we thought that the Local Government Board ought not to have those powers but that the powers should be given to the Fisheries Department of the Board of Trade. On that point we were so divided that the Bill was not proceeded with.

As I so strongly support the Bill, and knowing that every Sea Fisheries Association, Salmon Fisheries Association, and Shell Fisheries Association are strongly in favour of it, I am sorry to utter one

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note of discord, but I notice in Sub-section 2 of Clause 3 some words to which I do not think we can possibly agree. I am well aware of the reason for which those words have been put in. The Act is to come into force on October 1, but the Treasury are allowed, if they choose, to postpone the operation of the Act till April 1 next year. That is not in the interest of the sea fisheries, or of the Minister who is going to take charge of the sea fisheries in the future. If these duties had been transferred from the Board of Trade ten or fifteen years ago the Department might have been taken over as a going concern, and everyone would have been perfectly satisfied, but the sea fisheries Department of the Board of Trade at the present moment is positively worthless. It is not worth taking over. I am saying what everyone connected with the fisheries industry will endorse. The noble Lord opposite knows perfectly well that resolutions have been passed giving me full authority to speak on behalf of the fisheries on this question. I do hope that an efficient staff will be given to the noble Earl, and that he will hold out for an efficient staff, and not be content to take over men who are thoroughly useless to him. But we would prefer that the Act should come into operation in October and that we should have a Minister, to whom we could go, with full authority to look into all the questions postponed throughout the present year, even without an efficient and thoroughly equipped Department, than that the operation of the Act should be postponed. The deputations which I was requested by the Sea Fisheries Conference at Grimsby to arrange with the Prime Minister had been put off at Mr. Balfour's request during the transfer of the duties from one Department to another, but if the operation of this Bill is to be postponed until April next, it simply means that every one of these questions will have to be deferred for a further year, as there would be no time for legislation. So strongly do I feel with regard to this matter, that I shall move to strike out in Committee the power given to the Treasury in this Sub-section.

*THE EARL OF MAYO: My Lords, I rise to congratulate the noble Earl on having introduced this Bill. I do so because the Irish Board of Agriculture, to whom the duties of the Fisheries Commissioners in Ireland were transferred, are able to do a great deal more for our fisheries than the old Commissioners did, and they are sympathetic with the wants of those interested in the fisheries. The noble Lord opposite inquired what fisheries have to do with agriculture. I would point out that fish that are cultivated in inland waters are just as much the harvest of the land as corn is. Then the noble Lord went on to say that he hoped the Board of Agriculture was not to be made the dumping ground of the Board of Trade. The real truth of the matter is that the Board of Trade have not very much to dump, because they take no interest whatever in fisheries, especially in inland fisheries. I hold in my hand a Report upon the Salmon Fisheries of Great Britain, and it would make one almost cry to see the effect of river pollution and the stoppages in those rivers which prevent salmon reaching the upper waters. Therefore I welcome this Bill, bearing in mind the good that our Board of Agriculture has done in this matter in Ireland. The noble Lord opposite referred to the date of the Bill coming into force. He knows a great deal more about sea fisheries than I do, but I must say that the sooner the inland fisheries of this country are looked after by a competent Department the better; therefore I sincerely hope that the Treasury will not "put their finger in the pie" and that the Bill will come into operation on 1st October next.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (The Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, I ventured to ask your Lordships to give a Second Reading to this Bill without adding any words of my own in explanation of it at the moment, because it is an extremely simple Bill and one which really needs no explanation at all. It is simply a transfer to the Board of Agriculture of duties which have hitherto been performed by the Board of Trade. It is not, as my noble friend opposite appeared to think, a Bill

for the expansion of the powers of the Board of Agriculture, so I hope he will forgive me if I do not follow him into all those duties which, in his opinion, might with greater advantage be transferred to the Board of Agriculture. All I will say is that I sympathise with a great deal of what he said on that subject. I think, so far as I have been able to see in the short time that I have had the honour of being President of the Department, that there are many subjects which might with advantage be transferred to the Board of Agriculture, not necessarily from other Departments, but matters which really are not at this moment under the charge of any responsible Minister, but are under that sort of general omnibus arrangement which gives over everything that is not under the charge of some other Minister to the Treasury.

I am asked by my noble friend what is the connection between agriculture and fisheries. I admit that the word agriculture in its derivation, does not include the harvest of the sea, but at the same time your Lordships are aware that the fish supply in this country is one of the most important from the point of view of food. The Department over which I preside is essentially the Department which is connected with the food supply of the people, and therefore, I think that as we have already for many years had under our care the loaves, it is not too much to ask that Parliament should add to them the fishes. My noble friend Lord Heneage suggested that further powers in connection with the pollution of oyster beds should also be transferred, not from the Board of Trade, but from the Local Government Board, to the Board of Agriculture. I venture to point out to your Lordships that that is a matter which is connected with a very much wider subject — namely, the public health. Public health has always been under the Local Government Board, and I am not prepared at this moment to ask to take over any of those duties. I believe that before this Bill becomes law, as I hope it will, I shall have time to consider the composition of the staff of the Fisheries Department of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

I trust I shall be able to satisfy the noble Lord that that staff will be a sufficient and an efficient one, but I can assure him that the date of the coming into operation of the Act has nothing to do with the question of the composition of the staff. I am as anxious as he is that the transfer should take place at the earliest possible date. I have every reason to believe that it will take effect in the month of October next. The noble Lord must know that there are certain arrangements which have to be made in connection with the Estimates. If this Bill passes into law, it will be necessary to supplement the Vote of the Board of Agriculture by the amount necessary to carry on the business for the rest of the financial year, although, at the same time, of course, an almost equivalent saving will be effected upon the Vote for the Board of Trade. All those things have got to be arranged, and it is only as a precautionary measure that the date may be extended. But if the noble Lord will put down an Amendment I will give it my earnest consideration and see if something can be done to meet his views. I am glad that the Bill meets with approval, and trust your Lordships will give it a Second Reading.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I do not wish to throw cold water on the Bill, or attempt to damp the ardour of those who have so readily accepted it. But I do wish to point out to my noble friend that in assuming the duties of Minister of Fisheries he is assuming no light duties, but duties which will give him a considerable amount of work and bring him a great many communications and not a few protests. My noble friend has attempted to show that the subjects of agriculture and fisheries fall together naturally. I think he will find that there are a great many differences between them, that even the fateful word "protection" is interpreted in an entirely different way by agriculturists and fishermen. But, after all, I am afraid that the powers of the Fisheries Department are comparatively limited. The Fisheries Department can, of course, do a great deal in the way of collecting statistics, supplying knowledge, and carrying on scientific inquiry, pro-

vided always it can get the necessary funds from the Treasury, and of course, so far as in-shore fisheries are concerned, it can do something by way of the promotion of legislation and encouraging district fisheries committees to do their work. After all, these in-shore fisheries are a comparatively small part of the British fisheries. The main fishing ground is in the North Sea, and it is exploited not by British fishermen alone, but by the fishermen of the whole of Northern Europe. My noble friend will find that if his Department really intends to secure improvement in the condition of our fisheries in the North Sea, it will only be possible to do so by calling in his colleague the Foreign Minister and by securing joint action among all the Powers who send fishing fleets into the North Sea.

Take the question of immature fish. It may be very desirable, and it may do a certain amount of good, to endeavour to secure that in our own inland waters fish get some chance of existence; but, after all, the great home of these young fish is not on our shores but on the shores of Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and those great flats opposite our own shores on the other side of the North Sea, and unless you can get the countries bordering on those waters to join with you, unless you can get those countries which send fleets to the North Sea to combine with you in joint action, you will never be able to make a permanent improvement in the fisheries of the North Sea. With regard to our salmon fisheries, I think there is there a great opportunity for a Minister of Fisheries. The case is ripe to be dealt with. The inquiry necessary before the Government can act is, I believe, complete, and has been carried on under the ægis of the present Government. You have had inquiries and Commissions. There is an extraordinary mass of the latest opinion gathered together, and I venture to urge that the time has come when this question of the salmon fisheries of the British Isles should be taken up in a thorough manner. The first thing you want is uniformity of legislation for the British Isles. This question of the salmon fisheries is not merely one of the propagation and security of the salmon. Involved in it also are the great questions of pollution of rivers and the water supply, so that when you are dealing with the

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question of salmon fisheries you are also dealing in a thoroughly practical manner with two of the great necessities of a healthy existence—namely, the question of the water supply and also the question of the freedom of the rivers from pollution. I do think that these are subjects which might well be taken up by the new Minister of Fisheries. I hope my noble friend will take them up and will make it his business to press his colleagues in the Government to deal with the subject, which I believe is of immense importance, not only from the point of view of the food of the people, but also from the point of view of the health and comfort of the inhabitants of these islands.

On question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

COUNTY COUNCILS (BILLS IN PARLIAMENT) BILL.

Order of the day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, That the House do now resolve itself into Committee.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I have a Motion on the Paper to submit to your Lordships. But before I do so I ask the indulgence of the House while I say a few words on a matter wholly personal to myself. When speaking the other day from the cross benches, I appeared to have infringed the rules of order of the House, and not to have bowed to the ruling of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack. I have no wish to appear in your Lordships' House as an unruly Member, and I desire to explain that my infringement of order was entirely due to my affliction of deafness. Speaking from where I did, I could not hear a word that fell from the Lord Chancellor, and therefore I have to apologise to the noble and learned Earl for having in any way appeared unruly. In order that this may not occur again, when I have to address your Lordships' House in future I shall, with the permission of those who are in the habit of sitting on this bench, do so as near to the Lord Chancellor as I can. That is the reason why I speak from my present position (the bench near the Woolsack on the Opposition

side) to-night, but I have not abandoned my proper habitat on the cross benches, which I look upon as the Liberia of the House of Lords.

Now a word in defence of my proposal. Two noble Lords on the last occasion said that my Resolution had no connection whatever with the Bill that was under discussion. I hold in my hand a resolution, which I believe has been sent to every one of your Lordships, passed by the United Property Owners' and Ratepayers' Association of Great Britain, whose headquarters are at Bradford. This resolution states that the object of the County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill is to empower County Councils to promote Bills in Parliament without first obtaining the ratepayers' consent. It goes on to say—

“ And this is being done at the very moment the Government has reappointed a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament to inquire into the question of municipal trading. It is inconsistent, to say the least, that measures of this character, which give municipalities practically unrestricted powers to promote private legislation, should be brought forward. It is, therefore, submitted that the Bill should not be proceeded with, and the Committee of this Association, representing large and important property interests, respectfully and urgently appeal to your Lordships to support the Motion of Lord Wemyss to defer the Bill until the Joint Committee have reported to Parliament.”

Can anything be more reasonable, more consistent with common-sense, than that opinion with regard to this kind of legislation pending the inquiry by the Joint Committee. The action of the local authorities has been such that they have piled up a debt of £1,300,000,000. The rates of one London parish have gone up to eleven shillings in the pound, and they are going up all round. A few years ago the feeling in reference to this matter was such that it was thought some limit should be imposed. The result was the appointment of a Committee of both Houses, but they did not finish their inquiry. For two years they have been waiting for their reappointment. The reason that they were not reappointed is supposed to be that the local authorities did not like their transactions being inquired into, and the Government did not wish to give offence to the local authorities. But the expenditure grew, and feeling increased,

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until this year the Government consented to the reappointment of the Committee. The Report of the first public sitting of the Joint Committee appears in *The Times* to-day, and the evidence shows how enormous have been the sums borrowed by local authorities for these purposes. One witness stated that in the present session sixty-five Bills had been promoted by local authorities, of which twelve had been dropped or defeated up to date. I have heard privately that so unsatisfactory were the trading accounts of the Plymouth authority that it was recommended that the accounts should be audited, not by an auditor appointed by Plymouth but by an auditor on behalf of the Government. That shows the state of things which led to the reappointment of this Committee. The Committee has the right to inquire into the transactions not only of municipalities but also of local authorities. Clearly, local authorities are included; therefore, I apprehend that this Joint Committee is appointed to consider everything connected with these Bills, which give power to Councils which they do not now exercise, and which takes away from the ratepayers a security which they now possess.

What are the reasons given for this action on the part of the Government? They are three. The first is that county councillors, not having this power of promoting Bills, sometimes do it themselves and incur liabilities thereby. The second is a most extraordinary reason to give for passing a Bill. It was stated by one noble Lord on the Front Bench that Mr. Long, the author of this Bill, wished very much that the Bill should pass, but that in itself is no reason for your Lordships facilitating the measure. This raises the question, is this a private venture on the part of the head of the Local Government Board or is it a Government Bill? Has it been considered by the Government? Has it the full consent of the Government? This, I venture to think, raises a very big question. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government has a tolerably big team to drive. He has eighteen in hand. They remind me of an incident in the old coaching days, when the driver of a four-in-hand, being

asked how it was he was driving so erratically, not to say dangerously, replied—

"Ah! you don't know what it is to drive three blind ones and a bolter."

The Prime Minister certainly has a bolter, who sometimes perhaps gets over the traces when least expected. How many blind ones there are I should be sorry to specify.

I now come to the third reason, which was given by a canny Scot—my noble friend Lord Balfour. He said the Bill no doubt gave powers, but that it was not likely that County Councils would exercise those powers. That is an admission, my Lords, that you are giving County Councils powers by this Bill at the very time when you are sending the question, as to whether or not the powers of local authorities should be restricted, to a Joint Committee of both Houses. I feel confident that the result of this inquiry will be that these powers will be restricted and greater checks on the part of the ratepayers established. What those checks should be it is not for me to say. The question is now under discussion. The members of these municipal authorities are supposed, without any training, to be electricians, engineers, architects, builders, contractors, tram and omnibus undertakers, and navigators where there are rivers; and, besides this, they must be surveyors, sanitary professors, florists, landscape gardeners, social reformers, band-masters, concert organisers, and universal providers generally. If these things are undertaken, some knowledge of the best way of doing them should be in the possession of those who exercise these powers. The check I should propose is that all those who are elected to County Councils, before they are allowed to act should pass a qualifying examining in all these subjects. That would be a most potent and valuable check. I asked my noble friend Lord Balfour the other day to give me precedents for legislating upon a subject which had been concurrently submitted to a Committee or a Commission for inquiry. The noble Lord did not specify any precedent, but went off into a cuttle-fish speech upon the whole question, and that was where I got into trouble. I had not said anything in putting my question, but after the cuttle-fish speech of my noble friend I rose to answer him and was ruled out of order.

The Earl of Wemyss.

I cannot help thinking that if there had been any precedents for this kind of legislation the noble Lord would certainly have brought them out. He would not have kept them up his sleeve for no purpose. I know there are many precedents the other way. I will give one. When the Commission on the Liquor Traffic was sitting, all the temperance measures were suspended. But in this case the Government are bringing in Bills at the same time as the inquiry is taking place, and when the subject to which these Bills refer is before a Joint Committee, I contend that this House ought not to be a mere registry for Bills which come from another place. It is the last Court of Appeal in matters of legislation, and if Bills are faulty and wrong in principle, no matter how often they are sent here, your Lordships ought unhesitatingly to do your duty. This Bill, as well as the Borough Funds Bill, may be an excellent measure and very needful, but let the Joint Committee say so. Do not let us legislate on the subject while it is under consideration by the Joint Committee.

Moved, To leave out from ('That') to the end of the Motion and insert the following Resolution, viz., "In the opinion of this House it is inconsistent alike with Parliamentary practice and sound administrative policy, to legislate on subjects under consideration by Committees or Commissions, and that, inasmuch as the question of the powers of local and municipal authorities, and their exercise of these powers are now under consideration by a Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons specially appointed for this purpose, it is neither right nor expedient to proceed with Bills giving increased power to local and municipal authorities, until the said inquiry has been completed and the Report of the Committee has been received."—(*The Earl of Wemyss*.)

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, I am sure the House will agree with me when I say that we have had a most interesting and amusing speech from the noble Earl. I hope the House will also agree with me that it had not, in at any rate its major part, very much to do with the precise Bill we are now asked to go

into Committee upon. I will deal first with one or two direct questions which the noble Earl put to me. He made it a grievance that I had not given him precedents the other day.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Not a grievance. I was very glad of it.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I think my version is the more correct. He made it a grievance, both on the last occasion and to-day, that I had given him no precedent for the course which the Government is asking the House to take. In the first place, the noble Earl said that if I produced a hundred precedents he would not pay any attention to them, and therefore I thought it a work of supererogation to do so. I also pointed out on the previous occasion that the noble Lord's Motion in regard to the Joint Committee of Inquiry has really nothing whatever to do with this Bill. I will read the precise terms of the reference to the Joint Committee—

"To consider and report as to the principles which should govern powers given by Bills and Provisional Orders to municipal and other local authorities for industrial enterprise."

The reference to the Joint Committee has to do with the powers of, and the method of the exercise of those powers by, municipal corporations, or, if the noble Earl prefers it, local authorities; but there is nothing whatever in the reference to the Joint Committee to suggest that Parliament has it in consideration, even in the remotest degree, to take away from local authorities the powers of promoting or opposing Bills. All that this Bill does is this. It gives to County Councils certain limited powers to promote Bills for a variety of purposes. The point we have to consider to-day is whether County Councils have, after fifteen years' existence, sufficiently established their reputation for steadiness of purpose and useful work to be entrusted with the power of coming to Parliament when they see fit to promote Bills for certain purposes. The objects for which County Councils desire this power is mainly to take land for the improvement of roads, for the building of lunatic asylums, for improving bridges, and such like purposes, which are strictly within the purview of county council work. I will concede these two points to the noble

Earl, because I wish to be very fair to him. I will concede, in the first place, that in some cases municipal authorities have gone too far in the direction of municipal trading. It is because we hold that opinion that the Joint Committee of both Houses has been appointed to consider the method of the exercise of those powers, but not whether they shall have powers or whether powers shall be taken away altogether. The second point I will concede is that technically it would be possible for a County Council under this Bill to promote a Bill to enable them to supply gas or electric lighting. But my position in regard to that matter is this—firstly, that there is not the remotest chance of a County Council being so foolish as to do anything of the kind, and, secondly, that if they did it the time to check them is when they come with that proposal to Parliament. There is neither reason nor common-sense in refusing to all the County Councils of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland the power to come to Parliament for certain purposes properly within the scope of their work, because there is the possibility of a remote chance of a County Council doing something in the direction of municipal trading. I do not believe there is that danger, but even if I believed it to be ten times more than I do, I should not think it the slightest reason for maintaining a prohibition which has been found extremely inconvenient in the past. In the extreme urgency of certain cases, and when it was absolutely necessary in the public interest that Bills should be promoted, individual members of County Councils have promoted the Bills, taking the risk of being able to prove to Parliament the absolute

necessity for them, and if the Bills had failed they themselves as individuals would have had to pay the cost of their enterprise. The noble Earl quoted a resolution to the effect that the object of this Bill was to allow County Councils to promote Bills without getting the rate-payers' consent. I altogether deny that statement. The restrictions upon the power of County Councils are amply safeguarded. They are plainly set forth in the schedule to the Bill, and the whole purport of the noble Earl's speech was that there should be restrictions, but that there should be no power at all.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I do not object to the Bills. I carefully said that. I object to your giving powers, rightly or wrongly, pending the inquiry into the whole of this question.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I have endeavoured to dispose of that plea, and I am afraid that if I were to do it again I should have no better success in convincing the noble Earl. The fact is that on this matter he is unconvinced. There is no foundation for the suggestion of the noble Earl that this Bill is the private enterprise of the President of the Local Government Board. It is a Government Bill, a Bill promoted by the Government, not only because it is the unanimous desire of the County Councils that it should be passed but because we believe, from the useful work and steadiness of purpose of these local authorities, that they may safely be entrusted with the powers which it is proposed to confer upon them.

On Question whether to agree to the said Amendment, their Lordships divided. Contents, 10; Not-Contents, 75.

CONTENTS.

Cawdor, E.
Munster, E.

Avebury, L.

Dunboyne, L.
Ebury, L.
Newton, L. [*Teller.*]
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Sherborne, L.

Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
[*Teller.*]

NOT-CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Abp.
Halsbury, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)
Devonshire, D. (*L. President.*)

Grafton, D.
Portland, D.

Wellington, D.
Ripon, M.
Zetland, M.
Pembroke and Montgomery,
E. (*L. Steward.*)

Clarendon, E. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Ancaster, E.
Belmore, E.
Camperdown, E.
Carnwath, E.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Denbigh, E.
 Hardwicke, E.
 Leven and Melville, E.
 Lytton, E.
 Malmesbury, E.
 Mar and Kellie, E.
 Mayo, E.
 Morley, E.
 Nelson, E.
 Northbrook, E.
 Onalow, E.
 Portsmouth, E.
 Romney, E.
 Stamford, E.
 Vane, E. (*M. Londonderry*.)
 Waldegrave, E. [*Teller.*]

Bangor, V.
 Churchill, V. [*Teller.*]
 Hampden, V.
 Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore.*)

Powerscourt, V.
 St. Albans, L. Bp.
 Alverstone, L.
 Ashbourne, L.
 Balfour, L.
 Barnard, L.
 Barrymore, L.
 Bateman, L.
 Belhaven and Stenton, L.
 Belper, L.
 Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
 Burton, L.
 Calthorpe, L.
 Cheylesmore, L.
 Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
 Colchester, L.
 Congleton, L.
 Crawshaw, L.
 Foley, L.
 Forester, L.

Glanusk, L.
 Hawkesbury, L.
 Herries, L.
 James, L.
 Kenyon, L.
 Killanin, L.
 Lawrence, L.
 Leigh, L.
 Lyveden, L.
 Norton, L.
 Reay, L.
 Redesdale, L.
 Ribblesdale, L.
 St. Levan, L.
 Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
 Sinclair, L.
 Suffield, L.
 Tweedmouth, L.
 Welby, L.
 Windsor, L.
 Wolverton, L.

Then the original Motion agreed to :
 House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1.

LORD AVEBURY said that Lord Kenyon, in introducing this Bill, had told the House that the object was to allow County Councils to promote Bills in the same manner as municipal boroughs. But the Bill gave the power without the existing safeguard. The object of the Amendment standing in his name on the Paper was to carry out the expressed intention of His Majesty's Government. The words were those in the existing Act. Unless they introduced them they would be giving County Councils powers which municipal authorities had not hitherto possessed. Moreover, unless they inserted these words they abolished the right of owners to vote. One reason of the great increase in rates undoubtedly was that so many persons had votes but paid no rates. They had, therefore, no direct interest in economy. In many cases, moreover, even those who paid rates were merely temporary occupiers. It would hardly be denied that in the long run rates fell to a great extent on owners. They had not even now a fair share of representation, but if they had so little surely the proper course was to give them a more adequate share of representation, and not to deprive them of what small share they still possessed. At the previous day's sitting of the Joint Committee which was now considering this subject, Sir S. Provis,

Permanent Secretary to the Local Government Board, was asked whether in his judgment and from his great experience he considered that the ratepayers required more protection, and he replied that he did. But unless the House accepted his Amendment the unfortunate ratepayer would have even less protection than he had at present. The Amendment gave no additional safeguard, but at any rate it preserved to the ratepayers the power they at present possessed, and of which the Bill as it stood would deprive him.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, after 'them' to insert 'The powers conferred by this section and by Section 15 of the Local Government Act, 1888, shall be exercised subject to the provisions of the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and of any Act amending the same, in like manner as if the county were a borough, and the chairman of the County Council the mayor of a borough.'—(*Lord Avebury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

LORD KENYON said the Government could not accept the Amendment. The Amendment contemplated the adoption of the machinery of the Borough Funds Act, under which a meeting of owners and ratepayers would have to be held in order to gain consent to the promotion of a Bill. It would obviously be impossible to find buildings large enough to hold meetings of the county owners and ratepayers of London or Lancashire. In the second place, Lord Avebury sought to impose a restriction on County Councils

in opposing Bills, and therefore was not in order because the Bill did not alter the powers that at present existed as to opposing Bills. He thought the ratepayers' interest sufficiently safeguarded in the Bill as it stood. An absolute majority of the Council was necessary, and the meeting at which that majority had to be obtained would be held after ten days notice had been given by advertisement. Further, no expense could be incurred on the promotion of a Bill unless it was confirmed by an absolute majority at another meeting of the Council after the Bill had been deposited fourteen days in the House. Besides that, in the case of both the promotion of and opposition to Bills, the consent of the Local Government Board, or the Secretary of State as the case might be, would have to be obtained. As Lord Balfour had pointed out, the proper place for ratepayers to object to the promotion of Bills was when the Bills came before Parliament.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON agreed that it would be totally impossible in a large county to hold meetings of the kind proposed, and urged the noble Lord to withdraw the Amendment. He assured him it was not workable.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said the explanation which had just been given by the noble Lord opposite showed that the Bill was quite a different one from what they had supposed. They had no explanation when the Bill was introduced beyond this, that they were told that it was to create exactly the same state of things with regard to County Councils as now existed in boroughs. But it now transpired that it was totally different. With regard to the owners' vote, he contended that there could be no objection to summoning the owners and ratepayers to a meeting. He could not see how the Amendment would take away the power of opposing Bills.

LORD BELPER insisted that it was practically impossible to get a meeting of ratepayers in a county that would in any sense represent the feeling of the county. With regard to the effect of the Amendment, under the Act of 1888

Lord Kenyon.

power was given to oppose Bills without the consent of the ratepayers, and the Amendment would overrule that by making the provisions of the Borough Funds Act applicable to the opposing of Bills as well as their promotion. He hoped the noble Lord would not press his Amendment.

LORD AVEBURY said it was quite clear from the noble Lord's explanation that the Bill did not merely give to County Councils the powers which had been hitherto enjoyed by municipal authorities. It might be right or it might be wrong, but the Bill gave them totally different powers.

LORD BELPER: Quite so.

LORD AVEBURY: Yes, but that was not what was stated to be the intention of the Bill when it was introduced. Continuing, the noble Lord said it did away with the powers which had hitherto been enjoyed by the ratepayers, and handed those powers over to the Local Government Board. It was useless to put the House to the trouble of dividing, and he would therefore withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

LORD AVEBURY then moved to omit the sub-section which provides that the powers conferred by the clause shall be in addition to, and not in derogation of, any powers possessed by the London County Council. He wished to know what additional powers the Bill would give to the London County Council.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 20, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(*Lord Avebury.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause."

LORD KENYON said he did not think the Bill gave the London County Council any additional powers. The sub-section was only put in as a safeguard.

LORD AVEBURY asked whether the Government would omit the words, "shall be in addition to."

LORD TWEEDMOUTH hoped the Government would not accept the Amendment. The object of the sub-section was simply to safeguard to the County Council the powers it already had, and to make it perfectly clear that the County Council should not have any of its powers interfered with by the Bill.

LORD AVEBURY said he was not wishing to deprive the County Council of any of its powers, but the words in the section were "the powers conferred by this section shall be in addition to," etc. He understood the Government did not wish to add anything to the duties of the London County Council.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said the London County Council, as the successors of the Metropolitan Board of Works, had the power to promote Bills for the improvement of the Metropolis, and for the public benefit of the inhabitants. The present Bill gave a general power to County Councils to promote Bills under certain restrictions, and the Government saw no reason why the London County Council should be differently treated from other County Councils; but they wanted to make it clear that the powers now enjoyed by the London County Council were not derogated from.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment, and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

BOROUGH FUNDS BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 to 6 agreed to.

Clause 7 :—

LORD AVEBURY moved to omit the sub-section which repeals the provision in the Borough Funds Act, 1872, that no expense in opposing a Bill shall be charged unless the opposition has had the consent of the owners and ratepayers of the dis-

trict. He thought it was very undesirable to alter this provision in view of the fact that so many of the voters did not pay rates.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 12, 'to leave out Sub-section 1.'—(*Lord Avebury.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause."

LORD KENYON said the Government could not accept the Amendment, as one of the chief objects of the Bill was to render it unnecessary to obtain the consent of the owners and ratepayers to mere opposition to a Bill. He thought the local authority might be trusted not to engage in opposition to a Bill against the wishes of the inhabitants. Again, the cost of obtaining this consent was considerable in the event of a poll being demanded. A Bill was very often opposed in order to secure some particular advantage, such as, for instance, a bridge instead of a level crossing, and it was not thought wise that the consent of the owners and ratepayers should be necessary for this course. All the other requirements imposed by the Borough Funds Act of 1872 would be retained.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 7 agreed to.

LORD AVEBURY moved an Amendment to insert after Clause 7 a new clause. When the Act of 1872 was passed there were practically no such things as electric lighting or traction companies, and he suggested that it would be reasonable to treat them in the same way as gas or water undertakings. Perhaps the Government would consider the Amendment on the Report stage if they were not prepared to accept it then.

Amendment moved—

"After Clause 7 to insert the following new clause—'Section 2 of the Borough Funds Act, 1872, shall be amended by inserting after the words "Provided that nothing in this Act contained shall authorise any governing body to promote any Bill in Parliament for the establishment of any gas or water works," and

again after the words 'to compete with any existing gas or water company' the following words 'or electric lighting or traction company.'—(*Lord Avebury.*)

Question proposed, "That that clause be there inserted."

LORD KENYON said they could not accept the Amendment. The question of municipal trading had been referred to a Joint Committee, and this proposal would seem rather to prejudice the matter. It would be perfectly competent for Parliament to reject any proposal that came before it in a Bill promoted by local authorities which in their opinion would render the competition unfair. The Urban District Councils Association was strongly in favour of the Bill for the very reasons which the noble Lord wished to oppose it.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH ventured to think there was some misunderstanding in the mind of the noble Lord with regard to this Amendment. He had done his best, but had been unable to understand what it was Lord Avebury wanted to effect. First of all, he did not understand what was meant by a traction company. In the second place, the noble Lord seemed to think that there was no power now to start in competition against an electric lighting company, or against a tramway company. The point was distinctly laid down under the Electric Lighting Acts of 1888 that there was no monopoly given, and that competition might, if necessary, be started. Since the noble Lord's Amendment had been placed on the Paper the Local Government Board had received a communication to the effect that it would be a very serious matter for urban authorities if this Amendment were accepted, because it might be that some company, by obtaining in their district only a few yards of tramway line, might absolutely prevent them from starting a tramway undertaking if they wished to do so, even although that company was not in any way whatever serving their district. The matter was rather a technical one and the Local Government Board believed the Amendment would have an unfair effect upon local authorities.

LORD AVEBURY thought those who had invested their money in tramways or

electric lighting were entitled to consideration of the same kind as had been given to gas and water undertakings. Perhaps the words of his clause went rather too far, but he thought the Local Government Board should consider whether investors in electric lighting or traction companies were not entitled to some protection, not against competition as a whole, but against competition by a local authority.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH said they were entitled to be protected against unreasonable or pernicious competition, but the noble Lord must bear in mind that the present statutory position of such companies as he referred to, was not the same as that formerly given to gas and water companies, and they could not by a side wind suddenly reverse previous legislation.

LORD AVEBURY said it was competition by the local authority to which he had referred. He would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9.

LORD AVEBURY, who had given notice of an Amendment in Clause 9, page 3, line 13, after "council," to insert—"The expression 'electors' means 'the persons who would be entitled to vote at an election of a local board under the Public Health Act, 1875, and sections ten to thirteen of Schedule II. to that Act shall apply to a poll of electors under this Act in like manner as if the poll of electors were an election of a local board,'" said that this Amendment raised again the question of the owners' vote, but as His Majesty's Government insisted upon taking away that vote he did not propose to occupy the time of the House by moving his Amendment.

LORD KENYON: The owners' vote is still there.

Clause 9 and remaining clauses agreed to.

Schedule 1 :

LORD AVEBURY pointed out that it was provided in the First Schedule that a poll might be required with respect to any resolution by not less than 100 electors or one-twentieth in number of the electors, whichever might be the less. He moved as an Amendment to leave out "one hundred" and to insert "twenty" and to leave out "one-twentieth" and insert "one-hundredth." He quite agreed that the present number who might demand a poll should be increased, but in small places surely 100 was too large a number of electors to require to join in demanding a poll, and in very large places, on the other hand, to insist on one twentieth would make it impossible to carry it into operation at all. That clause, if it passed, would make it almost impossible to demand a poll, and constituted another step in the direction of taking away powers now enjoyed by the ratepayers.

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 18, to leave out the words 'one hundred' and to insert the word 'twenty' and leave out the words 'one-twentieth' and to insert the words 'one-hundredth.'"—(*Lord Avebury.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'one hundred' and 'one-twentieth' stand part of the schedule."

LORD KENYON said the Government could not agree to the Amendment. If they could not find 100, or one-twentieth, whichever might be the less, within seven days to demand a poll, there seemed no good reason for a poll.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Formal Amendment agreed to.

Schedule 1, as amended, agreed to.

Schedule 2, agreed to.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended.

EDUCATION (BORROWING) BILL.

[SECOND READING].

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

LORD KENYON: My Lords, this is a Bill to enable the local education authorities to put themselves in a satisfactory condition financially. Many of them have found themselves in a position of difficulty, from a financial point of view, in bringing the Act into operation, owing to the fact that they have not sufficient funds at their disposal during the first year. The object of the Bill is to meet the difficulties that have arisen by enabling the local education authorities, with the sanction of the Local Government Board, to borrow, under Section 19 of the Act of 1902 or in such other manner as the Board may approve, such sums as are required to provide a working balance to carry the Act into effect. The Bill has passed through the other House without opposition, and I trust your Lordships will give it a Second Reading.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^d.—(*Lord Kenyon.*)

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON: I understand from the noble Lord that this Bill is to meet a temporary requirement, namely, the bringing into operation of the Act of last year. But the terms of the Bill are quite general, and they would enable County Councils, with the assent of the Local Government Board, to borrow money for the purposes of putting themselves in funds not only for the special purpose intended but on any occasion whatever.

*LORD HERRIES: I think it is to be regretted that the Government has not seen its way to give more money to the County Councils to bring the Education Act into operation. When the Government instituted the Act they ought certainly to have anticipated that it would not be possible for the County Councils to provide the money without increasing the rates to a very great extent. We have been obliged to do so in my county for this year, and that has had a great deal to do with the opposition which the

Act has received in many quarters. I believe that many of those who oppose the Act keep their consciences in their pockets, and that in consequence of finding that they were to be called upon to pay such a high rate they have discovered conscientious motives for not paying it at all. If the Government had kept the corn tax on for another year, that £2,500,000 might have been given over to the County Councils in order to bring this Act into operation. Even if the money is borrowed, it will eventually come out of the rates. The rate which agriculturists will have to pay for education may amount to 10 or 20 per cent. of their net incomes. In some years I dare say they will have to pay more. I know a case of a large tenant farmer paying a rental of £1,200 a year, who probably this year will not have a clear income of £200. Yet he will be called upon to pay 6d. in the pound on £1,200 a year. I must say, on behalf of agriculturists, that I think a great deal too much is expected from them towards bringing the Education Act into operation. In order to relieve the ratepayers to a certain extent the Government bring in this Bill to allow them to borrow money, but I object to this charge eventually falling on the ratepayers.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I wish to raise a much more fundamental objection to this Bill than that which has been raised by my noble friend. It is this. The Bill says that you may borrow such sums as in the opinion of the Board are required to provide a working balance for carrying the Act into effect. Why should Education Committees or County Councils be expected to borrow money at all for this purpose? I happen to be on one of these Education Committees, and I know that we are bankrupt. We have got no money, and a great many parish schools are in exactly the same position. I ventured to point this out to your Lordships when the Bill was before the House. I predicted that we should all be without money, and that is exactly what has happened. I submit that when the Bill was drawn care ought to have been taken to provide for this period of transition. Unfortunately no such care was taken, and all Education Committees, I presume—certainly I can speak for the one of which I am a Member

Lord Herries.

—find themselves in very great straits and do not know what to do. Surely the fact that this Bill has to be introduced is in itself a condemnation of the scheme, and shows that sufficient care was not bestowed on the financial portion of the Act.

***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** The simple reason for this Bill, I think, is to be found in this fact, that the financial year of the schools which have to be taken over, does not in all cases, or perhaps in many cases, fit in with the precise time when the new authority has to commence its work, and for the purpose of having a working balance there must be recourse to this system of borrowing. The safeguards in the Bill are sufficient, because the purpose for which the borrowing is to take place is to provide a working balance for carrying the Act into effect, and it has to be by the consent of the Local Government Board, whose duty it will be to see that a large sum in excess of what is a fair working balance is not asked for by the local authority. I cannot but admit that the circumstances in which some County Councils have found themselves are unfortunate, but in the commencement of a new scheme of this kind, when many institutions have to be taken over whose financial years do not end at the same time, the difficulty is unavoidable, and this is the best means of getting over it.

LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH: The cause of the difficulty is this, that the Government do not pay their contribution to the education expenses as they are incurred, and the County Council have to. If the Government had paid their contributions with promptitude as they became due the difficulty would not have arisen to the present extent.

***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** I think there is some ambiguity in the expression, "when the money becomes due." The money becomes due, I understand, after the inspection, and the local authority must carry on the school till the end of the financial year. I believe the contributions at the end of the financial year will balance, but it is to carry the work on during

the months until the grants are really receivable from the Government that this power to borrow is required.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to the Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (TRANSFER OF POWERS) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

LORD KENYON: My Lords, under the Act of 1888, the Local Government Board are empowered to make Provisional Orders to transfer to counties and County Boroughs certain of the powers and duties of the Department. In doing so they have to transfer them to all the County Councils and County Boroughs in England. The object of this Bill is to allow the Local Government Board to specify the particular County or County Borough to which they wish to transfer their powers.

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Kenyon.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

***THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ALBANS:** My Lords, this Bill asks for no public money and raises no controversial questions. It has received the consent of all the parties concerned, and has met with the approval of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Home Office. It is a simple matter of administration to enable the income of the vicarage of Newcastle, together with the income of the canonry established by Order in Council in 1884, to be merged in the deanery, and for some subsidiary objects which it is hardly necessary for me to enter into at this stage. If I include a part as spent in the provision and

equipment of a house where one of the canons lives with seven young graduates, whom he prepares for the ministry, a sum of about £33,000 has been contributed by Northumberland laymen for the establishment of a Dean and Chapter of Newcastle, and in addition there will be an annual sum which will eventually come to the Chapter in the next vacancy in the archdeaconry of Northumberland. I venture to think that a diocese which has shown such attachment to its cathedral is entitled to come to Parliament and ask for the removal of statutory anomalies which hinder the free operation of the Newcastle Chapter Act, 1884.

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*The Lord Bishop of St. Albans.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday, the 6th of July next.

THE HOUSE AND THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

***THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK,** who had the following notice on the Paper, "To move that a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report upon the expediency or otherwise of limiting the discretion given to boards of guardians in dealing with members of friendly societies under the Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894," said, my Lords, I shall be in the recollection of your Lordships in stating that when the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill came before your Lordships for Second Reading my desire was that it should be referred to a Select Committee. I entertained that desire mainly in the interests of the friendly societies, because the Bill, although supported unanimously I believe at great meetings of friendly societies, contained a clause which altered the power given to boards of guardians by the Act of 1894, in respect to the relief of members of friendly societies. This was a permissive power to consider the cases of persons who had made savings with friendly societies. The Bill then before your Lordships however, turned that permissive power into an absolute enactment that boards of guardians should not consider any amount up to 5s. that was receivable by

members of friendly societies as sick pay when they applied for outdoor relief. I felt, and I think your Lordships felt, judging by the division which took place, that the case on behalf of the friendly societies was not made out to your Lordships' satisfaction; that there was no proof shown to us that the power given to boards of guardians by the Act of 1894 had not been exercised in favour of members of friendly societies; and my desire was to give to the friendly societies an opportunity of stating their case before a Select Committee of your Lordships, in order that when the question came up again there should be more material before the House for arriving at a decision. Since I put down my notice I have been given to understand that my noble and learned friend opposite, Lord James of Hereford, who moved the Second Reading of the Bill, and my noble friend behind me, the Earl of Portsmouth, who objects to my Motion for a Committee, would, even if your Lordships assented to the Committee, not be willing to serve on it. I have also reason to believe that the great friendly societies have arrived at the determination, supposing your Lordships were to consent to my Motion, to decline to give evidence before the Committee. I wish to ask the noble Earl behind me whether such is the fact.

THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: When I received private notice of the Question I took the earliest opportunity of consulting the representatives of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, the Foresters, and other great friendly societies, and the representatives of those societies, which have in the aggregate a membership of over 4,000,000, have unanimously told me that they have no intention if any such Committee is formed to give any evidence before it. They have no desire to act discourteously, but they feel that this is a matter of principle on which they must decline to alter their views at all.

***THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY:** My Lords, I should like, after the answer which has been given by the noble Earl, to say a word upon this subject. I think it would be most unfortunate if there were any misunderstanding outside as to the grounds on

which the Motion will now, I presume, be withdrawn. It is on the ground that the friendly societies decline to tell us on what reason they base their claim for exceptional treatment being accorded to this particular form of thrift. It is not accorded to other modes of saving within the friendly society itself, and it is not accorded to the deferred annuities which the Government itself through the Post Office advocates and guarantees. I and others are most anxious to support this Bill in principle, believing in every fair and reasonable encouragement to thrift, but the Bill says that distinct preferential treatment of the most marked kind shall, without any exercise of discretion, be given, not to friendly societies altogether, or to their thrift funds, but to one particular branch of the friendly societies work—namely, that which relates to sick pay as contrasted with pensions or anything else. I desire with all my heart to foster the friendly societies, entertaining as I do the strongest possible opinion as to the incalculable value of the service they are rendering to the country, but it is their responsibility and not mine if they decline to give this House the opportunity we ask for when we claim that a Committee should be appointed, before whom evidence may be given to show us why these particular sick funds should be differentiated from every other form of thrift. They may be able to give us conclusive reasons; all that we ask is to be told what these are.

***LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD:** I share with the most rev. Primate the desire that there should be no misunderstanding outside. I am astonished at the position which the right rev. Primate takes up. The grounds of the claim have been stated over and over again, and in consequence of what was stated the House of Commons have unanimously given to the friendly societies special treatment. The Bill has been discussed in this House, and the reasons why friendly societies should be specially treated were stated by my noble friend Lord Balfour of Burleigh and myself—they were also stated in the other House, and yet the most rev. Prelate, after the Bill has been thoroughly discussed says, "I knew nothing about it and the only

way I can acquire knowledge is by a Committee."

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I by no means say I know nothing about it. I have, I think, read every debate which has taken place on the subject, and all the pamphlets on both sides. What I fail to find is any adequate statement of the reasons for setting apart this particular mode of thrift and distinguishing it from all others.

*LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: Nobody has ever asked for this Committee until the present moment, and I think in the circumstances that the proposal is extremely discourteous to the House of Commons and to the friendly societies. Surely the reasons for the preference are to be stated in debate, and not proved by oral testimony. The facts are known, and they can be argued upon in debate.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of MORLEY): I fail to see any discourtesy to the friendly societies in asking them to appear before a Committee and give evidence why this particular fund should receive differential and preferential treatment. I think that as the friendly societies refuse to give that evidence, the noble Earl is justified in refusing to go on with his Motion. In the circumstances, it would be only a one-sided inquiry, and that would be absolutely useless.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I want to make my position and that of the Government clear. While the Government accepted the decision of the House with regard to the Bill, they would not object to the Motion of the noble Earl if he proceeded with it.

*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I deeply regret that the great friendly societies should have thought it consistent with their interests to decline to give evidence before a Committee. The House is not actuated by any hostility to these societies; we recognise their excellent services to the community; but when the House considers that the information at their disposal with regard

to a particular Bill is not sufficient to enable them to arrive at a conclusion with regard to it, they are entitled to ask for a Committee. But, in the circumstances, it would be futile for me to proceed with my Motion.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Eight o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 23rd June, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:— Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Manchester Southern Tramways Bill [Lords]; Derby Gas Bill [Lords]; Bournemouth Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

Harrogate Water Bill [Lords]; Rickmansworth Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Belfast Water Bill [Lords]; Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill; Shepshed Urban District Gas Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Hove, Worthing, and District Tramways Bill [Lords]. To be read a second time upon Tuesday next.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time; to be considered upon Thursday.

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill. Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Bartley and Captain Balfour.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill. Reported with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time Tomorrow.

Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth and District Tramways Bill [Lords]. Reported, with

Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments. Report to lie upon the Table.

Musical Copyright Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 255.]

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to: Gas Light and Coke Company Bill, with an Amendment; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Commercial Gas Bill; Great Eastern Railway Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to: Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petitions against: from Skirlaugh; Bollington; Parkstone; and, Sydenham; to lie upon the Table.

COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION EXTENSION BILL.

Petition of the National Chamber of Trade, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

DETENTION OF POOR PERSONS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour: from Rosemarkie; Knockbain; Avoch; and, Resolis; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL).

Petitions for legislation: from Fulham; and, Hornsey; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petitions against: from Ashton-under-Lyne; Plymouth (two); Morecambe; and Liverpool; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petitions against: from East Malling; St. George in the East; Richmond (Surrey); Kew; Mereworth; Bollington; and Great Yarmouth; to lie upon the Table.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.

Petition, from Salisbury, in favour: to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Petitions for alteration of Law: from Darlington; and Brighouse; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (EDUCATION COMMITTEES).

Copy presented, of Statement of Schemes for the formation of Education Committees approved during the month of May 1903, by the Board of Education under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the county of Middlesex altering certain Polling Districts in the Hornsey Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS.

Copy presented, of Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended 31st March 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 219.]

EAST INDIA (INDIA OFFICE, RETIREMENT AT 65).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 18th June — Lord George Hamilton]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3006 to 3008 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**

Navy—Warrant Rank for Chief Writers.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can announce any intention of conferring warrant rank on a certain number of chief writers in the Royal Navy.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.)
There is no present intention of conferring the rank of warrant officers on chief writers.

Trade of British Colonies with the United Kingdom.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a statement, as a supplement of the White Paper [Cd. 1638], showing the value of the trade of the various British Colonies and Possessions with the United Kingdom, other British Possessions, and foreign countries for the years 1890 to 1900 inclusive.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) A statement shall be prepared showing the trade of the various British Colonies and Possessions, inclusive of bullion and specie, with the United Kingdom, other British Possessions, and foreign countries during each of the years 1890–1900.

File Cutting Trade—Special Rules Arbitration.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will inform the House what has been the result of the arbitration on the special rules in the file cutting trade lately held in Sheffield.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) I have received the Report of Mr. Chester Jones whom I appointed to hold an inquiry under Section 81 of the

Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, with regard to the draft file cutting regulations of October 1902, and I have now made the regulations with the modifications suggested in that Report. The regulations and the Report were presented to Parliament yesterday.

Proceedings Under the Truck Act.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the decision given at Stourbridge, and quoted in the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories, that all proceedings under the Truck Act affecting persons employed in factories and workshops must be taken by His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories; and, if so, will he say whether steps were taken to appeal against that decision; and, if so, with what result.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) The decision referred to was brought to my notice; but, as the case was not one to which the Home Office was a party, my Department had no power to appeal against the decision. I cannot think that the decision of the justices was right, and I believe that, as stated in the Memorandum on the Truck Acts issued by the Home Office, a prosecution under those Acts may be instituted by anyone. I have no reason to suppose that the view taken by the justices in this case is generally held.

Rent Allowance for Suburban Constables

MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the increase in suburban rents, he can see his way to grant to the constables serving outside the boundaries of the metropolitan boroughs such allowances in aid of rent as are granted to constables serving within the metropolitan boroughs.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) I have not seen any reason which would lead me to depart from the decision of my predecessor in this matter.

English Evening Mail from Comber.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that the train which leaves Newtownards with the English

mail, 6.25 p.m. passes through Comber at 6.35 p.m., he can arrange to carry the mail from Comber instead of letters being sent by bicycle or on foot as at present.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I will make inquiry on the question of despatching the mail from Comber by the train referred to, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Telegraph and Sorting Clerks—Resignations.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state the number of telegraphists and sorting clerks who have voluntarily resigned the service for employment in other branches of the Civil Service during the past five years, or have left to enter private employment during the same period.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I am not able to answer this question, as the causes of resignation are not always stated.

Delay in Repayments of Income Tax.

COLONEL WELBY (Taunton): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that applications sent to Somerset House in April for the return of Income Tax have not yet been decided upon; and whether, in view of the inconvenience caused by this delay to people of small incomes, he will cause inquiry to be made into this delay, with a view to establishing a more rapid system for future years.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) It is true that there has this year been unusual delay in dealing with claims for repayment of Income Tax, owing to the enormous and rapid growth in the number of such claims in recent years. The number of repayments in England and Wales in 1899-1900 was about 225,000, whereas this year it is expected to be well over 400,000, or nearly double. As a result of this increase the work has outstripped the capacity of the present staff in the busier months of the year, and arrangements are in progress for providing improved accommodation so as to permit of an adequate enlargement of the staff. This will be available before the end of the year, and

it is hoped that the delays experienced this year will not again recur. Meanwhile the Board of Inland Revenue must plead for patience and indulgence on the part of the public. It must be remembered that many of the claims require careful investigation, often involving numerous references to local officers and others, and that considerable delay may arise in certain cases from this cause alone, apart from the general cause explained above.

Increase of Russian Navy.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty have any information to the effect that the Russian Government has determined to strengthen the fleet which it maintains in the Far East and also to add to its force in the Black Sea, and, in accordance with this decision, to lay down forthwith two new battleships of 12,000 tons at Nicolaiev and Sevastopol and to take in hand three new destroyers in the Black Sea; and whether, including the ships which are to be laid down in the Baltic at the close of the present year, this makes a total Russian programme for 1903-4 of eight new battleships.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.) The Admiralty has received no special information to the effect of the first paragraph of the hon. Member's Question, but it is the practice of the Russian Government to send new ships as completed to the East and to recall older ships when thus relieved, an operation which tends to increase the fleet in Eastern waters. In reply to the second paragraph of the Question it is believed that it is the intention of the Russian Government to lay down the battleships and destroyers referred to. In reply to the third paragraph, as far as the Admiralty are aware, the number of battleships or first class cruisers which are laid down, or are about to be laid down, is six.

Prize Firing in the Navy.

MR. YERBURGH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, seeing that the Prize Firing Return for 1902 of the battleships and first and second class cruisers of the Home Squadron shows 1,096 rounds fired and only 262 hits

made, he will state what steps the Admiralty intend to take to secure an improvement.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.) I have made it clear on several recent occasions in answer to Questions in the House, that the Admiralty are fully alive to the desirability of securing an improvement in the shooting efficiency of the Fleet, and that official notice is taken of results which are considered on a review of all the circumstances attending the firing to be unsatisfactory, while approval is bestowed on ships which do exceptionally well. The figures quoted by the hon. Member refer to firing at a somewhat remote date, and any questions arising out of this practice have been already dealt with by the Admiralty, and no further action appears to be called for.

Rebate of Duty on Molasses.

MR. TOULMIN (Lancashire, Bury): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been drawn to the fact that large stocks of molasses under fifty degrees, which is almost entirely used for feeding purposes, are at present lying in store in the United Kingdom, upon which the duty of one shilling per hundredweight has been paid: and, if so, if the same rebate will be allowed in respect of such stocks as is to be allowed for corn in stock on 30th June.

(Answered by Mr. Ritchie.) I do not know what is the exact amount of stocks of these molasses; but as the yearly importation of all molasses containing not more than 50 per cent. of sweetening matter for whatever use is only about 600,000 cwts., I doubt if they can be very large. The circumstances of the case do not appear to me to be such as would in any way justify so exceptional a course as a rebate of duty on these stocks; and I think the unusually long period of notice, together with bonding facilities, amply meet the necessities of the situation.

Scotch Local Taxation Account.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.): To ask the Lord Advocate if he will state the amount paid into the Local Taxation Scotland Account, under the provisions of the Local Government

(Scotland) Act, 1889, in each financial year up to and including 31st March, 1903; also the amount paid in each year as a grant towards relief of school fees under Sub-section 1 of Section 1 of the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892, showing in a separate column the amount paid in each year to the local authorities under Sub-section 5 of Section 2 of the last mentioned Act.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The hon. Member will find the information he desires for the year 1890-91 to 1901-2 on pp. 78 to 91 of the final Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation [Cd. 1067]. The amounts paid into the accounts for the years 1902-3, which, however, are not yet complete, amount to £624,000, and the Fee Grant as estimated amounts to £322,702. The figures for the grant paid to local authorities are not yet available.

Irish School Children—Exemption Certificates.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what regulations have been made for excusing children from attendance at school in districts where attendance is compulsory, since, as results have been abandoned, they cannot be certified as having passed in fifth standard.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Though examinations for results fees have been abolished the classes or standards have not been abolished, and there is a prescribed programme of instruction for each standard. The principal teacher can always certify whether a pupil has attained such proficiency in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic as is prescribed for the fifth standard, and the right of issuing the necessary certificate is given to the principal teacher under the Second Schedule to the Act.

Irish Ex-Officio Magistrates—Disqualification owing to Imprisonment.

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will he state whether a gentleman, who is an ex-officio magistrate and who has

been deprived of his commission owing to imprisonment under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, will receive a fresh commission if on retiring from the office by virtue of which he becomes an ex-officio magistrate he is re-elected for the same at any subsequent period.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Under Section 12 of the Application of Enactments Order, which is identical with the 46th section of the English Local Government Act, 1894, a person who has been convicted of a crime and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour without the option of a fine is disqualified from being elected or being a member of a county or district council. As he cannot, therefore, be chairman of either of these councils he cannot be an ex-officio magistrate. A commission is not issued to ex-officio magistrates of this class.

Changes in the Works Department of the War Office.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now state what changes he proposes to make in the Works Department of the War Office, and also inform the House when the changes will be made.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am not yet in a position to make any statement on this subject.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Imperial Yeomanry.

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, is he aware that the men of the 1901 batch of Imperial Yeomanry signed for their accounts at Aldershot before being discharged, and, if so, will he state the total number of the complaints then made; were those complaints forwarded to the Secretary of State for War, and, if so, will he state how many were owing to the men not receiving a month's furlough or payment in lieu thereof, how many were owing to the stoppage of bounties or gratuities, and how many were direct claims against officers commanding companies; and will he also

state the total number of complaints that have been received since the men were discharged at Aldershot.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I have already given the hon. Member ample information in reply to previous Questions† on this subject. I cannot undertake to give him the detailed information he now requires, the preparation of which would delay the heavy work which the paymaster and his staff are endeavouring to complete. If he will be good enough to refer direct to the Chief Paymaster, Imperial Yeomanry, this officer will be prepared to furnish him personally with the information at his disposal in regard to specific cases.

MR. MANSFIELD: Have the officers been consulted with regard to the complaints received since the men were disbanded at Aldershot?

MR. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir. But this is a question of detail which cannot be dealt with by Question and Answer across the floor of the House. I am prepared to give all the information at my disposal, but individual cases must be dealt with by the officers responsible.

The Constitution of Malta.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): In accordance with private notice, I beg to ask the Colonial Secretary whether he can give to the House any information with reference to the telegram in this morning's paper which states that the Constitution of Malta has been suddenly and radically altered in such a way that the official members are now in a majority instead of the elected members. Is that correct, and, if so, on what ground has the alteration been made.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Perhaps it would be more correct to say that we have reverted to the Constitution which prevailed in Malta for many years before the year 1887. That gave to the official members a bare majority of two

over the elected members. The reason for this change will be fully explained in the Papers which I propose to lay immediately upon the Table of the House; but, as the hon. Member asks for an immediate statement, I would say that the difference between us and the elected members, which has continued for a very long while, is due to our determination to preserve the free choice of the people of Malta as regards the foreign language which they wish to have taught to their children. The option we give them is between Italian and English. As regards their own language—which might be called a taal—there is no question at all. That is the medium for the instruction of young children in Malta; and there never has been, and probably never will be, any question in regard to it. The question is what other language they should learn. We have decided that the parents themselves should choose. On the other hand, the elected members have demanded that we should make Italian compulsory, and, failing our assent to that proposition, they have again and again refused all the education estimates. It is impossible to go on in these circumstances, and we have reverted, as we warned them we should do, to the Constitution of 1887.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): How do you get the opinion of the parents except through the elected members?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: By inquiry of the parents what their opinions are.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): How has this inquiry been carried out?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know that the Papers I propose to lay immediately will cover that particular point; but there are other Papers which will show it very fully. But the process is explained in a sentence. We ask the parents—[An HON. MEMBER: Every parent?—yes, every parent, when they send their children to school whether they desire that their children should be taught Italian or English.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxii., 1900.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin, N.): Since the right hon. Gentleman has reverted to the ancient Constitution of Malta, does he contemplate a similar step in regard to the Australian colonies and Canada?

[No answer was returned.]

Motor-Cars—Furious Driving.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case heard at Marlborough Street Police Court on the 16th instant when a motor-car driver was convicted of driving furiously in Hyde Park, and to the comments of the magistrate when passing sentence upon the grossness of this case and the inadequacy of the fine of £5 that he was empowered by law to pass; and whether, in view of infractions of the law by motor-car drivers, and the consequent danger to the public, he will obtain legislation to enable magistrates to inflict adequate penalties for this particular offence pending the introduction of the Bill for the general regulation of motor-cars.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have seen newspaper reports of the case referred to. I think that the question of increased penalties is one which must be considered in connection with any Bill for the regulation of motor-cars.

GENERAL LAURIE: Has the right hon. Gentleman seen the report in *The Times*, which shows that the remarks of the magistrate were far more severe than they appear in the Question?

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: I have not, Sir.

Smallpox in North Staffordshire.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has any information as to the continuance of the smallpox epidemic in North Staffordshire, and whether he can state if the Local Government Board are taking any steps to deal with it; whether there

have been any, and, if so, how many, deaths from smallpox in the Potteries within the last ten days; whether the Local Government Board are satisfied with the hospital accommodation at present provided at the Bagnall Joint Hospital in the event of any further spreading of the epidemic; and whether he can state by how many different authorities this hospital is controlled.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GRANT LAWSON, Yorkshire, N. R., Thirsk): According to Returns received by me, it appears that during the past eleven weeks thirty-seven cases of smallpox have occurred in the Potteries. I am informed that there have been no deaths from smallpox in the district during the last ten days. Except for a few cases at Hanley, the epidemic seems practically to have ceased. The hospital referred to by my hon. friend is under the control of the North Staffordshire Joint Smallpox Hospital Board which represents fourteen sanitary authorities. The Joint Hospital Board were only recently constituted, and the accommodation provided by them for smallpox cases was intended to meet the emergency which then existed. It was not such as in ordinary circumstances I should approve.

Imprisonment for Contempt of Court in Ireland.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, and, if so, when, he intends to amend the law relating to contempt of Court in Ireland by the introduction of a measure restricting the power at present enjoyed by Irish judges, of sentencing Members of this House and others whom they may adjudge guilty of contempt to unlimited terms of imprisonment.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The Government have already stated that they do not consider that there is any necessity for legislation in this matter. The provisions of the law dealing with contempt of Court are the same in both countries and are well understood.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he considers desirable a state of the law which allows the sending of political opponents to gaol for an indefinite period?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a matter of opinion and not a question of fact.

Irish Bee-Keeping Industry.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the disease of foul brood amongst bees is spreading over Ireland, and that only two counties are at present free from it; whether the Department of Agriculture is empowered to destroy infected stocks, and, if so, what steps have been taken; and whether, in the absence of such powers, he will introduce legislation to enable the Department to stamp out the disease and to pay the bee-keepers whose stocks are destroyed some compensation; and will he state what steps the Congested Districts Board will take with regard to the threatened destruction of an industry which has been promoted in many districts with their assistance.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The disease is prevalent in Ireland. Where the owners of infected stocks in congested districts have allowed the officers of the Congested Districts Board to destroy them compensation has been paid. The Board has also defrayed the cost of experiments in treating diseased stocks. There is no statutory power, however, to compel their destruction, and the question of legislation is under consideration.

Irish Prison Warders Holidays.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that governors of His Majesty's prisons in Ireland receive six weeks annual leave, that chief warders in the same service receive three weeks annual leave, and that ordinary warders and others of an inferior rank to chief

warders receive only fourteen days annual leave, and in view of the character of the duties of ordinary warders, he will advise the General Prisons Board to extend the annual leave of all warders of a lower rank than chief warder from fourteen to twenty-two days.

MR. WYNDHAM: The annual leave granted to warders in the Irish Prisons Service under the rank of chief warder is fourteen days. I am not aware of any reasons for recommending an extension of this period of leave, which is the same as that granted to warders in English prisons.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that during the last two or three years ordinary warders have been in many cases denied even the fourteen days leave to which they are entitled?

MR. WYNDHAM: Perhaps the hon. Member will bring any such cases under my notice.

Labourers Allotments in Cork.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain the reasons for the delay in providing the extra half acres to labourers' cottages in the Cork rural district, representations for which were duly made about four years ago; and will he cause such steps to be taken as will ensure that the scheme for providing these extra half acres will be speedily completed.

MR. WYNDHAM: The District Council was informed on the 4th instant that the Provisional Order had become absolute. The carrying out of the scheme under the Order now rests entirely with the council.

Motor-Cars—Gordon-Bennett Cup Race.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is now in a position to say on whom will fall the cost of the extra police necessary for the protection of the public during the race for the Gordon-Bennett cup.

MR. WYNDHAM: I hope to be able to announce the decision of the Treasury on Thursday.

Tottenham Estate, County Leitrim.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what time has elapsed since final notices for sale were served on the tenants of the Tottenham estate, county Leitrim, which estate is at present in Chancery; whether, seeing that arrangements for *squaring* the rental were perfected over twelve months ago, and that the Sub-Commissioners have since acceded to an application of the landlord's solicitors to postpone the hearing of fair rent applications pending the sale, he can state the number of ejectment decrees obtained against tenants on this estate last January, and the number of registered served on others; and whether he will explain the cause of the delay in this sale, and say if further proceedings will be stayed against the tenants pending such sale.

MR. WYNDHAM: Nearly four years have elapsed since the final notice of sale was served. The rental was settled in July, 1902. The Land Commissioners made their report to the Land Judge under Section 40, in March last. This report raises numerous questions in respect to turbary and sub-lettings which cannot be disposed of for some months. Nineteen ejectment decrees were obtained against tenants, and caretakers notices were served in seventeen cases. The Land Judge is always willing to consider any application for stay of ejectment proceedings, pending a sale, upon reasonable terms, but he cannot permit tenants to withhold payment of rent until the completion of proceedings.

Government Expenditure in Galway City.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how much money has been expended by the Government within the last three years in Galway City upon public buildings and public works other than prison, police, and army barracks.

MR. WYNDHAM: £3,997 10s. 6d.

Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. MANSFIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state, in connection with the Government's inquiry into the proposal of preferential trading with the colonies, whether it is the intention of the Government to ascertain the views of Colonial Governments as to the details of a scheme of preferential tariffs; if so, what steps they propose to take to ascertain those views; whether it is the intention of the Government to come to a decision with Colonial Governments as to the details of their scheme before such scheme is placed before the country; or will the Government formulate their scheme and give the country an opportunity of deciding upon it before it is offered to the colonies.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I think that on the important questions which the hon. Member's Question raises it would be very premature for me to attempt to give an answer at present.

MR. BRYCE: May I ask whether, if those communications do pass between the Colonial Governments and His Majesty's Government, they will be presented to this House?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman will see that if, as I have said, all statements on my part on this question would be premature, a hypothetical question based upon a supposed answer must be still more premature.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury in what order it is proposed to take the Votes on Thursday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I propose to put down the Home Office Vote first, and the Scotch Estimates second. Friday will be the last of the Fridays devoted to Private Members' Bills. To-morrow the Land Bill will be taken at the afternoon sitting and the Finance

Bill at the evening sitting. On Monday next the Land Bill will be proceeded with.

MR. BRYCE: Which of the Scotch Votes will be put down first?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Local Government Board Vote is the first in order.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEE).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure:—**Mr. Charles Seely**; and had appointed in substitution: **Sir Charles Dilke**.

MR. HALSEY further reported from the Committee; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing) Shipping, and Manufactures, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Marine Insurance Bill [Lords]:—**Sir William Allan**, **Sir William Arrol**, **Mr. Caldwell**, **Sir Francis Evans**, **Sir Fortescue Flannery**, **Sir Christopher Furness**, **Mr. Alban Gibbs**, **Mr. Hain**, **Mr. Helder**, **Mr. Brynmor Jones**, **Mr. David MacIver**, **Mr. Maconochie**, **Sir Charles Palmer**, **Sir Robert Ropner**, and **Mr. Charles Wilson**.

Report to lie upon the Table.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee:—

1. "That in the case of the Alexandra Park and Palace Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

2. "That, in the case of the Rochester Corporation Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:—That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

Resolutions agreed to.

NEW BILL.

CANAL TRAFFIC BILL.

"To provide for the better regulation of Canal Traffic," presented by **Sir William Holland**; supported by **Sir John Brunner**, **Mr. Crombie**, **Mr. Emmott**, **Mr. Field**, **Mr. Charles Hobhouse**, **Sir Alfred Hickman**, **Mr. Parkes**, **Mr. Joseph Walton**, **Mr. Whitley**, and **Mr. Wolf**; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 2nd July, and to be printed. [Bill 256.]

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[**Mr. J. W. LOWTHER** (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

***MR. JOSEPH WALTON** (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) proposed the substitution of 1d. for 1s. as the duty on exported coal. He said that in introducing the Budget, when referring to the question of the remission of taxation, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that, inasmuch as the coal tax had not injuriously affected the quantity of coal exported, he did not propose to interfere with it. The right hon. Gentleman had £10,500,000 to remit in taxation, and though the coal tax was imposed at a time when the financial exigencies of the country were most pressing, the coal tax—the only tax levied on British exports—was, they were told, not to be interfered with. It was perfectly true that the output of coal was greater last year than in any preceding year. Last year was a record year for the output of coal, the quantity being no less than 227 millions of tons. It was also true that the exports last year showed an increase of 1½ million tons over the exports of the preceding year, but that increase was wholly accounted for by the increased shipments to the United States of America and to France, in consequence of the great strikes of coal miners which had occurred in those two countries. He had not omitted to notice also that there was an increase in the export of bunker coal last year as compared with the preceding year—an increase of 1½ million tons. So far as

the special district for which he spoke was concerned—the North Eastern part of England—the increase in the export of bunker coal had been 200,000 tons. While it was true that, owing to the exceptional circumstances of the coal strikes abroad, there was in 1902 an increase in the total export of coal as compared with 1901, it was equally true that the exports of 1902 as compared with the year 1900 were a million tons less, and would have been more than two million tons less had it not been for the extra demand caused by the strikes in America and France. The absence of a diminution of exports did not prevent 1s. per ton less being realised at the pit's mouth on coal for export, by reason of this coal tax, where they had to enter into competition with foreign coal. Whereas the export trade had been maintained, the fact was that the price of coal had fallen heavily since the year 1900, and there had been no corresponding reduction in the cost of production. That necessitated collieries working full time in order to raise the coal at the minimum of cost. It was better to suffer the loss of 1s. per ton, on the proportion of the output of the colliery exported, by reason of the coal tax, in order to enable full time to be worked, and to avoid the increase of cost, amounting from 3d. up to even 1s. per ton, which was the result of working on short time. Members of the Committee would quite understand that in connection with collieries, and especially with those which had heavy expenses for pumping, etc., the standing charges varied enormously as between working short and full time.

In 1901 the case for the imposition of the coal tax rested to a considerable extent upon the Returns of wages and profits in the coal mines. He had obtained a Return from the Government this year similar to a Return issued in 1901. The former, in his opinion, contained many fallacious statements, and this latter Return afforded striking evidence of how fallacious were those figures and estimates. It was said in the Return issued on the 10th June that the price of coal in Northumberland and Durham had only fallen 3s. per ton between the years 1900 and 1902, and that in Yorkshire the fall in price had only been 2s. per ton. These figures could not possibly be correct in face of

the fact that whereas in the year 1900 the price of gas coal was 17s. per ton, f.o.b., the price was now only 8s. 6d., and that the locomotive coal for which railway companies were paying 16s. per ton in 1900 was at the present moment, under contract, as 9s. per ton. Further than that it was said in the Return that the average wages in Northumberland in 1900 were 35s., in Durham, 34s. 10d., and in Yorkshire 33s. 3d., while in 1902 the wages were 27s. 8d., 28s. 3d., and 33s. 3d. respectively. In the counties of Northumberland and Durham wages, which were regulated by the selling price of coal at the pit's mouth, had been actually reduced—in Northumberland by 35 per cent., in Durham by 31½ per cent.; and in Yorkshire by 10 per cent., and if they reduced the wages which the Return stated the miners were earning in 1900 by those percentages, instead of having the figures which he had quoted they would have 23s. for Northumberland, 23s. 11d. for Durham and 29s. 11d. for Yorkshire. He thought he need not quote any further figures in order to prove to the Committee how utterly fallacious were those contained in the Return to which he had referred in regard to wages and to the profits of coal owners.

With reference to the coal tax there was no tax which could have been imposed which was more unjust or indefensible. It was a violation of the principle of the equal incidence of taxation; it was a tax imposed upon one section only of a great industry, while other equally great and profitable industries had no corresponding tax put upon them. It was a reversal of the fiscal policy of this country. Capitalists who had invested their capital in the sinking of collieries never dreamed that the State in the year 1902 would confiscate £2,200,000 of the earnings gained in the working and exporting of coal, all of which loss had to be borne by the colliery owners, coal miners, shipowners and seamen of this country. Coal was the only British export upon which any tax was levied. They were told that this year's Budget was a free trade Budget, but he submitted that so long as the financial arrangements for the year included the imposition of the coal tax it was worse than any protectionist Budget. They had heard

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a good deal lately about preferential tariff arrangements between the mother country and the colonies. This was a tariff arrangement, which was not a fair trade arrangement between the mother country and the colonies, inasmuch as it handicapped the British coal producer and gave a bounty in favour of the Canadian, Australian and Indian producers in certain markets where they entered into competition with English coal. It also gave a bounty of 1s. a ton in favour of the foreign coal producer in cases where British coal had to be sold in competition with such coal. He could not understand how any free trader on the other side of the House could vote for the continuance of the tax since it interfered with the free exchange of a commodity at its natural price. Neither could he understand how the Members of the House who were in favour of a preferential tariff arrangement between the mother country and the colonies could support a tax which imposed upon the British coalowner a charge of 1s. a ton, thereby handicapping him in interchanging British coal with our colonies and other British possessions.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in speaking the other day, said the tax was not paid by the consumer, and presumably he was referring to the British consumer. He ventured to say that the tax was paid by a great many British consumers. The great coal industry of this country employed at the present time 825,000 men and boys, while the shipping trade which was engaged in the exporting of coal also employed an enormous number of seamen. He did not hesitate to say that the coal industry, combined with the shipping trade, had dependent upon them a population of six or seven millions, who were affected by the burden of this coal tax in so far as it tended to diminish wages. He desired to show specially how that particular tax operated in the export coal trade of Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire. Those coals possessed no monopoly of markets; the bulk of the export from these districts went to Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France, in all cases in competition with foreign coal. There was only a certain price obtainable, and that

price was fixed by the price which foreign competitors were prepared to accept. But out of that price the coal tax had to be paid, and that meant that 1s. per ton less was received for the coal at the pit's mouth. It had been suggested that the export coal trade of the North of England had not been injuriously affected by this tax, but he would like to lay before the Committee some figures which would put a very different aspect on the case. The exports from the north-eastern parts of this country to Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France amounted to 2,000,000 tons less in 1901 than in 1900, and to 2,600,000 tons less in 1902 than in 1900. It was true that in the export of bunker coal there had been an increase of 200,000 tons, but that did not affect the figures to any practical degree. He would like to give one or two instances to prove how the export was affected. The exports of German coal to Holland, Belgium and France increased in 1902 as compared with 1901 by no less than 1,154,000 tons, while our north-east coast exports to those countries diminished in the same period by 678,000 tons. Thus aided by the bounty given to them by the British Government, the German coal producers not only deprived us of a trade representing 678,000 tons last year, but in addition to that sent a further supply of 475,000 tons to those markets, of which we should have had a good chance of obtaining a fair share had our producers not been handicapped by this imposition of a shilling per ton duty by the British Government. If they took the exports of Holland and Belgium only, the figures were still more startling. In 1900 we sent to Holland and Belgium nearly 3,000,000 tons from the north-east ports; the quantity fell in 1901 by 1,200,000 tons, and in 1902 there was a further fall of 440,000 tons. Thus in the two years the exports from the north-east ports of this country to Holland and Belgium fell from nearly 3,000,000 tons to 1,362,000. While the British exports to those countries fell to that alarming extent, the exports from Germany to Holland and Belgium increased in 1902 by no less than 970,000 tons as compared with the figures for 1901. That illustration appeared to him to be absolutely unanswerable, and he did not see how the Chancellor of the Exchequer could reply to the facts he had adduced.

They could not be denied, and they went to show how terribly this country had been handicapped by the policy of the Government in cases in which it had to enter into competition with foreign coal.

He would give one or two concrete instances of that. Take the case of the East Railway Company of France. For generations that company had drawn their locomotive coal from British collieries. Last year, for the first time, when in making up the prices it was necessary to add 1s. per ton—the export duty—a burden which the German coalowners were not called upon to bear—the contract went to Germany, and thus the coal-owners of this country lost an order for at least 150,000 tons. Similarly we had lost important contracts in Rotterdam and elsewhere, and this decrease in our export trade had taken place, notwithstanding an unprecedented fall in shipping freights since the coal tax was imposed. The fact was, that in order to retain our coal export trade coalowners and ship-owners had been compelled to lay their heads together, and it was only when the shipowner had shown himself willing to accept a substantial reduction in the freight, and the coalowner had been prepared to make a substantial reduction of price, that they had been able to retain the trade. He ventured to say that the whole community was suffering from the effect of the tax, and this was especially felt in the North of England. If they had a reduced number of ships taking our exports abroad, it followed that they had a reduced number for bringing imports to this country, and, as a consequence, higher freights were charged for those imports. Let them look at the trade with France. Would the Committee conceive it possible that, in the face of the difficulties we had to encounter in connection with the coal trade of France, the Government had added to those difficulties by giving the French producer a bounty equal to 1s. per ton. The French absolutely imposed an import duty of 11½d. per ton on British coal, and now the British Government had put a further burden on that coal by charging an export duty of 1s. per ton, which was all in favour of the French producer.

The tax on coal was two years ago justified largely on the ground that the coal trade was at that time ex-

remely profitable. At the same time the fact that other great industries were equally profitable was ignored. That argument could no longer be used. Many qualities of coal were now only worth half the price they commanded three years ago. Some collieries to-day were working at an actual loss, and many others were working at little or no profit. If the tax were to be continued, however, it ought to be made an *ad valorem* tax, with a view to rendering its incidence more equitable. Under the present arrangement some collieries situated near the coast had to pay only 6d. a ton for placing the coal on board ship while others less favourably situated had to pay 2s. 7d. Thus in one case the price of coal at the pit's mouth was 5s. 5d. if sales were made at 5s. 11d., while in the other exactly the same quality of coal sold at 6s. 1d. only left 2s. 6d., there being 2s. 7d. carriage and 1s. coal tax to deduct. Was it not ridiculous that both should pay the same amount of export duty? It would be a fairer arrangement if the tax were levied on the whole output of coal, instead of on one portion of it. A tax of 2d. per ton on the whole output would produce nearly as much revenue as was obtained at present, and if 1d. were borne by the royalty owner and 1d. by the coalowner the burden would be infinitely more bearable than it was now. One of the professed objects aimed at in imposing the tax was to husband our resources of the most valuable coal we possessed; but the effect of the tax had been just the contrary. Colliery owners were accustomed to prolong the life of the best and cheapest working seams by working concurrently the thinner and more expensive seams, so long as they could make a profit on the average produce of both; but the result of the tax on export collieries had, in many cases, been to concentrate working on the cheaper and more valuable seams. Therefore the object which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he had in imposing the tax had been absolutely defeated, and a directly opposite effect was now operating.

There was another aspect of the question which ought not to be lost sight of. There were 825,000 men and boys working in the coal mines of the country in a most arduous occupation, and their wages had, in consequence of this coal tax, been considerably decreased.

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In Northumberland wages had been reduced no less than 35 per cent., in Durham, 31½ per cent., and in Yorkshire, 10 per cent. Wages, at any rate, in Northumberland and Durham were based upon the selling price of coal at the pit, and that price was substantially reduced by reason of the coal tax. This was not, so far as the counties of Northumberland and Durham were concerned, a small matter. They exported a very large proportion of their output, and in the last two years there had been placed on the coal trade of these counties in connection with this tax an increased burden of £1,300,000. Therefore, this was no light burden on the coalowners and coal miners, for they had had to pay their full share of income tax and of the increase in Imperial taxation, direct and indirect; and the huge increase on local taxation bore on them equally with every other section of the community. Whereas the Government had remitted half of the rates to the landowners of the country, no such remission had taken place for the relief of such a great industry as that of coal mining. On the contrary, as he had shown, a new tax had been placed upon it without the slightest justification whatever, and in absolute violation of all sound principles of the incidence of taxation. He did not know what reply the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give to-day, but he ventured to say that there could not remain long in existence in this country a tax levied upon one British export only when no corresponding tax was levied on any other British export. This was a tax which could not be approved either by free traders on the one hand, or those who were in favour of preferential tariffs within the Empire on the other. The question now was whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would abolish this tax to-day so that they might face the great controversy which had arisen as to whether or not there should be a change in the fiscal policy of this country. They should approach the question with the way clear. The way had been cleared to some extent by the abolition of the corn tax. That made the present Budget practically a free trade Budget, but, in connection with the financial

arrangements of the present year, there was this worse than protective tax—the coal tax—imposed on one industry alone. It was an unjust tax which could not endure if the coal trade along with other industries was to receive justice at the hands of the British Parliament. He begged to move the following clause—

New Clause (Reduction of Coal Duty):

“On and after the first day of August nineteen hundred and three one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under section three of The Finance Act, 1901.” (*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the clause be read a second time.”

*MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said that if the speech of the hon. Member proved anything it proved that the coal tax was one which lent itself to evasion and also to fraud. He ventured to say that a tax that lent itself to evasion and fraud was one that could not be approved by this House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked the other day by his hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil as to whether he was aware that in some parts of the country this tax was being evaded. The right hon. Gentleman's answer was not very explicit, but it gave them the impression that he was conscious that evasions were taking place in some parts of the country. They knew perfectly well, as had been stated by the hon. Member who moved the new clause, that fraudulent transactions did take place in reference to this tax, which had a very injurious effect on the wages of the workmen. He should like to call the attention of the Committee to what happened two years ago when this tax was first imposed. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer at that time rightly described his proposal as a novel proposal. It was novel in the sense that no such tax had been in existence in this country for more than fifty years. It was a novel proposal certainly coming from a Chancellor of the Exchequer whom they had all been previously

inclined to regard as a convinced free trader. The proposal coming from such a quarter certainly struck them with surprise because an export duty had always been held by political economists to be one of the worst forms of protection. An export duty constituted a bounty to the foreigner. It was a bounty given in the interest of the foreign producer, and enabled him in many cases to compete successfully with the home producer in markets where he would not otherwise be able to do so. In short it was a "graceful concession" to the foreign producer at the expense of the home producer. He was quite sure that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer who proposed this duty did not intend that it should have that effect. He was quite sensible of that, and he was willing to make the fullest admission on that point. When the miners' deputation waited upon the right hon. Gentleman in April, 1901, he distinctly and emphatically said—

"I intend this tax to fall upon the foreigner—that is to say upon the foreign consumer."

They knew, as a matter of fact, from the statement made by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer that this tax had not fallen upon the consumer.

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): Upon the consumer in this country.

***MR. FENWICK** said the right hon. Gentleman, in reply to his hon. friend the Member for Barnsley, explained that he had in his mind the home consumer, but none of them ever for one moment dreamt that the export duty was likely to fall upon the home consumer. He was afraid that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not even read his own Budget speech. He had read it and re-read it, and it certainly did not appear clear that the right hon. Gentleman had in his mind the home consumer when he said that it did not fall on the consumer.

***MR. RITCHIE**: Surely my assurance on the matter should have satisfied the hon. Gentleman. I was talking of the home consumer, and if he will read through that portion of my speech he will observe that I was dealing with the question of taxation in this country and what taxation should be remitted. I mentioned the coal tax as one that did

not fall on the consumers in this country—I was talking all the time about the interest of consumers in this country.

***MR. FENWICK** said he would accept fully and frankly the assurance given by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, but apart from that admission, it appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman in his Budget speech indicated that the export duty on coal had not been borne as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the House it would be borne, namely, by falling upon the foreigner, and that neither the coalowner nor miner in this country would be any the worse for that tax. The deputation that waited upon the late Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to convince him that the effect of the export duty would be to reduce the export trade of this country and to reduce also the wages of those who were engaged in producing for the foreign market. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer replying to that statement, said—

"I should never have dreamt of proposing the tax, and I should never dream now of pressing it, if I thought the result of it would be such as you have stated to-day."

He thought he would be able to show the Committee that, so far at least as the North of England was concerned, the effect of the operation of the tax had demonstrated the accuracy to the very letter of all the representations that were put before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol by the miners' deputation two years ago. Our trade had fallen off and wages had been reduced through the imposition of this tax. The exports from north-eastern ports to all countries in 1902 showed a decrease of no less than 434,525 tons as compared with 1901. If they took the nearest Continental ports and compared the exports from the north-eastern district they would find that to such places as Belgium, France, Holland, and Germany the decrease was even more marked. The exports of coal to these countries amounted to 656,450 tons less in 1902 than in 1901, and that notwithstanding the fact that the freights in that period were unprecedentedly low. If it had not been for that, unquestionably the reduction would have been considerably greater. And since the imposition of that tax the wages of the Northumberland miner had decreased by 12½ per cent. On this point of wages it

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seemed to have been assumed, for the purpose of defending this tax on the coal industry, and particularly the exporting part of that industry, that it was peculiarly fitted both by the profits that were being received by the coalowners and the wages of the miners, for the imposition of an extra tax. The miners were supposed to be receiving—or it was assumed they were receiving—higher wages than the workmen in any other industry; and that the coalowners were making more profits than the employers in any other industry, and, therefore, that they were fit game to be fleeced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was in need of further revenue.

Now, what happened? At the time when the Government were contemplating the imposition of this duty a very remarkable thing took place. The Board of Trade, on its own initiative, got out statistics covering a period of fifteen years—a thing that had never been done before, to the best of his knowledge—showing the amount of profit made by the coalowners, and the wages that were being received by the miners, in order to demonstrate that the profits of that industry were sufficiently large, and that the wages were high enough to justify the Government, when in search of additional revenue, to levy an additional tax on that industry. No one ever asked for that Return. No Motion was made in the House calling for it. And why was that Return limited to one industry, while there were other industries in which the employers were making equally large profits and the workmen were receiving equally high wages? He knew half-a-dozen such. The Return was prepared to bolster up a case and to persuade the country, which had been undoubtedly suffering from the high prices that had to be paid for coal, that this was an industry on which they ought to saddle some higher rate of taxation. And let him point out that the part of the industry that was selected to be penalised was not the one that was responsible for the high prices of coal to the home consumer. Their coal was produced for the foreign market; their prices were regulated by the supply and demand of the foreign market. Their produce did not affect the home market at all. It was the producer for the home market that got the cream off the milk in 1900 and 1901.

That part of the industry which received the greatest advantage from the coal boom was the part not at all affected by the imposition of the tax; and that part which had to compete with the foreigner in foreign markets was alone saddled with this increase of taxation. Why should not the engineering trade have been selected? He ventured to say, from the reports in the newspapers, that the manufacturers of small arms and ammunition in and around Birmingham reaped quadrupled advantages from the war prices compared with the coalowners and coal miners. It was a matter of common knowledge that the manufacturers of small arms ammunition in and around Birmingham were compelled to run their works day and night, so great was the demand for their goods. And while, before the war, some of these companies were scarcely able to pay any dividend at all, they paid a dividend during the war of 150, 200 and more than 200 per cent. He imagined that the coalowners, whatever their profits, would have been very glad to have had their dividends run up to anything like 150 or 200 per cent. during the good times of their industry.

Another consideration which tended, in his opinion, to show the iniquity of the coal tax was this. The miner not only paid his share of taxation in every other department—he did that just as ungrudgingly as any other taxpayer—he made no clamour or complaint that he had to pay the taxes which were levied equally upon every other citizen in the country; but why should he be called upon to pay over and above—the tea, tobacco, sugar, and corn duties—a tax which did not affect any other citizen in the United Kingdom? He maintained that that was manifestly unfair. Let the Committee conceive what this coal tax involved. This tax was not a tax upon the value of the article at the pit's mouth. It was a tax of 1s. per ton free-on-board, which included all the additional cost of carriage, dock and harbour dues. If they took the tax on the value of the coal at the pit's mouth it amounted, so far as the north-east of England was concerned at this moment, to a tax of very slightly under 15 per cent.; and, if they took the Government figures issued for last year, the prices were very much lower

now than in 1902—it was equivalent to a tax of 13·4 per cent. Now, supposing a proposal were made in this House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any other Member, that a tax of 15 per cent. should be imposed upon the value of cotton, woollen manufactured goods, upon pig-iron, or steel rails, was there a Member of the House that represented a constituency which would be affected by such a tax that would not raise his voice in the strongest possible protest against the imposition of such a duty? What he had stated represented the real facts, so far as Northumberland was concerned, and he was not concerned with any other district. He should be surprised, indeed, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not admit that the county of Northumberland, and the North of England generally, had a case of grievance and hardship in consequence of the imposition of this tax. Again, what was the effect of the tax on the inferior sorts of coal? The hon. Member for Barnsley had pointed out with some effect that in times when prices were fairly high, and the demand was fairly keen, coalowners were able to dispose of their inferior qualities of coal along with the superior product, and managed to make both qualities pay. But the moment a depression in trade and a decline in prices set in, they were driven back to work only the superior coal, and to leave the inferior coal unworked until the old prices returned. And so, in place of keeping their best coal for future supplies, that quality was being worked out more rapidly under the effects of the tax. And then the poor seams would not be worth going for when the superior seams were worked out. He put that consideration before the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The right hon. Gentleman knew that there was a Royal Commission at present sitting on coal supply, and he dared say it was as well known to the right hon. Gentleman as to any Member of the House that very important expert evidence had been given before that Commission, tending to show the possibility of developments in science which might enable us to do altogether in the future without the wealth of the coal of this country.

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If their prognostications proved to be well founded, then the material wealth which the tax prevented from being developed might be entirely lost to the community, in consequence of further developments in scientific research. Was that a wise and prudent policy for this country to pursue? He submitted it was not. If the effect of the tax was, as he believed it to be, to prevent the free development of the coal fields of this country, then, in his judgment, the tax ought to be removed as speedily as possible. He wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he was prepared to grant a Return showing the profits of employers and the wages of workmen in half-a-dozen of the largest industries in the country similar to the Return showing the coalowners' profits and miners' wages which was published two years ago for the purpose of supporting this tax. Why should one industry be singled out; and why had the Government taken advantage of income tax returns and other statistics in their possession to give to the world what they supposed to be the profit of the coalowners and the wages of the miners? That Return was in many respects absolutely fallacious. He was not concerned to defend the position of the coalowners. There were coalowners in the House who were able and competent to defend their own position; but he wished to put the case of the miners. A Return was issued the other day on the Motion of the hon. Member for Barnsley bringing the Return of 1901 up to date; but as far as the wages of the workmen were concerned, the top wage—viz., the wage paid to the coal hewers, was taken as the average wage of all classes in the mines. That was obviously an unfair way of ascertaining the average wage paid to miners, because between the wage paid to a coal hewer and the wage of the lowest paid class in a mine there was a margin of from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per day. That was, in his judgment, a very unfair way, not to use a stronger term, for the Government to proceed in order to defend this tax. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be in the position to inform them that he would be prepared to grant similar Returns with reference to half a dozen of the chief industries of the country. If that return was granted, it would clearly demonstrate that in nearly every other

staple industry in the country the profits of the employers and the wages of the workmen were higher than in the coal industry. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to remit taxation, it would have been wise and prudent on his part to have repealed the coal tax. If instead of taking 4d. in the £ off the Income Tax, he had reduced the Income Tax to 1s. the other 1d. would have given him all he required in order to abolish this tax. He did not agree with the suggestion of the hon. Member for Barnsley that it was better to deal with this tax by adopting the *ad valorem* principle. That would not make the right hon. Gentleman's path any smoother. He suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that it would be better to repeal the tax altogether. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the courageous way in which he faced the corn tax and got rid of it; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee an assurance that at the earliest opportunity he would repeal the coal tax also, which operated most unjustly and most injuriously on certain districts in the country. He had the greatest possible pleasure in supporting the new clause.

MR. F. W. LAMBTON (Durham, South-East) said that in offering a few remarks to the Committee, he would be only fulfilling the wish of the Chancellor of the Exchequer who asked the hon. Member for Barnsley to put down an Amendment in order that the coal tax might be discussed. His right hon. friend in his Budget speech said that the coal tax was neither a direct nor an indirect tax; but having listened to the speech of the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division, his right hon. friend would have to admit that it was a very direct tax on the export of coal from Northumberland. Eighty per cent. of the coal raised in Northumberland was exported; and if the tax was not a direct tax on Northumberland he could not conceive what a direct tax was. The coal tax, like the corn tax, was liable to misrepresentation and misapprehension. When it was introduced two years ago, there was a good deal of misrepresentation and misapprehension on the part of those who supported it. It was then said that

the tax would not injure the coal industry; but the figures which had been given by the hon. Member for Barnsley and the hon. Member who had just spoken showed that the export of coal from this country had suffered very considerably indeed since the tax was introduced. Since 1900 the export of English coal to Holland had diminished by 59 per cent. and to Belgium by 46 per cent. During that period, the export of German coal to Holland and France had increased by 1,100,000 tons. That showed that the tax was a direct bounty to German coal. The hon. Member for Barnsley referred to some contracts which had been lost owing to the tax. Several coal contracts had lately gone to Germany, which formerly came to this country. The contract of the Paris gas works which used 300,000 tons of coal was lost to England and given to Germany. That meant to Germany a direct bounty of 300,000 shillings. A number of other contracts on the Continent had also been lost. It was perfectly obvious from the figures which had been quoted, that the tax had operated very adversely as regarded the export of English coal. Whether that was desirable or not he would not now discuss. The supporters of the tax might say that the coal exports had not, after all, fallen very much; but, owing to the strike in America, 750,000 tons of coal were sent to that country, which, in normal conditions, would never have been sent there. Further, 500,000 tons of coal had been sent to Canada, to the West Indies, and other places hitherto supplied by America. They had lost a very considerable portion of their trade; and was it probable that they would ever regain it.

He had no doubt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would tell the Committee that he did all he could to retain markets, not to lose them. It had been already pointed out that this country was losing its markets when freights were lower than ever they had been before. Supposing freights were higher, how could this country possibly compete with Germany? He would point out another fact which showed how this tax had dislocated the coal trade. During 1902, the small coal produced amounted to 3,276,000 tons, an increase of 2,000,000 tons on the preceding year.

That in itself showed what an effect this tax had when coalowners were obliged to send coal abroad at 6s. per ton. That must directly affect the wages of the miners. On the general aspect of the question, he wished to know on what principle the tax was going to be maintained. How could the tax be continued under free trade, as it violated every single principle of free trade? How could it be continued under protection, as it violated the principle of protection by giving a direct bounty to foreign producers? He should like to have some light and leading from the Government in this matter. He did not care so much about leading, as if he had convictions he did not wait for other people to settle them; but he should like to have some light on the matter. The more light the better. He did not think that much light had been thrown on fiscal matters during the last few years. They were assured that the coal tax would be entirely paid by the consumer, and that the corn tax would be entirely paid by the exporter. He himself was unable to reconcile those two statements. The Government reminded him of the eccentric gentleman of whom he read in his youth, who, having scratched out both his eyes, jumped into a quickset hedge and scratched them in again. He held the old-fashioned free trade idea that all taxes are paid by the consumer, but his great objection to the coal duty was that it tended to dislocate trade and hamper industry. He wished the Colonial Secretary would give them his views on this subject. He strode like a colossus across the world and appeared to think a great deal about Canada. They would like to know, however, how he reconciled this duty on coal with his fiscal proposals. He represented in Parliament not the Dominion of Canada but the county of Durham, and he should like to know why the interest of that county should not be considered. When he opposed the coal tax two years ago, he was looked upon as a rebel, but he noticed there were now quite a number of men around him who used very strong language about the Government. He ventured to warn the Government two years ago that it was a very dangerous thing to taste blood, but he did not think the end would be so soon. Now the rope was already dangling from the tree. He

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referred to a speech by the Colonial Secretary in favour of the coal tax in 1901, in which he said the miners had gained by the war and should pay their share of the expenses. It was an entirely new idea to his mind that war was more profitable than peace, and he showed by a comparison of prices between three years ending 1900 and the three years ending 1890 that the war did not increase the profits of the coalowners, and therefore there was no reason to penalise the miners by extra taxation. If the Colonial Secretary was going to carry out that penalising policy how would they get on in a war of tariffs? Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer put taxes on the trades which could be shown to have benefited? If so, great difficulties would be imposed in the way of the new fiscal policy. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give them some hope of the remission of this duty which pressed so heavily upon a great industry in the North of England.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid) said that if the figures which the hon. Gentleman had given were true, he was surprised that the coalowners did not at once join the Party opposite. If he were a coalowner he certainly would. He rose to emphasise what had been said by the hon. Member for Wansbeck. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had remitted the corn tax and he would have liked to have seen the right hon. Gentleman take off this tax on coal as well. But half a loaf was better than no bread, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman, having remitted the corn tax, would next year see his way to remitting the coal duty. Some of them had had an opportunity of meeting the Chancellor of Exchequer in a smaller room than this, this year, and on that occasion they had put forward certain figures, and although those figures did not accord with those of the right hon. Gentleman, he hoped at some future time they might have an opportunity of hearing from the right hon. Gentleman a fuller explanation of the figures he adopted. He gave the right hon. Gentleman credit for being the most British Chancellor of the Exchequer they had known for some time. The right hon. Gentleman was staunch in his opinions and determined in expressing what he believed to be the correct view; in facing a position

every true man would face, he had the tenacity of the British bulldog and the courtesy of a British gentleman. The figures given by the right hon. Gentleman at the meeting to which he had referred did not present the case fairly. The figures in relation to output and wages were for the years 1899 and 1902, which was not a fair comparison. Had it not been for the fact that 1900 was a bumper year, as regarded both profits and wages, the tax would never have been imposed. The greater output was due, not to the tax, but to the natural development of the trade. Even in the most depressed years there had been progress in the volume of the trade. In 1902 they were reaping the benefit of the contracts made in the brisk time of 1900. The Committee would remember that in 1901 the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to exempt from the tax contracts made prior to April in that year, simply because he had been unaware that such contracts were made. This was a question which could not be settled by a single year's experience. It had been clearly proved by taking years which afforded a fair comparison, say 1900 and 1902, that the trade was going back rapidly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer drew a glowing picture of the prosperity of the trade under the shilling tax, according to which, if the tax had been increased to 2s., the gates of the millennium would have been opened, and those concerned would have been at once transported to an economic paradise. The right hon. Gentleman had made out that they were far more prosperous with the tax than without it, but that was simply because the years 1900-2 did not afford a fair comparison.

Allusion had been made to the north-east. Durham was deeply interested in this question. His concern was for workmen. As secretary to a trades union he had regard to the position of the employers, because whatever militated against them militated against the workmen, and whatever improved their position improved that of the workmen also; but at present he wished to speak with regard to the position of the workmen. Figures had been quoted which showed conclusively that since the imposition of the tax British trade had dwindled in Continental markets.

In the markets of Holland, Belgium, and France, British trade had diminished to the extent of 747,000 tons. According to a Return granted to the hon. Member for the Wansbeck Division, the average annual output per man and boy employed in the mines of this country was 284 tons, so that the diminution to which he had referred represented the labour of 2,630 persons. If the tax meant that in a time of comparative prosperity, what would it mean if the trade got back to the level of, say, 1886, when wages in Durham were only $3\frac{3}{4}$ above the standard as compared with $31\frac{1}{2}$ now? If the tax had prevented the employment of 2,630 persons in a time of prosperity, what would it mean when the trade reached low prices at which, from natural causes, the inferior pits had to stop working. There was also another side to the question. The tax was not only restricting our markets, but raising and strengthening a strong competitor. Without the shilling tax he believed the development of the German coalfields would not have taken place. The following statement had recently appeared in a newspaper:—

“There is remarkable activity in the German coal trade. Exhaustive surveys are being made with a view to sinking new shafts; experimental borings are being made; and one colliery expects in a year's time to treble its present output. Hopes are being largely entertained with regard to the future, and it is anticipated that Durham coal will eventually be lost entirely so far as the German steamship lines are concerned.”

One of the most serious evils that could arise from the tax was the strength and activity it imparted to the German coal trade. The imposition of this tax lessened the chances of the British competitor to contend successfully with the German trade. Capital was being rushed into the German coalfields; large developments were taking place; pits were being sunk—all because the people of Germany, likewise business men, saw that they were able, in consequence of the imposition of this tax, successfully to compete with British coal. According to the report of a Committee appointed by the North of England Steamship Owners Association, the exports of coal from Germany in 1902 as compared with 1901, had increased, by 515,000 tons to Holland, 455,000 tons

to Belgium, and 183,000 tons to France. The markets which they could have commanded on the north-east coast had been lost because they had increased the power of the German coal producers to compete and cut them out in foreign markets. There were coalowners in the House who could say that they had lost markets because they could not afford under their contracts to lose this 1s. per ton. The table he had mentioned contained the percentages of reduction of wages which had been lost to the workers, and hon. Members should not be surprised if heat was introduced into the remarks of the four or five hon. Members who represented the miners, more especially from the districts where this embargo had been placed upon coal. The representatives of the miners would stand condemned if they did not enter their protest, because they saw the position of those they represented being jeopardised, and the possibility of the miners being thrown out of employment and their wives and children wanting bread. The result might be that whole villages would be depopulated, because they depended upon the miners' earnings. In the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and every mining district of this country, there were large villages absolutely dependent on the work of the miners. If by any natural means, over which they had no control, villages were depopulated, it was a sad calamity, but if, by the Act of Parliament, this happened it was to them a question of real heart-burning, and made them do all they could to prevent such a calamitous tax being imposed. They had been told that in 1900 wages were 65 per cent. above the standard, but since that time they had suffered to the extent of 31½ per cent. reduction in wages. What did that mean to a workman? Let hon. Members put themselves in the position of a workman whose wages had suffered this serious reduction. Think of the limitations this meant upon the miner's comforts, and how it deprived him, not merely of comforts, but of the necessities of life. If hon. Members would look carefully at this Return they would find in it the words "estimated" and "assumption" and "approximate," but they would not find the word "average." In a real statement there should be no

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words like those, but there should be a plain statement or no statement at all. Not long ago he headed a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and one point put forward was that they had nothing to complain of as far as their wages were concerned. He wished to point out, however, that the figures upon which the right hon. Gentleman based his statement were put into his hands by other people.

*MR. RITCHIE: I took them from the printed Returns.

MR. JOHN WILSON said that if 28s. was paid to every man in a mine it would not be too much for a miner who had to work sometimes between ten and twelve hours per day. There were thousands of men who worked in mines at 5s. or 6s. a week less than this wage, and he asked if that was too much for men who had to work under such dark and dangerous conditions. He contended that coal should bear no tax at all. If the sugar duty remained they would pay it, and they would pay the tea duty; but he contended that they had no right whatever, and their trade had no right, to bear this increased embargo and prohibition. How did this tax fall upon the foreigner? Was the sugar bounty any parallel? How would the foreigner pay the 1s. tax? Was the foreigner not as keen in his trading propensities as those in this country? Did the foreigner not believe in buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. How could they expect the foreigner to pay this tax? This tax limited the power of the consumer in this country to buy the necessities of life; he knew that at present they were talking without hope, but he would conclude by asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer to look at this thing in a businesslike manner, and if next year he could see his way to remove the tax he would earn the gratitude of the whole mining community of this country.

*SIR JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said that two years ago he opposed the imposition of this tax because he thought it would be very mischievous and injurious to the coal industry and more particularly to the coal industry of Northumberland and

Durham. All these prophecies he put forward had in his judgment been largely realised. The first statement he made was that undoubtedly where they had competition with other producers of coal they would lose a good portion of their trade, and he specially mentioned as illustrations Holland, Belgium, Germany and France. The figures which had been put before the Committee had justified everything which he said upon that occasion. Almost in every case where they had succeeded in retaining an old contract, in the countries he had mentioned, it had been done only by taking 1s. per ton less than if there had been no coal tax. Not only had the employers suffered, but the tax must of necessity affect the miners' wages. No one who had any experience of transactions in fixing the wages of miners, would deny that undoubtedly this 1s. per ton had affected wages. He could show how inequitable this tax was as a revenue-producing tax, but he would content himself with saying that he thought no Chancellor of the Exchequer had any right to select a small portion of any particular industry and put a tax upon it for revenue purposes. He admitted that when the tax was first proposed there were some strong reasons for increasing the revenue of the country, but these reasons were gone. There was a serious war in operation, but that had now ceased. He was satisfied, from what he had seen of the character and ability of the right hon. Gentleman, that when he looked at the tax, and found the mischievous nature of it in connection with the coal industry, he would ultimately abolish it. He was certain that no man who went into this question with an impartial mind could come to any other conclusion than that; apart from its revenue-bearing strength it was most mischievous, and that the country actually lost more by the injury that it inflicted upon industry than it gained in the way of revenue.

He would like to refer to one or two questions which had been mooted, but had not been sufficiently dealt with. A Paper had been issued showing the profits of coalowners. He failed to understand why there should have been a special Paper issued with regard to the profits in the coal industry, while other industries which were equally profitable

during the boom of the last two or three years were practically left out. He could not understand why coal-owners should have been penalised in this way. The only reason for that, he thought, was that coal was sold to individual consumers at very high prices, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought if the profits of the coalowners were shown to every voter the tax would easily pass on account of the strong feeling against coal producers in the country. That would possibly have been a strong argument if the tax had been put on the whole of the producers, but one-fifth of the coal industry only had been selected to pay the tax. Everybody who knew about the industry knew that it was the most speculative carried on in this country, and that one year's profits or losses could not be taken as a guide or criterion as to the results of the general industry. In the statement issued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the profits were shown for seventeen years, after deducting a certain amount for wages, and working expenses other than wages. It would have been very much better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given what these other expenses were, so that the statement would have shown clearly to the House and the country what were the actual profits realised by the coal-owners. The right hon. Gentleman had failed to do that. He was going to do that, and let the House see whether there was anything in this special industry to justify a tax of this kind. He would make an estimate of what the other expenses were. He had made some inquiries and found that the lowest at which they could put these expenses was 1s. 9d. per ton. There were cases in Wales where the expenses other than wages amounted to 2s. per ton, and he knew of cases where they were as high as 2s. 6d. per ton; and in taking as a basis 1s. 9d. per ton he thought he was adopting a fair figure. Taking 1s. 9d. per ton it amounted to £87,500 on a million tons. In the first year referred to in the Paper the amount left for expenses and coal-owners' profits showed that on every million tons produced in this country there was an actual loss to the employers or producers of £12,500. In 1887 it

came to a loss of £11,000, in 1888 a loss of £8,500, and in 1889, £23,500. He found that taking the standard he had mentioned—and he challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to contradict the statement—in eight of these seventeen years there was an actual loss on every year, while in the other nine years there was profit. Sometimes the loss reached as high as £32,500 per million tons. Taking the quantity of coal produced during these seventeen years, and estimating the capital employed at 10s. per ton, which by all experts was recognised as a fair and reasonable sum, and without taking into consideration any money which had been lost through collieries having been closed, and taking the whole losses and profits together, it represented a yield upon that capital of 2·7 per cent., for the ten years 1892 to 1901 it was 4·68 per cent. That was without taking into consideration exhaustion of seams or depreciation. He challenged anyone in this House to say whether that was a large rate of interest to be received on such a fluctuating and uncertain trade as the coal trade. He said it was not. These figures were not sufficient justification for putting a special tax upon this particular industry. He admitted that there were certain pits where the profits were large, but they could not select one pit or one owner and make that a standard for the whole. They must take the average of the whole industry and deal with the industry as a whole. It was the opinion of every expert who had gone into the matter, and it was in accordance with the evidence given before the Royal Commission, that for fifty or sixty years the profits in the coal industry did not average 5 per cent. upon the capital employed. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to disprove that when the tax was first imposed it was done because people thought the coalowners were making huge profits. They did for one year, but it was not fair to deal with the industry for one year. He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not like to deal in that way with the income tax in connection with coal mining. In regard to the question of income tax they took an average of five years. There was no case whatever made out for any special taxation of the coal industry. He would

appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to go into this question with an impartial mind. He was certain that if he did so he would come to the conclusion that it was most proper to abolish the tax. There had been an unanswerable case put forward, and he hoped to hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would give due consideration to the arguments.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said he desired to say a word in explanation of the vote he intended to give on the present occasion. Everyone on both sides of the House agreed that generally speaking an export tax was a bad kind of tax. The case in favour of this tax was that the commodity to which it related stood in a peculiar position and had special advantages, and that, therefore, it was possible to impose upon it, by way of exception, an export tax without finding ourselves involved in the difficulties which usually attended the imposition of taxes of this character. To that argument the answer was made that it was unfair, but it was not so, unless it was clearly shown that this export tax was driving English coal out of foreign markets, and that we were suffering by the dislocation of industry the other evils which were ordinarily associated with this sort of taxation. Well, it was obvious that the export tax so far had not shown this, but that the effect was rather in the opposite direction. In all these economic questions nothing was more hazardous than to build a conclusion on experience extending only to a year or two years. There were so many confusing elements in all these fiscal problems that if they were hastily to assume that one particular cause was at the root of any economic phenomena, then they were liable, unless they extended their experience over a very wide period of time indeed, to make a mistake. Therefore, it must be ultimately for experience to show whether this tax had the bad effects which were attributed to it or not. It would be wiser to continue it a little longer in order that they might have an opportunity of forming a more secure judgment. There was also the argument that after all they must get money somewhere, and that it was not easy to see any other source which would not be

exposed to objections even of a more weighty character than those which were stated against this tax. He did not think that he need enter into the question of the corn tax. The objections to that tax were certainly far greater than those to the coal tax; but he thought also that, having regard to the enormous importance of reducing the income tax in time of peace so that we might have a great fund to draw upon in time of war—an object of national policy of the highest importance—he did not think it was reasonable to say that the reduction of the income tax was a thing which ought not to have been undertaken on as large a scale in the circumstances of the present Budget. It followed that we must retain this tax unless some new tax were put on or an attempt made to find some new source of revenue. These two considerations pointed to retaining the coal tax. Nobody could deny that this tax, in common with all other taxes, was, in itself, a very bad thing; and the true lesson to learn from all this was that the solution of our difficulties was to be found in practising a larger measure of economy in our national expenditure. If we did that we could reduce taxation; but not otherwise. This conclusion led him to support the Government in the division which was about to take place.

One slighter but not inconsiderable argument he would refer to. He thought it would be agreed by many hon. Members that it was most desirable to give his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer that support which, as manager of the national finances, he was ordinarily entitled to look to this House to give him, and which he had, in himself in a very special degree, earned by the ability, moderation, and firmness he had displayed in discharging the duties of his high position. Expressing therefore no approbation of taxation in general, and not denying that there were great objections to an export tax which might operate against this trade—but which did not seem to be quite clearly proved yet—and admitting that there was a case for continued consideration and inquiry into the subject, he thought that until economy had

enabled us to achieve that great object which all had at heart—the lightening of the burdens of the people—the Committee ought to support the Budget as it stood and not ask for any further reduction of taxation from his right hon. friend.

Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) said that the North had been well represented in the debate, and he thought it was time that some hon Member should say something for South Wales. If anything was more condemnatory of the coal tax than another it was the fact that they had already had six speeches against it and only one in its favour, from the noble Lord who had just sat down, though some parts of the noble Lord's speech seemed to be equally condemnatory of the tax as those previously delivered. It had been said—

“One would have thought that colliers had such a peculiarly good position as would justify the Chancellor of the Exchequer in putting on this coal tax.”

He did not know which side of the House would support that. Was it because the colliers' occupation was the most dangerous of all trades in the country; was it because the collier was the man who produced, at great danger to his life, that commodity which was essential to the comfort of all the other people in the country? He did not think that these considerations would justify the imposition of this tax. Neither did the collier's wages. The collier's wages in South Wales in 1902 amounted to £1 8s. 2d. for working ten hours a day down in the bowels of the earth amid vitiated air, and at every stroke of his pick by which he earned his living, he was at the peril of his life. Was 28s. a week such an enormous wage that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be justified in taking 2s. off it? Moreover, wages in South Wales had since gone down another 5 per. cent. Still further, the average wage had been calculated on that of the hewer, who was the highest paid man in the pit—the wage of the other classes of colliers not coming anything near his. And yet the average of the hewers' wages was taken for a justification of the tax. Why was the collier, of all men in the Kingdom, selected

to have an export tax put upon what he produced, and an import tax on what he ate? Was there any other workman in the community who was more serviceable to the community? Was there any other workman who more freely endangered his life in plying his vocation? Why was he selected to pay a tax upon what he produced in addition to the taxes upon what he ate and drank equally with the other workmen in the country?

It had been said that the colliers were not favourable to war. He would be glad to think that they were not—not that they were afraid if they had reason to think that the country had need of their services. Did not the colliers see in Glamorganshire, as well as in the North, their sons and their brothers going out with alacrity to the late war? Did they not contribute largely and freely out of their pockets towards the support of the widows and the orphans made by the war? Why then should these men be selected out of the whole community to bear this double burden? The figures which had been produced in support of the coal tax were false figures. There could be no doubt that the shilling export tax on coal from this country was a bounty given to the foreigner. The Germans were coming into England and taking the trade from England, but how were they going to be driven out? The home consumers thought in South Wales that they were going to get their coal cheaper on account of the coal tax; but they never made a greater mistake. The colliery owners made out two invoices to the foreign buyer, but only one, from which the workmen were paid, came into their books. The employers got all the benefit of the tax, and the workers the loss. What did that mean? Since last June the colliers had lost in wages in South Wales no less than 30 per cent. In other words the poor colliers' wives had 6s. less in the £ at the end of the week with which to carry on the home and the family. Prices were going down again gradually, although the right hon. Gentleman was able to prove to a deputation that the coal trade had not suffered last year. But if the trade had been left to the operation of the tax, it certainly would have suffered. In South Wales they had lost during the

first three-quarters of the year; prices were decreasing, and they were selling less coal. Then came the French strike, and the American strike, with the result that there was an extra demand. Had it been left to the operation of the coal tax the workmen would have been earning less when they had work and would also have had less work. It could also be easily proved that those least able to bear the tax had to bear the most of it. The tax was unfair in its incidence. He thought that the Committee was really losing time in prolonging the discussion. They knew that recently the Chancellor of the Exchequer was affected by argument. They had facts and figures which proved the justice and necessity, when the time came, of removing the coal tax; and he, as one of the representatives of the workers in the House, hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take the earliest possible opportunity of repealing it.

*MR. BURT (Morpeth) said that having spoken at great length, at almost unconscionable length, in opposing the imposition of the tax, and after what had been so well said by his hon. friend who had just spoken, by his hon. friend the Member for the Wansbeck Division, and other hon. Members who spoke from the same standpoint as himself, and who had adduced a great many of the statistics and arguments he had intended to apply, he did not think it would be necessary for him to detain the Committee for more than a few minutes. Circumstances had changed considerably since the tax was imposed. They had now a new Chancellor of the Exchequer. He did not suppose that the right hon. Gentleman was lying on a bed of roses, but he certainly did not occupy quite the prickly couch of his predecessor. His predecessor had to face an enormous deficit when he imposed the tax, and had either to raise additional taxation or to add to the National Debt; and, in fact, he was compelled to do both. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer was fortunate enough to have a surplus, and to be in a position to remit taxation. He agreed with his hon. friend who complimented the right hon. Gentleman on the staunchness and bravery he exhibited in abolishing the corn tax. But the coal tax was an entirely exceptional tax.

Mr. William Abraham.

It was the only export duty that was imposed; and, unlike the corn tax, the sugar tax, and the tea tax, it was not broadly based. It applied only to one industry, and only to a very small section of that industry. The right hon. Gentleman, on the preceding day, pointed out with reference to the corn tax that it really did not broaden the basis of taxation because it applied to the same people who paid tea and other duties. The same was true of the coal tax, which had not even the merit of being a broadly based tax. Figures had been quoted to show the great reduction in exports of coal which had taken place during the two years the tax had been in operation. He did not know whether those figures had been thoroughly realised by the Committee. Comparing 1900, which was admittedly an exceptional year, with 1901, there was a fall of 3,212,116 tons in the exports. That was absolutely unprecedented. The coal trade was a very fluctuating trade, but exports had been rising for a considerable period. In fact, during the last fifty years, with the exception of a very few years, the rise in the export of coal had been steady and continuous; and when there was a diminution it was very slight, and generally the following year showed a complete recovery. The only exception to that was when there were coal strikes in this country. It was quite true that last year there was a considerable recovery, but yet the export was 940,000 tons below that of 1900; and had it not been for the strikes in France and the United States there would have been a much greater diminution.

He would not now argue the question, although it was a very interesting one, as to whether it was desirable that this country should export coal or not. A great deal might be said as to that. He could quite understand, and to a certain extent sympathise with, the position of those who viewed with a certain amount of equanimity, if not satisfaction, the diminution of the coal export of the country. He believed his hon. friend the Member for East Islington adopted that view. He agreed that it would be infinitely better if they had a healthy home market rather than have to export coal, which was, after all, to some extent the national capital.

But when people talked about saving coal for posterity, he would point out that the patriotism of a man who was prepared to sell the rights of posterity at the rate of 1s. a ton could not be very glowing. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not get any income if coal were not exported; and, therefore, he would have a sort of divided interest on this question; and would hardly agree with those who regretted the export of coal. He had a certain amount of regard for posterity and he should like to leave posterity a better legacy than an enormous National Debt. They had, however, to look after the present generation also. According to his hon. friend the senior Member for Merthyr Tydvil, who had gone very carefully into the question, there were 200,000 men engaged in and about coal mines who were entirely dependent on the export of coal for a livelihood; and that number excluded seamen, trimmers, railway men, and a number of others connected with the exportation of coal. Therefore, the Committee should look to the interests of the present generation, and not inflict an undoubted hardship upon them. He would like to say a word in regard to the direction in which the exports had gone. Northumberland was more largely dependent on the export of coal than any other county. Eighty per cent. of her coal went abroad, the greater part to the Baltic ports. It went to Holland, Belgium, and Russia, and it had been pointed out that whilst there had been an enormous diminution in the amount of coal sent to Holland and Belgium from this country, there had been a considerable increase in the exports from Germany to those countries, and nothing could more conclusively prove that this diversion of trade was caused largely, if not wholly, by this tax. He had no objection to Germany or any other country flourishing or entering into fair competition with us. The more prosperous other countries were the better it was for us as a general rule. But he did object that this country should practically give a bounty to Germany in order to displace us in those markets, and that was the undoubted effect of this tax.

The hon. Member for Mid Durham, who spoke with great force, had referred to a circular issued by the North of England Steamship Owners Association. Whatever might be the case with others, they had approached this subject from a purely commercial point of view, and they had made out a case that they had suffered through this tax and it had caused a great diminution of freights. They were looking forward to be able to shift their part of the burden on to the mine-owners and miners. It was only human nature for everyone to attempt to shift burdens upon others, and that no one could object to, but the miner would have to endeavour to protect himself, and if they could convince the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the miners were the chief sufferers doubtless the right hon. Gentleman would remit the burden as quickly as possible. The exporting districts had suffered by far the greatest reductions in wages, and if they increased the difficulty of getting a market for their coal wages to that extent would be further reduced. It was mainly on that ground that he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to look carefully into the question. His contention was that this was an unjust, unfair, and iniquitous tax, and one which ought to be abolished without delay.

*MR. RITCHIE said this very important question had been brought before the Committee in speeches of great moderation and ability. He could assure hon. Members that if they had assumed from anything which he had said that he thought men who were engaged in this perilous and disagreeable employment were overpaid, they had drawn conclusions which he never intended that they should draw. He thought there was no class of the community whose labour and risk were greater than those who went down into the mines. He could assure hon. Members that he should regret deeply any step which would permanently reduce the wages which miners earned. The reasons urged for the remission of this duty had been that the output had

diminished; that the exports had decreased; that wages had been in consequence greatly reduced, and that employment had diminished. If those allegations had been made out there would be an extremely strong case for the reconsideration of this tax. But the investigations which he had been able to make into this subject led him to believe that those allegations had not been made out, and could not be justified by any facts which were before the Committee. So far as the general output of the mines was concerned, hon. Gentlemen opposite had taken the year 1900 for the purposes of comparison. But 1900 was a very exceptional year, and they were hardly justified in dealing with it as a normal year, and then arguing that wages had been reduced abnormally, and that the output had diminished abnormally. The year 1900 was a year of great prosperity for the mining districts, and all classes interested in mining partook of the advantages of that prosperity. The mineowners made large sums of money. He made no complaint of that, because no doubt it was true they had had other years which were very poor years. But in 1900 the prices of coal were enormously high, the profits made by the owners were very high, and as the wages the miners earned depended on the price obtained for the coal, they also were exceptionally high. For the purposes of comparison it would be admitted that the year 1900 was exceptional, and from his point of view he would be justified so far as output and exports were concerned in reverting to years which did not partake of the exceptional character of 1900, but he was quite prepared to argue the question of exports even from the point of view of the year 1900. Now with regard to the output. In 1897 it was 202,000,000 tons, and in 1898 it was exactly the same. In 1899 it was 220,000,000 tons; in 1900, 225,000,000 tons; in 1901, 219,000,000 tons; and in 1902 it went up to 227,000,000 tons. So that, comparing 1900 with 1902, there was a very substantial rate of increase, and he could not reconcile that with the allegations that employment had diminished. Then take the figures with regard to exports.

Mr. Burt.

He could not understand from where the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the Committee had got his figures as to exports. He presumed that his figures did not include bunker coal.

*MR. BURT: No.

*MR. RITCHIE said that was a most important, omission, because, though bunker coal did not pay duty, it had to be taken out of the ground and was sent out of the country. It was therefore just as much exported as if the shilling duty were paid upon it.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON said the figures he gave were for the north-eastern ports, and showed that, as compared with 1900, there was a reduction of 2,000,000 tons in 1901, and 2,600,000 in 1902, and that the bunker increase was only 200,000 tons.

*MR. RITCHIE said he would deal with those ports immediately. He was now referring to the figures given by the hon. Member for Morpeth. He would like to say here one word in deprecation of the allegation that the Return to which reference had been made had been "got up" for the purpose of making out a case. No one who knew anything about the Board of Trade would believe that that Department would be at all likely to endeavour to manipulate figures in order to make out a case. The officials of the Board of Trade were absolutely incapable of manipulating figures to order on any matter whatever, and he would say especially on matters which affected the working classes.

*MR. FENWICK said he never for a moment suggested that the Board of Trade had manipulated the figures or that any suggestion had been made to them to do so. The question he asked was why they had been got out. They were got out for this specific debate on the coal tax, and not on the Motion or at the request of any hon. Member. He also said they were exceptional in their character, inasmuch as there had never been any similar figures produced to the House.

*MR. RITCHIE said he was glad to have given the hon. Member the opportunity of saying what he had, because the impression left on his mind was that the allegation was that the Return had been manufactured—that the figures had been collected for the purpose of proving some specific allegation. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that he was perfectly certain that those who tabulated these figures were quite incapable of doing anything of the kind, and he was equally certain that no Minister would ever ask them to produce figures of that kind. He would now give the figures of the export trade of the United Kingdom in various years. He would begin with the year 1898, when the exports were 47,827,000 tons. In 1899 they were 55,338,000 tons; in 1900, 57,850,000 tons; in 1901 there was a very small drop; but in 1902 the figures had risen up to no less than 60,046,000 tons. That was a very startling total. Something had been said about the German output, and it had been alleged that the Germans were beating us out of our markets. What were the figures? In 1900 the German output was 109,000,000 tons, in 1901, 108,000,000 tons, and in 1902, 107,000,000 tons. So that, as far as any competition with Germany was concerned, while we had been increasing our output the German output had been diminishing.

MR. JOHN WILSON asked the right hon. Gentleman if he would give the figures as to the invasion of our markets in Holland, Belgium, and France.

*MR. RITCHIE said he had not got the figures. It was all very well to talk of the invasion of markets and of contracts being lost, but there were many other causes for the loss of contracts besides the shilling duty. The loss of contracts happened to merchants of all classes who had to compete with Germany or any other country, and was not at all limited to coal. It was the more likely to happen in countries where they had hitherto had a monopoly, because having secured a particular market merchants might think they could get a higher price than they otherwise would, and on the other hand a competitor would perhaps quote at a low figure in order to obtain

entrance to a market from which he had been excluded. He regretted, of course, that coal contracts had been lost to this country, but he thought it would be quite a mistake to assume that they had been lost because of the shilling duty. Now with regard to the North-Eastern ports. The exports in 1899 were 15,100,000 tons; in 1900, 15,800,000 tons; 1901, 16,400,000 tons; and in 1902, 16,184,000 tons. An hon. Gentleman said that not only had the exports decreased but that the decrease was going on. What were the facts? He had with him the figures for the first three months of this year, and he would compare them with those for the first three months of 1901 and 1902. In 1901 the first quarter's export of coal from the United Kingdom amounted to 12,334,000 tons, in 1902 to 13,012,000 tons, and in 1903, when they were told the exports were still falling off, to 14,500,000 tons. Far from there being the smallest symptom of decrease in the exports of coal there was every indication that they were going on at an increased ratio. He would take the North-Eastern ports. The exports from the North-Eastern ports in 1901 were 3,400,000 tons; in 1902, 3,291,000 tons; and in the first three months of 1903, 3,891,000 tons. All these figures included bunker coal; so that whether they took the exports as a whole for the United Kingdom or the North-Eastern ports they both showed satisfactory increases and signs of prosperity in trade. It had been alleged that the number of people employed had diminished, but the figures he had given certainly did not bear out that contention. [An Hon. Member: But that is not export.] Where did it go if not abroad? Surely, the more export of coal there was free of duty, the better pleased the mine-owners were. It could make no difference to the miners whether their coal was exported in the hold of a ship or in the bunkers. The figures he had given seemed to show that there could be no foundation for the allegation that employment had diminished. In point of fact, the number of men employed in coal mines was larger than ever. In 1898, the number was 686,000; in 1899, it was 708,000; in 1900, it was 760,000; in 1901, it was 787,000; and in 1902, it was 805,000. This was no doubt accounted for by a considerable increase in the trade.

Mr. Ritchie.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid.) asked whether the increase had taken place in the districts affected by the coal tax or in the Midlands.

*MR. RITCHIE said that he could not separate the districts; but he had given the figures for exports, and had shown that there had been a progressive increase, and at a greater ratio in the first three months of the present year than in any other year. If that were true, it was justifiable to assume that the increase in the numbers of men employed had taken place all round. It was perfectly true that wages had been reduced, but that was because prices had fallen. The abnormal prices of 1900 could not be expected to continue. The figures which he could give to the House as to wages had been prepared on a basis as to which there was some dispute; and, therefore, he would not insist on the actual figures; but their comparative value was unaffected. In 1898, the wages were 27s. 3d.; in 1899, 29s.; in 1900, 33s. 11d.; in 1901, 32s. 6d.; and 1902, 30s. 4d. Since 1900 there had been a considerable fall in wages owing to a great fall in prices, but wages were now considerably higher than they were in 1898 or 1899.

Some discussion had taken place upon the question as to who paid the tax. His hon. friend the Member for one of the divisions of Durham said the foreign consumer paid the tax. He was bound to admit that the figures seemed to show that the foreign consumer paid the tax. In 1898 the price per ton at the pit's mouth was 6s. 4d.; and the price for export coal was 9s. 9d. In 1899 the respective prices were 7s. 3d. and 10s. 1d. In 1900 they were 10s. 9d. and 16s. 6d., but this was, of course, a very exceptional year. Then the duty came into operation. In 1901 the respective prices were 9s. 4d. and 13s. 8d.; and in 1902 they were 8s. 2d. and 12s. 2d. It appeared, therefore, that the duty had been added to the export price; but it was not a matter that could be easily proved. Certainly, with regard to large quantities of coal sent from this country, in regard to which there was hardly any competition, the Welsh proprietor could make the exporter pay. As to an *ad valorem* duty being fairer, he thought that if this tax were to be permanent it might be well to consider whether some change should not

be made to bring the duty more in relation to the value of the coal. But he had been warned by hon. Gentlemen opposite that in making such a proposal he should be entering upon an extremely thorny path. He did not contemplate making any proposal of the kind, but when he was appealed to to withdraw this tax, because it had been oppressive to trade and had diminished both exports and employment, he must say that he did not think the case had been made out. But there was at present a Commission sitting to inquire into the whole subject; and, at any rate, it was quite impossible in the present state of the finances to do what hon. Gentlemen wished to be done. No doubt they would prefer the reduction in indirect taxation which he had proposed, even to the abolition of the duty on coal. He had given facts and figures to show that the evils which they feared had not occurred. As to what might happen in the future, as the result of the Commission's Report, or of the effect upon the trade, he would say nothing. He should watch most carefully to see whether any of the evils which hon. Gentlemen expected were likely to arise; and if they did arise it must be a matter for consideration by any Government whether a tax which really carried with it those evils should be allowed to remain.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said they were all anxious that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have a peaceful afternoon, and he had no intention of disturbing what had hitherto been the harmony of the proceedings. Indeed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech would have given him no excuse to do so, even if he had desired, for he gathered from the right hon. Gentleman's concluding remarks that he had promised to retain an open mind upon this question, and that, whatever he might think about the present, he had, at all events, no settled convictions about the future. He did not know whether in the very difficult circumstances in which the right hon. Gentleman was placed at the present time they could expect from him a more favourable answer. After all, the best comment upon the figures the right hon. Gentleman had read to the Committee, some of which he admitted told with considerable force, was a remark of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich,

made before the figures were produced. It was that our experience had not yet been long enough to throw into relief the real effect of this tax. That being so, he uttered what he was sure was a sound principle in saying that in the case of a great commodity like coal, whose price varied considerably from time to time, there were so many causes affecting that price that the effect of a small duty might not be apparent for some time, but that, the other causes being variable, a fixed factor like this tax introduced into the determination of the price must sooner or later be felt, and that though it might not be felt in a period of comparative prosperity, it would be felt when there was a shrinkage of trade. He demurred a little to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said as to the possibility that the tax had had no effect in making the British exporters lose contracts. The right hon. Gentleman said that there were other ways of losing contracts. Of course, that was quite true. There were other ways of losing a race besides being handicapped, but everybody admitted that a handicap did prejudice competitors. The Chancellor of the Exchequer quoted figures to prove that the German output had fallen off. But there was a great collapse in German industries at the time our industries were very prosperous, and he assumed that that led to a diminished consumption of German coal in Germany. But he was told that the German exports of coal had actually increased, and the figures quoted by his hon. friend the Member for Morpeth as to the increase of German exports to Holland and Belgium at the time our exports fell off was a very unpleasant and significant sign.

*MR. RITCHIE said the figures for the German exports of coal had been placed in his hands, and it was only fair to give them. In 1900 they were 18,000,000 tons; in 1901, 17,900,000 tons; and in 1902, 18,900,000 tons.

SIR EDWARD GREY said that, to be quite fair to the right hon. Gentleman, in return he would make the admission that it was natural that if the German home demand fell off it should have led to an increase of German exports, but he still thought that the tax had something to do with the increase in the exports of German coal to Holland and

Belgium. He regarded that as an unpleasant sign, because although our export figures might have been maintained, or even increased, we had had exceptional circumstances favouring us on which we could not continue to count, such as strikes in the United States and France. Undoubtedly those circumstances might have helped to disguise the effect which the tax would otherwise have had on our export trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said very fairly that the case against the tax had been presented with very great moderation in this debate. He, on the other hand, was struck by the moderation with which the tax was defended on the right hon. Gentleman's own side. The tone of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich, who supported the tax, was very different from the tone with which it was not only supported but forced and pressed upon them by supporters of the Government when it was first introduced. He was surprised with the moderation with which the case had now been presented, when he remembered the manner in which the tax was originally imposed. It was felt by those of them who belonged to the part of the country especially affected, as an injury, but all manner of insult was added to the injury at the time the tax was put on. The Colonial Secretary said then that it must fall either on the coalowners or the foreigner, and he did not care which. If that remark had come from anyone but the Colonial Secretary he would have thought it about the most offensive and unpatriotic thing he had ever heard, but it came from the Colonial Secretary, and of course they knew that it was only his way. It was his habit to class everybody who differed from him as a foreigner. They had all in turn come under that category in one capacity or another, and he would discount it now because he saw that the turn of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself to be classed as a foreigner was imminent.

He would admit that the pursuit of the incidence of a tax, though very fascinating, was not always very profitable, and he would admit also that in the case of a monopoly coal the consumer would pay the export tax. But in a

case, as in the Belgium and Holland trade, in which we had no monopoly, it seemed to him very clear that such a tax as this must begin very soon to fall upon the coalowner and shipowner, and that ultimately it must settle upon the miner. In the exporting districts in the north-east of England they had been conscious of considerable injustice, because the tax was defended very strongly, and, no doubt, was popular when it was proposed, on account of the high price of coal at home, and it was recommended to the householder as one that could rightly be placed upon the coal trade, yet it was put on those particular miners who did not hew the coal which the householder found so dear. That really was one of the reasons why he would urge that the tax should be carefully watched, for it undoubtedly fell most unequally upon different districts. The very interesting question was raised by the hon. Member for Morpeth as to how far it was desirable to restrict or put a drag upon the consumption of coal in the interests of posterity. But the first coal the consumption of which they would wish to restrict would be the monopoly coal, which could not be replaced by any other coal for naval purposes. He thought he saw a strong case for that, but this tax would not gain that end, for the monopoly coal was just the very coal of which the export would continue unchecked under its operation. They were most grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for his promise to preserve an open mind, but he would be still more satisfied with that promise if he were quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman spoke for all his colleagues as well, because he was surrounded by colleagues with a very dangerous passion for taxes. Import taxes as well as export taxes were now becoming popular, and this desire for taxes was growing a very serious thing. If we were to tax what came in and what went out, the effect upon trade must be very serious. He thought this export tax would be felt more seriously in the future than it had been hitherto, and if that were so, it would act not merely on the coal trade, but as a diminution of our general trade.

Sir Edward Grey.

Our export of coal was but one-half of a branch of general trade, and the tax must act on freights and the shipping trade. As an export tax he regarded it as a particularly bad tax, and while he thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the attention he had paid to the arguments put before him, he trusted that as time went on he would lend as ready an ear to those arguments as he had done to the arguments of the Opposition in other directions.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) called attention to the fact that during the debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been entirely alone on the Treasury Bench. He took that as showing that the financial proposals were entirely agreed to by the Cabinet. It had added to the interest of the debate that there had been no sudden disruption, and it had added also to the satisfaction of the House. There were two minor points on which he should like to make some brief remarks. He understood that the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was based on statistics in which he placed implicit confidence. He should imagine that the statistics were not so much entitled to confidence. They were not Board of Trade statistics at all. The fact that they were Customs statistics seriously decreased his confidence in them. He had had considerable experience of official statistical Returns, and he confessed he had the greatest possible distrust of them. The Minister at the head of a great Department once said that when he wanted figures about anything he went to the officials and said he wanted figures on such and such a subject. The first thing the Department said was: "What do you want to prove?" He knew enough about statistics to be able to state that he could make the most contrary conclusions come out of the same figures, and he was quite sure that the officials in the various Departments could do so more easily than he could. The increase in exports to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred was largely due to bunker coal, on which there was practically a premium, for shipowners were induced to take larger quantities than they had ever done before.

One other part he wished to refer to—viz., the incidence of the tax. The hon. Member for Durham was certain about it,

the hon. Baronet opposite was certain about it, everybody except himself was in fact certain about it, and what he wanted was a little information. He did not follow at all the right hon. Gentleman in his figures. The right hon. Gentleman said that his figures went to prove that the foreigner paid the duty; that in 1900 the price of coal at the pit's mouth was 10s. 9d. and the price for export was 16s. 6d. a difference of 5s. 9d. Then the duty came into operation and the price at the pit's mouth was 9s. 4d. and the export price 13s. 8d. or a difference of 4s. 4d. less than before the duty was put on. In the second year the price at the pit's mouth was 8s. 2d. and the export price 12s. 2d. or a difference of 4s. Now, how could that go to show that the foreigner paid the duty? He confessed that it was beyond him to understand it. This matter of the final incidence of the duty was no doubt a very serious one; whether it was always the consumer, or the producer who paid the duty he very much doubted. If time were given, and the duty allowed to remain on long enough, he believed that the doctrine of diffusion came in—that everyone concerned in the trade, the producer, the handler, the machinery, the shipper, the seaman,—everyone concerned in the production, the handling, and the financing of the stuff from its first production to its final consumption paid a portion of the duty. He was not as certain about his notion as other people were about their dogmas, but his notion was that if the tax was continued long enough there was a system of diffusion whereby everyone concerned paid a share.

*MR. RITCHIE said that he ought to have excluded the year 1900, which they all acknowledged was a very exceptional year. In 1899 the difference between the price per ton at the pit's mouth and the export price was 2s. 10d. In 1901, when the tax was on, the difference was 4s. 4d., and there was left to the coalowner 3s. 4d., which was rather more than in 1899. In 1902 the difference was 3s. 11d., or, after deducting the 1s., 2s. 11d., almost exactly the same amount as in 1899.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton) said he wished to urge an objection to the repeal of the tax which had not

yet been brought forward. There was another side to the question than that naturally presented by the hon. Members who all represented mining constituencies. It ought to be borne in mind when the export of coal was compared with that of cotton or woollen goods that coal was not a manufactured article. No one had made it, or could make it; and it was perfectly certain that every ton of coal taken out of the country diminished our stock. Coal was our most valuable national asset. He spoke as a land reformer who held very strong views about the claims of the nation to its land; and no Act of Parliament, no Charter, no deed or conveyance could deprive the nation of its rights in its minerals, to which it must always remain in some degree a claimant. The value of coal was not its intrinsic money value, but its potential value as the very basis of our industrial life. An hon. Member had spoken about the time which was coming when there would be some substitute for coal. That was all a dream, the baseless fabric of a vision. Then it was said, "Why not tax all the coal?" For this reason, no. The coal which the nation used the nation got the benefit of. But when coal was exported the nation got no benefit; it parted with a national asset. His reply, speaking as a member of the nation, and representing the nation, about coalowners' profits being diminished, was, "Why should my capital be diminished without my getting my fair share?" He would put this analogy. Suppose that the landlords of Lincolnshire sold their land to fill up the Zuyder Zee, would the nation permit that? The coalowners were making a profit by sending the coal out of the country, and he objected to that on the ground that they were taking away the country, taking away his assets. It had been said that this coal duty was the best way to prevent that; he maintained that it was the only way at present. An hon. Member had said that it was a poor kind of patriotism which was satisfied with a duty of 1s. a ton; but it was something; it was a recognition of an obligation that, as the ultimate owners of the land the nation was unwilling to part with its interest in its own coal. Too much had been heard about the coalowners; the main question was the welfare of the nation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with charm-

ing amiability and all that sort of thing, seemed to say that he had no principle in regard to this matter. He offered the right hon. Gentleman one, and that was the claim of the nation. He protested, as a member of the nation, and speaking for the nation, against a national asset being sent out of the country without the rights of the nation receiving some recognition.

*SIR CHRISTOPHER FURNESS (Hartlepool) said he wished to consider the matter from a purely business point of view. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had given them his own figures, and he thought those figures must have affected his mind on this particular point. Figures might be used both for and against an argument, and therefore he would not use many. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech took the exports of the United Kingdom for 1902 as showing that this tax had not affected the export trade. He was glad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer also gave the exports from Germany, so that a fair comparison between the two countries might be made. It was quite true that the exports from the United Kingdom for 1902 did not show any diminution but a comparatively slight increase, whilst the German exports for the same period had increased by over 1,000,000 tons. He wished to state that the imposition of this tax had had a direct effect on wages, a direct effect on the production, and, what was most important, a direct effect on the enterprise of those engaged in the trade and commerce of this country, and he should endeavour to show that the imposition of the tax had also affected the export trade. Why was it that the exports for 1902 did not show any decrease in consequence of this tax? Take, for instance, one of his own works, where they consumed in 1901, in the making of steel, 11,000 tons of coal each week. What was the consumption in 1902 at the same works, consequent upon the falling off in foreign trade and the diminished demand for the steel produced at those works? Instead of 11,000 tons per week—involving between 500,000 and 600,000 tons of coal for the year—the consumption

Mr. Harwood.

for 1902 was only one-half that amount. It naturally followed to inquire what became of the other half. By reason of those works being short of orders, as well as all the other works in the same position, some outlet must have been obtained for that coal, and the consequence was that the surplus production in the country had to be exported, and that accounted for the slight increase in the exports. To his mind it was too late in the day for those engaged from day to day in trade to argue and attempt to show that the placing of a tax on any article of export was not going to diminish the export of that article. He contended that the imposition of taxation on coal, which was, in point of bulk, the only article of export this country had left, directly affected that export. The imposition of a shilling tax had affected the export, as, in like manner, if they had given a bounty of 1s per ton, it required no argument to show that, by reason of the bounty, the export of the bounty-fed article would have increased. He also contended that the tax had an evil effect on the enterprise of those who were anxious to embark their capital in the development of the trade and industry of the country.

It was said that one great reason for the proposed change in the fiscal policy of the country was the anxiety to find employment for workmen and to extend the manufactures. If that was the object he should like to give one effect of the tax as showing how it affected the enterprise of those engaged in trade. Northumberland had been referred to fully by hon. Members from that county, and in his experience there was one matter of business which had a direct bearing on the incidence of this tax. He was invited to become connected with a large company in Northumberland, which owned considerable coalfields in the county. The experts reported that there was practically an unlimited quantity of coal which only required development. The same company owned a harbour, which it was proposed to enlarge, to permit the loading of large steamers, a project which would have helped to very much extend the coal trade of Northumberland. He went into the matter and arranged for

the whole of the capital necessary, not only for extending and deepening the harbour, but for the building of a number of steamers to carry the coal and the necessary capital for the development of the collieries. The moment the coal tax came into force, however, it was pointed out to him that the production of coal in Northumberland for export purposes was 83 per cent. of the total production, and the financiers and capitalists said: "How can you ask us to use our money in developing the trade when you are entirely dependent upon the export trade for customers abroad, and the Government have taxed your export trade from Northumberland?" He could not argue against that. That was the direct effect of the tax on those who were willing to embark money in encouraging the legitimate industries of the country, and it was a matter which he hoped would not be overlooked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he considered the serious consequences of this tax upon trade. He should like to point out the serious effect which the placing of a tax upon any article of export had upon the trade of the country, particularly an article like coal, which found employment for so many hundreds of steamers built in this country. He could trace the direct benefit of the coal industry in this country to the development of shipyards along the north-east coast, as well as the erection of steel works. The vast army of hundreds of thousands of men who were employed was directly traceable to the ever-increasing export of coal. He asserted that if it had not been for the coal tax their exports in 1902 and the first quarter of this year would have been considerably in excess of those figures quoted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With regard to the question of bunker coal, his firm, along with many others engaged as shipowners, had been in the habit of loading their steamers with a sufficient quantity of bunker coal to take them to their loading port or to the first coaling-station on the way. Since the tax had been imposed the shipowners had been enlarging the bunker space in the steamers, and had been taking on board sufficient coal for the entire

voyage. That accounted for the increase in the export of coal, as shown by the returns of the exports, particularly on the north-east coast. Another reason for the enormous demand for export coal was the strike in America and the strike in France. He was not dealing with this matter from the point of view of one interested in coalfields, or from that of one engaged in trade, manufacture, and industry of the country, giving employment to between 30,000 and 40,000. He took a serious view of this new departure of taxing one section of an important industry. He made the statement from a business point of view. He had heard many foolish statements made in that House,

but never a more foolish one than when the late Chancellor of the Exchequer invited the House to place a tax on an article of export which had done so much for the development of the trades and industries of this country.

* MR. RITCHIE said that after the long and interesting debate they had had, he would appeal to the Committee to come to a decision, as he was anxious to get the Bill through before the evening sitting, having in view the business then to be considered.

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 135 ; Noes, 273. (Division List No. 128.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (*Rhondda*)
 Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
 Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbt. Hy.
 Austin, Sir John
 Barlow, John Emmott
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Bayley, Thomas (*Derbyshire*)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Black, Alexander William
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Brown, George M. (*Edinburgh*)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Bryce, Right Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Cameron, Robert
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
 Crombie, John William
 Crooks, William
 Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardig'n*)
 Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Ellis, John Edward
 Emmott, Alfred
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grant, Corrie

Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (*Berwick*)
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
 Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
 Hayter, Rt Hon Sir Arthur D.
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
 Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, E.*)
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Hope, John Deans (*Fife, West*)
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David B. (*Swansea*)
 Jones, William (*Carmarthen-shire*)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kiteon, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Lambton, Hon. Fredk. Wm.
 Langley, Batty
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Levy, Maurice
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Logan, John William
 McArthur, William (*Cornwall*)
 McCrae, George
 McKenna, Reginald
 McKillop, Jas. (*Stirlingshire*)
 McLaren, Sir Charles Benj.
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (*Carmarthen*)
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pease, J. A. (*Saffron Walden*)
 Phillips, John Wynford
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Price, Robert John
 Rea, Russell
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (*Dumfries*)

Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John H. (*Denbighs.*)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, Herbert L. (*Cleveland*)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shaw, Charles E. (*Stafford*)
 Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Smith, H. C. (*North'mb. Tyneside*)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Taylor, Theo. C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, A. (*Carmarthen, B.*)
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glam., F.*)
 Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, F. Freeman (*Hastings*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. R.*)
 Tomkinson, James
 Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, J. Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 White, George (*Norfolk*)
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
 Whiteley, G. (*York, W. R.*)
 Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Wilson, Chas. H. (*Hull, W.*)
 Wilson, F. W. (*Norfolk, Mid*)
 Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Mr. Joseph Walton and
 Mr. Fenwick.

Sir Christopher Furness.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Allhusen, Aug. Henry Eden
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Right Hon. John
 Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balcarres, Lord
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (*Man'r*)
 Balfour, Capt. C. B. (*Hornsey*)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christch*)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Bartley, Sir George C. T.
 Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
 Bhowaggre, Sir M. M.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Bill, Charles
 Boland, John
 Bond, Edward
 Bowles, T. G. (*Lynn Regis*)
 Brasey, Albert
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Bryner, William Ernest
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hn J. A. (*Glasg.*)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Campbell, John (*Armagh, S.*)
 Curson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (*Birm*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (*Worc*)
 Chamberlayne, T. (*South'mpt'n*)
 Charrington, Spencer
 Olive, Captain Percy A.
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
 Cox, Irwin Edwd. Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Cust, Henry John C.
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Delany, William
 Dewar, Sir T. R. (*Tr. Ham'ts*)
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dimasdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doughty, George
 Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore

Duffy, William J.
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Faber, Edmund B. (*Hants, W.*)
 Faber, George Denison (*York*)
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
 French, Peter
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S. W.*)
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Garfit, William
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
 Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
 Gordon, Maj. Evans (*Tr Ham'ts*)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby (*Salop*)
 Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby (*Linc*)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
 Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
 Greene, Sir E. W. (*Bury St. Ed.*)
 Greene, W. Raymond (*Cambs*)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Groves, James Grimble
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Hain, Edward
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld. G. (*Midx*)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
 Hardy, Laurence (*Kent, Ash'd*)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harwood, George
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heath, James (*Staffords N. W.*)
 Henderson, Sir Alexander
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (*Somr'st E*)
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B'tside*)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houlst, Joseph
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, Jn. (*Kent, Faver'h'm*)
 Howard, J. (*Midx., Tot'tham*)
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutton, John (*Yorks. N R.*)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood

Jordan, Jeremiah
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Lawrence, Sir Jos. (*Monm'th*)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks, N R*)
 Lee, A. H. (*Hants., Fareham*)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Evesham*)
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (*Bristol, S*)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 London, W.
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 Macdonochie, A. W.
 McCalmont, Colonel James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Cecil
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Middlemore, Jn. Throgmorton
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Montagu, G. (*Huntingdon*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (*Monm'thsh.*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
 Muns, Sir Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Butc*)
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Myers, William Henry
 Nicholson, William Graham
 O'Brien, P. J. (*Tipperary, N.*)
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wallenley
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Redmond, Jn. E. (*Waterford*)
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Remnant, Jas. Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ridley, Hn. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Ridley, S. F. (*Belthnal Green*)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. C. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Russell, T. W.

Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (*Romford*)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, N.*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lance.*)

Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hadley
 Sturt, Hn. Humphrey Napier
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (*Oxf'd Univ*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col Sir C. E. H. (*Sheffield*)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Webb, Col. William George
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd

Whiteley, H. (*Ashton-and-Lyne*)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson-Todd, W. H. (*Yorks.*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Yerburch, Robt. Armstrong
 Young, Samuel
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said he would not move his Amendment.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON said the necessity for a change in the law in the direction of the Amendment he now proposed to move was brought to his notice by an instance to which he would briefly refer. A man assigned before marriage to the woman he was about to wed two life policies in consideration of marriage. The two policies were assigned absolutely, the whole beneficial interest being conveyed to the assignee. Shortly after the assignment was completed the marriage took place and from her marriage day the wife was the possessor of those policies and was at liberty to dispose of them in any way she thought best. There was no covenant as to the payment of future policies in the assignment, but unfortunately, the husband, instead of handing the money to the wife to pay the premiums year by year to the assurance company, paid the premiums himself direct, and on his death, although he had no interest whatever in the policies, the Somerset House authorities put in a claim and recovered £400 death duties on the £10,000 covered by the policies in respect to which the deceased man had no interest whatever. A more glaring robbery of the widows and orphans on the part of the State could not possibly be found. He had been told that if this clause was introduced in this Bill it would introduce a new principle, but if the principle of equity and justice was a new principle the sooner it was introduced in the Finance Bill the better. The

clause he proposed was strictly limited in its application. It merely provided that where any irrevocable assignments had been made before marriage the sums receivable under such assignments should not become liable to estate duty. He was quite aware that the consideration of marriage might not, in the eye of some persons, be a valuable consideration, though they were told in "the Book" of a good woman that "her price is above rubies." He begged to move.

New Clause (Exemption from estate duty of policies of life assurance assigned in consideration of marriage):

"The *bonâ fide* purchase referred to in Section 3 of the Finance Act, 1894, shall include every case of an assignment in consideration of marriage by either party to the marriage for the benefit of all or any of the parties or offspring of the marriage of any policy of insurance on the life of a party to the marriage, and the sums receivable under such policy shall not become liable to either estate duty by reason only of the manner in which, or person by whom, the policy is kept up."—
 (*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That the clause be read a second time."

*MR. RITCHIE said the hon. Gentleman proposed to make an alteration in the law because of some particular case. He had always been of opinion that legislation under such conditions was extremely dangerous. The hon. Gentleman said in this particular case the policy was assigned, and while the individual was alive he continued to pay the premiums. If he

had not continued to pay the premiums no estate duty would have been claimed when he died, but inasmuch as he had chosen to pay the premiums the money fell in at his death.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON: It was a gift to the wife.

*MR. RITCHIE said it was not a gift because if the premiums had not continued to be paid no money would have been left. A change of this kind in the law could not be confined to marriage settlements, but would have to be applied to all other settlements where policies of assurance were concerned, but, in any case, he pointed out that if the law was to be amended, if it was desirable that the law should be amended, and a good case was made out for the amendment of the law in general, with regard to this matter it would be better dealt with in another way. He hoped in the course of the session to bring forward an omnibus Bill connected with matters of finance, and if he did the hon. Member would be in a better position to propose an Amendment of this nature. This Bill was a Bill to carry out the financial proposals of the Government as explained in the Budget, and he would deprecate enlarging it in the manner proposed.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he could not for a moment support the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, and he would remind him that one of the salient principles of the estate duties of 1894 was that marriage had ceased to be a valuable consideration. He rose mainly to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that he was slightly in error in stating that this was not the proper place to introduce such a clause. This was the only place. The right hon. Gentleman's predecessor introduced six Amendments to the Finance Act of 1896, raising the estate duties of the Act of 1894. He knew that perfectly well because he introduced five of them himself.

*MR. RITCHIE: What I said was that this Bill was confined by the Government to carrying out the proposals of the Budget.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that

when once introduced, the Finance Bill raised every question in the country, and that any Amendment could be introduced. That right had been taken advantage of. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension.

*MR. RITCHIE: I did not mean that at all.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he was glad to hear that statement. He merely rose to point out that fact. He hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite would not now press his Amendment.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON said that in view of the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman to consider this matter he would not press his Motion. Although he claimed the right to take a division, he was now disposed to clear the way for the Employment of Children Bill by withdrawing this clause. But they had gained the distinct advantage by this discussion that they had obtained the definite statement from the right hon. Gentleman that if the husband had handed the money over to the wife to pay the premiums she would have avoided estate duty. Under those circumstances nobody would have supposed the Government would have taken advantage of what was purely an error of judgment in not doing so.

*MR. RITCHIE said he did not say that the handing of the money by the husband to the wife to pay the premiums would take the matter out of the category of taxation. What he said was that if the wife paid the premiums it would do so. If there was any collusion between husband and wife he was not sure what the effect would be.

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill reported without Amendment; to be read the third time to-morrow.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said that although they did not all agree as

to the details of this measure they were all agreed as to the importance which attached to the Bill and were most anxious to see it passed into law. Unfortunately he had been unable to take part in the discussions before the Grand Committee upstairs and he desired to thank the Under-Secretary of State for acting in his stead. He begged to move the first new clause which stood in his name on the Paper. The object of the clause was to exempt industrial and reformatory schools from the operation of this Act. In all such schools the work was controlled by rules made by a responsible board of management with the sanction of the Home Office and the schools were under the supervision of the Home Office inspector. He did not think there could be any objection offered to this clause, and he hoped the House would allow it to be read a second time.

New Clause (Saving for industrial and other schools) :

"Nothing in this Act or in any by-law made thereunder shall apply to the exercise of manual labour by any child under order of detention in a certified industrial or reformatory school, or by any child while receiving instruction in manual labour in any school."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Brought up, and read the first time. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

***SIR FRANCIS POWELL** (Wigan) said he presumed that no profit would be derived from the labour.

***MR. AKERS DOUGLAS** : Certainly there will.

***MR. TENNANT** (Berwickshire) said the hon. Baronet who had just put a question to the Home Secretary apparently was not aware that not only was there a profit derived from the labour, but there was an enormous profit. He did not wish to oppose the Second Reading of the clause if the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to insert the words of which he had given him private notice. He desired to move "in line 2 of the Home Secretary's new clause after the word 'labour' to insert the words 'during a portion of the

school hours.'" The reason he moved those words was that if they were going to allow the children in industrial and reformatory schools to remain outside the operation of this Bill, at least they ought to limit it to the time during which they were in the school, and not make it applicable to the whole of their lives.

SIR JOHN GORST upon a point of order asked if the Second Reading of the Clause ought not to be disposed of before the Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes, that is so.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he hoped the Home Secretary would not press this clause. He did not think he had adduced any satisfactory reason why these poor children should be deprived of the protection which the Bill gave to all other children. Industrial and reformatory schools were managed by volunteer managers, and the children were employed not only for purposes of instruction but also for profit, upon which the maintenance of the schools largely depended. The schools were supported partly by grants of public money and partly by the labour of the children. If any class of children required the protection of the local authority under this Bill he thought it was the children in these schools. It was quite true that the rules of the schools were made by boards of managers, and the managers were interested, and therefore he thought those children ought to be protected under the Bill. He agreed that the industrial and reformatory schools were extremely well managed, but there were some schools in which the children worked very hard and were employed upon work which was not at all instructive or educational, and very often they were employed for long hours. Under these circumstances the local authority ought to be able to bring those schools under the regulations which applied to other schools.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said if his right hon. friend would refer to the reports of industrial and reformatory schools he would not

Mr. Akers Douglas.

find that there was any overworking of the children. A number of benevolent persons at great cost of time and money became managers of those schools, and he thought they might fairly be trusted to do nothing that would unduly weigh upon the children. He thought the Home Secretary was perfectly right in his new clause, and he thought there ought to be a limit of interference with the wise and careful action of the managers of industrial and reformatory schools to whom they owed so much. He thought those managers would be the very first to see that nothing was done in the direction of overworking the children, who, as a rule, were given plenty of time for recreation. If the time in the school was not to be filled up according to the judgment of the managers, he thought great harm would be done. Surely they could leave this matter to the discretion of the managers, who had proved themselves worthy of such discretion.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.) pointed out that besides applying to industrial and reformatory schools this Bill would also apply to blind asylums and other places. It was quite true that the labour in the schools was carried on

for profit, but not in the sense in which it was generally understood. This clause has been very carefully considered by the Home Department, and he would remind the House that those schools were inspected by the Home Office inspectors, and if they placed them under the local authority they might have by-laws made by the local authority which might come into conflict with the rules now governing those institutions.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added.

* MR. TENNANT asked if the right hon. Gentleman accepted the addition of the words he had suggested.

* MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: No.

* MR. TENNANT: Then I beg to move the Amendment of which I have given notice.

Amendment proposed—

“In line 2 after the word ‘labour’ to insert the words ‘during a portion of the school hours.’”—(Mr. Tennant.)

Question put, “That those words be there inserted.”

The House divided; Ayes, 84; Noes, 209. (Division List No. 129.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (*Rhondda*)
Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
Asher, Alexander
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (*Derbyshire*)
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Right Hon. James
Burns, John
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardigan*)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Fenwick, Charles
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Foster, Sir Michael (*Lond. Univ.*)
Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
Fuller, J. M. F.

Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
Harwood, George
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, E.*)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (*Fife, West*)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jones, David B. (*Swansea*)
Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Logan, John William
Lough, Thomas
M'Crae, George
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (*Cardmarthen*)
Murphy, John
Partington, Oswald

Pearson, Sir Westman D.
Pease, J. A. (*Saffron Walden*)
Philippe, John Wynford
Price, Robert John
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John H. (*Denbighs.*)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Samuel Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (*Oxf'd Univ.*)
Taylor, Theo. C. (*Radcliffe*)
Thomas, A. (*Cardmarthen, B.*)
Thomas, Sir A. (*Glamorgan, E.*)
Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
Thomson, F. W. (*York, W.R.*)
Tomkinson, James
Wallace, Robert
Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
White, Luke (*York, B. R.*)
Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid.*)
Wilson, J. W. (*Worcester, N.*)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Tennant and Mr. Broadhurst.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Austin, Sir John
 Bailey, James (*Walworth*)
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (*Man'r*)
 Balfour, Capt. C. B. (*Hornsey*)
 Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christch*)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Barry, E. (*Cork, S.*)
 Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
 Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bigwood, James
 Bill, Charles
 Bond, Edward
 Bowles, T. Gibson (*Lynn Regis*)
 Brassey, Albert
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Butcher, John George
 Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Campbell, John (*Armagh, S.*)
 Cautley, Henry Strother
 Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (*Birm*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (*Worc*)
 Chamberlayne, T. (*Southmpton*)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clive, Captain Percy A.
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Compton, Lord Alwyne
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
 Cranborne, Viscount
 Crean, Eugene
 Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Delany, William
 Denny, Colonel
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (*Galway*)
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
 Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duffy, William J.
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
 Faber, Edmund B. (*Hants, W.*)
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Ferguson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
 French, Peter
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Fisher, William Hayes

Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S.W.*)
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gardner, Ernest
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
 Gordon, Maj. Evans (*Tr. Hmils*)
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
 Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby- (*Linc*)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Groves, James Grimbale
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Hain, Edward
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld. G. (*Mid'x*)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, Frederick Leverton
 Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heath, James (*Staffs., N.W.*)
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B'tside*)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houston, Robert Paterson
 Howard, J. (*Kent, Faversham*)
 Howard, J. (*Mid., Tott'ham*)
 Hutton, John (*Yorks, N.R.*)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Joyce, Michael
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
 Keswick, William
 Kilbride, Denis
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Lawrence, Sir Joseph (*Monm'th*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks, N.R.*)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (*Bristol, S*)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 London, W.
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 McAlmont, Colonel James
 McKillop, Jas. (*Stirlingshire*)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh*)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (*Hants.*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Myers, William Henry

O'Brien, James F. X. (*Cork*)
 O'Brien, Patrick (*Kilkenny*)
 O'Connor, T. P. (*Liverpool*)
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Peel, Hn. Wm. B. Wellesey
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter B.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Preyman, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Remnant, Jas. Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. C. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, East*)
 Smith, H. C. (*North'mb'ryneside*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stock, James Henry
 Stroyan, John
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrand, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Webb, Col. William George
 Whiteley, H. (*Ashton-and-Lyne*)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, A. Stanley York, E. R.
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson-Todd, W. H. (*Yorks.*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolf, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
 Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

EVENING SITTING.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), further considered.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he moved the new clause standing in his name for the purpose of incorporating in the Bill a section of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1894. The object of the new clause was to exempt from the Bill children who were employed upon the stage, subject to certain provisions. As the Bill now stood children were prohibited from employment after 9 o'clock in the evening. This would interfere with the employment of children on the stage. He was aware that an Amendment to prevent this was moved in the Grand Committee by his hon. friend the Under-Secretary to the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane), and was there rejected. But very considerable concessions had been made with a view to meeting the views of hon. Members who opposed the clause in the Grand Committee, and he sincerely hoped that, not only in the interest of the children themselves, whom he honestly thought should not be deprived of this method of earning a livelihood but also in the interests of the Bill itself, this clause would be accepted. Because he feared greatly that if all children who now found employment on the stage were prohibited from their calling the later stages of this Bill in this House and in another place would be very seriously jeopardised. He was most anxious that a Bill for the regulation of the employment of children should be passed, and that it should be passed this session. It was proposed by this clause that, following the exemptions which were already given under the provisions of the Cruelty to Children Act, 1894, the employment of children should be allowed on a licence granted by a magistrate. These licences were granted in London by the Metropolitan Police Magistrates, and contained very strict provisions. He had been informed that the provincial magistrates in granting these licences also took great care before they granted them at all with regard to the conditions of the licences. At present the licences were required only for children employed in theatres under the age of eleven. But under the Bill as it now

stood that age would be extended to fourteen. Now the concessions they had made in this clause are twofold: First of all, the age of complete prohibition is raised from seven to nine years; and second, the duty of seeing that the conditions of the magistrates' licences were carried out, which was now performed by the Factory Inspectors, was given over to the local authorities. So far they have endeavoured to meet the views expressed in the Grand Committee against the proposals to licence children for the stage at all. The hon. Member for South Armagh had an Amendment on the Paper to the same effect as the new Clause now moved, and he (Mr. Akers Douglas) admitted it was down on the Paper before the Government put down their Amendment, but they were of opinion that the Amendment went too far, and so brought forward the one now before the House. He did not think the House generally would desire to deprive the children of their employment on the stage. From inquiries he had instituted he was glad to be able to say that the children now employed were really in the majority of cases well cared for, well fed and well clothed, and their education also was well looked after. He thought, therefore, that it would be a very serious blow for the children and their parents, and also to the large number of people who enjoy the amusement and refreshment given to their eyes by theatres in London, if the children were no longer to be allowed to pursue their career on the stage. He trusted that the House would agree to the Amendment, and that they would realise that, although the Grand Committee were unable to accept the Amendment moved by his hon. friend a few weeks ago, the Government had gone some considerable distance in arranging the difficulty, and that the Committee would now accept this clause.

New Clause (Incorporation and Amendment of S. 3, of 57 and 58 Vic., C. 41):

"Section 3 of The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1894 (which regulates the employment of children in public entertainments), shall have effect as if re-enacted in this Act. Provided as follows:—(1) A licence under that section shall not be granted to any child under the age of nine years, and (2) any inspector or other officer charged with the execution of this Act shall have and may exercise all the

powers of an inspector of factories and work-shops under that section, and that section shall apply accordingly."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the clause be read a second time."

MR. BROADHURST (*Leicester*) said in the Grand Committee upstairs there had been considerable discussion, and it was there he had first discovered that children—they might almost say babies—of seven years of age could obtain a licence from the magistrate to be employed in the great theatres and minister to the amusement, and, as he understood the Home Secretary to say, to the refreshment of the nerves of the audience. He was bound to say it was at this time that he received his instruction upon this matter from the hon. Member for South Manchester, who exhibited a great state of excitement, and expressed great lamentation to the Committee, and a great condition of horror in the contemplation that young children of seven years of age should be deterred from employment in theatres.

MR. GALLOWAY (*Manchester, S. W.*) said he supported his hon. friend when he suggested that the age should be raised. He was quite ready to agree to a much higher increase of age than from seven to nine.

MR. BROADHURST thought the hon. Member was referring to a later stage of the discussion. It was he (*Mr. Broadhurst*) who suggested the nine years restriction, which was accepted by the Under Secretary to the Home Department. The hon. Member for Manchester had asked with horror what would happen to the British public if children of tender years were precluded from taking part in "A Midsummer Night's Dream." It was that which excited his (*Mr. Broadhurst's*) curiosity, and then he learnt for the first time that children of seven years of age could be employed in theatres.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman appears to me to be entering into the question of the Amendment which he

has on the Paper. The question before the House is the Second Reading of the Clause. After that has been carried, of course, the hon. Member could proceed to move and speak upon the Amendment.

MR. BROADHURST: That being so I will say no more at present.

SIR JOHN GORST (*Cambridge University*) said he sincerely hoped that the Home Secretary would not press this Clause upon the House of Commons. It was fairly discussed upstairs, and the Committee resolved almost unanimously that the Clause should not be passed. He thought, therefore, that it was too bad that a Clause of this kind under the circumstances should now be brought before the House by a member of the Government. Of course if the Home Secretary insisted upon the Clause there was no chance of its being defeated, because the Government supporters would vote as they were directed without knowing anything as to the merits of the question. What was really asked by the clause was that theatrical managers should be exempted from the provisions of the Bill, and that these young children should be deprived of the protection which this Bill would afford. There was no reason why these managers should have this special and particular favour at the hands of the Government. So far as the merits went there was a good deal said in the Grand Committee at the time on the whole question. So far as London was concerned the employment of children was merely a question of money. London managers employed children because they were cheap. It was a question of cheap child labour; they were employed in the place of grown-up ballet girls, who required higher wages.

The Member for South Manchester had made a statement that if a child of seven years were not employed it would be impossible ever again to produce "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Those who were as old as he would remember the admirable performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" given by Mr. Charles Kean. He had no children on the stage. The whole thing was performed by adult ballet girls, how were remarkably pretty and who had the

merit also of being respectable. That, of course, would be in the early Victorian days, when respectability was still supposed to be attractive. The children who were the subject of this Amendment were of three classes. They had heard up to now only about the first class of children. The first class were those who were regularly employed in London theatres and those of Manchester and Liverpool and other great towns. He had nothing to say against the employment of these children. He believed such persons as Miss Ellalaine Terriss and Mr. Beerbohm Tree treated the children extremely well. They were well cared for and well paid, for their age, and if that was the only class nothing further need be said. But there were two other classes of children of whom the Home Secretary did not know anything. First there were the touring children, and secondly there are the circus children. He had made inquiries about the touring child. They were children who were dragged from town to town, and so far from their being well cared for they were let out by drunken mothers who led them wretched lives, and they were given in charge of the woman who kept the theatre wardrobe or whoever else would take care of them at the cheapest possible price. They were not well paid, not taught at all, and were dragged about from town to town, living under the most miserable conditions and becoming objects of very great pity. He derived that information not from managers but from persons in the profession. He had letters written to him by persons in the profession who read what was being done in Grand Committee. What was true of the touring child was even more so, if possible, in the case of the circus child. He did not approve, in regard to this class of children, that the police magistrate should be the person to license the child. So far as London was concerned it did not so much matter, because no doubt arrangements were made in London by which children were brought up when there was nobody about. But in the country it was a very different thing. The touring company, as a rule, arrived on a Sunday, and the first thing on Monday morning these children were dragged before the police court amid drunken people, thieves, and so forth, to be licensed; and it was extremely undesirable that they should

be exposed to the atmosphere of a criminal court. Therefore, in the interests of the children themselves, he thought it was most desirable that the police magistrates should be relieved of the function of licensing them, and that it should devolve upon the local authorities to make such provision for these children as they did over every other child employed in their district. There was no reason why these children should be exempted from the law. The life they led, when they were dragged from place to place and introduced to the atmosphere of a criminal court, was not calculated to make them good citizens. The best proof of that was that no theatrical manager, either in London or the provinces, would allow his own children to be taken about by a travelling company or allow them to go upon the stage until they arrived at years of discretion. On that ground he hoped the House would reject the clause, and that the Home Secretary would allow these children to have the protection which this Bill was intended to give.

MR. TENNANT said the House had been much impressed by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, who for so many years had had charge of the education of the children of this country. He wished to associate himself with most of the remarks that had fallen from him, and the many conclusions he had placed before the House. This sort of legislation was not directed against the good managers. They did not in this House legislate to protect people from good employers. Our factory legislation, so far as it was directed against a class, was directed against bad employers. Listening to the arguments expressed upon this subject upstairs in Committee, one would suppose that these children were of poor parents who could not win bread for their families, and that these children had necessarily to go out in order to earn money. But that was not the case. They were not the bread-winners but the beer-winners. Listening to these arguments one would suppose that the function of the law was to protect the parents, whereas the function of the law was to protect the children. A reverend gentleman in Soho, who was in the neighbourhood of a great many

theatres, stated that these children had to be employed in the theatres six or seven hours, and that they had to spend five hours in improving their minds in schools. He would like to ask hon. Gentlemen opposite how many of them would like their children to sit up night after night as these children do, and would like them to undergo these hours of what he might call "organised activity" every day? Mr. Seymour Hicks, manager of a large theatre in London, said that rehearsals might prevent attendance at school, but that when they did, school work would be "squeezed in" either by extra time on that day or by extra time the next day. Is that the right way to deal with the education of our children? The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the public demand for amusement and "refreshment of their nerves," but they ought not to place any such thing before the good of the child. The good of the child was the first consideration in a matter of this kind. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman when he said that the employment of children was mainly a commercial transaction.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL said that as his hon. friend has referred to the Act of 1894 he might refer to the section of the Act which dealt with this matter. The Act of 1894 especially provided for the most minute investigation of each case. The magistrate was bound to be satisfied as to the fitness of the child for the purpose. He was to be satisfied that proper provision had been made to insure the health and the kind treatment of the child taking part in the entertainment, and he was to see that the hours were not late, that they were suitable to the child, and that the restrictions and conditions were such as to satisfy the Court. He himself was of opinion that there was greater security for the well-being of the children under the inspection of the magistrates under those conditions than there could be under any by-law. As regarded the children being dragged about, there was a new investigation in each town, and he was not willing to bring an allegation against the magistrates of the country that they neglected

Mr. Tennant.

their duty. He had before him the Report of the Departmental Committee which considered this matter, and the evidence appeared to him to be of a singularly weak character. Much of it was hearsay evidence and somewhat sentimental. But he did not think it would be a wise and generous act, nor a humane act, to unduly restrict the occupations of the people of the country. It was their duty to take every precaution that children should not be exposed to risks, and to act in a manner which would be for the benefit of the parents and the welfare of the children.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) said it was in the interests of the children of the country that they should not be allowed to stay for long hours in the theatres at early ages. The hon. Member for Manchester laughed.

MR. GALLOWAY: I say it is not the issue, that is all.

MR. MARKHAM said it was the issue. The Imperialist Party were always talking about bringing up an Imperial race. How could they expect to bring up an Imperial race if they allowed children of a tender age to work long hours in the theatres? The main objection to this clause was—not that the best theatres in London allowed the children to be ill-treated—but that in circuses and in many low-class theatres in London these children were not treated well. He asked the House to remember this was a commercial matter, or all this talk they heard about the widow was a bogey. What they were asked to pass was a clause dealing with a commercial matter, one by which they hoped to get a profit out of these young children.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said he served on the Standing Committee whilst this Bill was passed through, and he was under the impression that a goodly number of Members did not quite understand what the issue really was. If the House would look at the definition clause they would see that the expression "child" meant a person under the age of fourteen years. Now,

that was what they were dealing with to-night. He was not speaking about bye-laws, Clauses 1 and 2 dealt with bye-laws, but Clause 3 dealt with statutory provisions. First of all it said a child should not be employed between the hours of nine in the evening, and six in the morning. That was held to interfere with the managers of theatres in employing children. But the local authority under the same section had power to vary these hours, either generally or in any specified occupation. Let the House consider that this was not a Bill prohibiting a child under fourteen years being employed in a theatre. It was a Bill to prohibit a child from being employed between the hours of nine in the evening and six in the morning. And for the convenience of theatres the local authority might by bye-law vary these hours and permit employment. He failed to see what the Home Secretary meant by his new clause. He thought the only change it made was this, that at the present moment these children must be licensed by the magistrates individually, while under the new bye-law they would have to be licensed by the local authority. It seemed to him that the clause was not required. There had been a great outcry by theatrical managers and other people, and those who had been fighting neither against the rights of theatres nor against the employment of children in the theatres had been charged with Puritanism. [AN HON. MEMBER: I never heard it.] No, but he had read it. All he could say was, that he was not in the least ashamed of the charge of Puritanism. He was not a Puritan in the sense that Sir Henry Irving meant, but he was sure Puritanism had done more for England than Sir Henry Irving and the stage had done. And he was not to be deterred by having the word Puritanism flung at him from dealing with a Bill which did not prohibit children from acting in a theatre, but saw that they were placed under proper authority, and that if possible the hours should be such as were good and not bad for them.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said he entirely agreed with his right

hon. friend the Member for Cambridge University in opposing the clause. He did not speak particularly as a Puritan himself, but simply as a person who really had at heart the health and morals of these poor little children. Here was a Bill by which all children under the age of fourteen were not permitted to work in factories after nine o'clock. He wished to know why they should make an exception, and why the Home Secretary should step in with a clause to protect and benefit theatres. Surely it was absurd that they should make that exception merely for the amusement of persons who went to theatres. He had himself been behind the scenes of theatres; there was no particular harm, and he had arrived at an age when his morals were not in any way corrupted. But he agreed with those who said that they would not send their own children after nine o'clock to pass an evening behind the scenes. These children were employed mainly at pantomimes. When Sir Henry Irving came forward he spoke only of his own theatre, where there was a solemn tragedy, or something of that sort, going on, but a pantomime was a very different story. Then there were masses of people employed behind the scenes. The children were not ill-treated by any manner of means; they were rather petted; but, without being an excessive purist, he was bound to say that, owing to the language they would hear and to what was going on, though of no particular harm, it was not a place for children. The question was one solely of money. A grown-up girl cost £1 and a child cost 5s. a week. The theatres got the children from respectable persons who had them as apprentices, and who sent them out in gangs of ten, twenty, or thirty. It was said by some that a ballet was not so pretty without children as with them. He did not agree with that. He rather preferred grown-up girls. They acted better, and they moved about better. He hoped the House would realise that this was purely a commercial question. Though the children were well-treated in London theatres, very frequently they were not well-treated in the travelling companies, which were got up by persons who had not very much money and who did not pay proper salaries, with the result that the children and the grown-up people got into difficulties in the different towns

they visited. The hon. Member for Wigan had said that he would leave it entirely to the magistrates to look into and decide in each particular case.

***SIR FRANCIS POWELL:** The law provides for that.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Yes, but the hon. Baronet praised the law. What did the magistrate know about the matter? Then the magistrates differed enormously in their decisions of these matters. It was not always a question of poverty. These were often the children of dressers and persons connected with the theatres. Theatrical managers had been representing the theatres as a sort of paradise for children; but, as men of the world, hon. Members knew that that was not the case. The hours were often very long—with two performances a day. The morning performance was from two to five, and the evening performance, in the case of a pantomime, might be from seven till eleven. It meant about eight hours for them. But then there were rehearsals, which very often took three hours. The House should remember that these children very frequently lived at long distances from the theatre at which they were engaged. What could these children do for their education if they had to work eleven hours? He thought it was infinitely better that they should lay down a general law that no child should be allowed to work after the hour of nine o'clock, whether in the factory or the theatre.

MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.) said the position was that they were asked to say that a local authority or magistrate should have the power to license children to perform in theatres at the early age of nine years, and upon that he hoped a vote would be taken by the House. While he did not agree that these children in theatres were always the children of dissolute parents, many of them knew what poverty was, no doubt, and the parents were glad to get the earnings of the children. But he could say this, that often the children employed in some of the theatres went to school next day thoroughly unfit for their work. It was not altogether that

they were tired, but they were suffering from nervous excitability, which unfitted them for their work. During the pantomime season these children were doing no good at school at all, and their school life was being wasted. They were thinking always of the theatre or of the next rehearsal—never of their work in school. But when he recollected the conditions under which these children lived he admitted it was difficult to form a conclusion whether the condition of the child or the parents should weigh with the House. The difficulty was not in London; it was with the small companies that went up and down the country and carried with them two or three small children of very tender years. He would do anything he could to stop the possibility of licences being granted to children under nine years of age going about with these travelling companies. He knew that pressure was often brought to bear on the magistrates because the children had often been licensed in half-a-dozen other towns previously. To his mind nothing could be more injurious to girls of tender years than to have to go into some of the dressing-rooms where adults were preparing for the stage. These children travelled from one town to another in winter. They travelled about on the Sunday to get lodgings; they went before the magistrates on Monday morning to get licensed; they were called for a rehearsal—sometimes for two—and then they went to the stage on Monday evening. They were then carried along to another town where much the same conditions might prevail. He could not conceive anything more likely to injure the moral character of young children than this. Nor was there any necessity for it. Why, years ago children were never employed in theatres at all. If they employed older persons they would be better able to withstand temptation than these young children could. The cry of poverty might be overcome by the proper payment of children of maturer years, and it seemed to him that the interest of theatres would not suffer. From what he had seen of these children, and from what he had heard from young adults, who had been travelling children, and who had told him what they went through as children in going about to provincial towns—it was perfectly clear

Mr. Labouchere.

that the records of these little children's lives were so dreadful that if the Members of the House understood what they really were like they would not spend time in discussing this question, but would decide that nine was far too early an age at which to employ these children. If this Amendment was pressed to a division he should be compelled to vote against it. But he hoped they might save such a position as that by a little modification of the Home Secretary's clause. Any attempt to jump in advance of public opinion would ruin the object they had in view. They must be prepared to go step by step, but he did think it was absurd to say that children of seven years were required in theatres, and it was monstrous that justices should ever have granted licences to children of seven years. Girls and boys of nine years were by this clause still to be carried about under these deplorable conditions, and still they were to expect them to be moral and respectable citizens in years to come. If one of them survived an ordeal of this character it was more by chance than by any protection afforded the children by the Government. He hoped the Home Secretary would raise the age of the children a little beyond nine years.

* MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said he desired to support the speech of the last hon. Member. He did so mainly because as a member of the Grand Committee on Trade he had followed the subject under discussion, particularly from the point of view of the hon. Member. In doing so he had in his mind what he suggested to the Home Secretary would happen. He told the right hon. Gentleman that certain managers of London and provincial theatres, claiming to speak for the profession, had regarded this particular Bill as an attempt to handicap theatrical children and to place the theatrical profession in a position of great disadvantage. He reminded the Home Secretary at the Second Reading of the Bill that the sense of the House was in favour of strengthening the Bill rather than of weakening it; and he had warned him to beware of outside agitation carried on mostly by correspondence in the papers, especially

in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*. He now asked the House of Commons not to be influenced by the agitation carried on by people, mainly managers, whose interests in the profession were mainly financial rather than artistic or dramatic. He had never sat on a Grand Committee on Trade which was so unanimous. They had evidence from Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and all quarters, who spoke with authority on this matter, and the local education authority were also unanimous for the equal treatment of all children. He would ask the hon. Member for Manchester not to always assume that the House of Commons was wrong and that he was right in regard to child labour. The whole of the local authorities who had the education of children under their charge were in favour of the spirit and letter of the Bill as it left the Grand Committee. They were all indebted to Dr. Macnamara, as Chairman of the Schools Committee of the London School Board, who gave special attention to the subject, and brought before them evidence which warranted them in supporting the line they took, the object of which was to raise the tone and standard of child employment, and which met with general approval in the theatrical profession. The issue had been clouded; to use a recent phrase, a "false issue" had been presented to the public. The financial managers in the theatrical profession represented that they wanted to make it illegal for children to be employed at all. That was not so. The only thing the Grand Committee wanted was equal rights for all white children, whether they were engaged on the boards, in the factory, the workshop or the street. It did seem to him that a profession which could afford handsome salaries—and some promoters gave excessively large salaries to some actresses, who were better paid as models than as dramatic exponents—ought not to ask that their profits should be advanced to the detriment of children of the immature age of seven or nine. Would anyone contend that the capacity of a child of seven, whether in a "Midsummer Night's Dream" or "Twelfth Night," was sufficiently developed to give an intelligent interest to the audience in what that child did or said? Frequently they came on, spoke their little part in a wooden sort of way, and off they went. They were

mere automaton. It was not done so well as it would be by boys or girls of thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen.

What was more, this attempt to bring children almost in arms on the stage is a modern invention. If the hon. Member for Manchester knew anything about the ancient Greek or Elizabethan drama, he would know that no women or children were allowed on the stage, and that male parts were generally restricted to adults. And had the hon. Member lived in those glorious days he would have been selected on the spot either for the part of Mine Ancient Pistol or Sir John Falstaff. He would be the last person in the world to accuse Mr. Beerbohm Tree of being anything but as kind, as genial, and as generous to the children as he believed he was. With regard to one of the best friends the stage had ever had—viz., Sir Henry Irving—no one would insinuate that a gentleman of his kindly temperament could be anything but kind to children, however old or young they were. It was a mistake to found general laws on the generosity of a few. Laws were for the mean and ungenerous on behalf of the weak. But the point was, that children were engaged in large numbers of London and provincial theatres for a month or two months. Before a pantomime was produced those children very frequently had from two to four hours' rehearsal—from ten in the morning till one or two in the afternoon. They then went home to sleep; they went back to the theatre at 7, and probably did not leave until 11 or 11.30, when they had to take the omnibus, or the County Council all-night tram, home to the woman or man looking after them. When matinées were given these children were seven, nine, and sometimes ten and twelve hours away from home, and he held that in the case of children of from seven to nine years of age it was monstrous that they should allow it, when the same work could be done better by elder boys and girls. The Home Secretary admitted that the age of seven was too low, and the theatrical profession, as a concession to the Committee, were quite prepared that it should be raised to nine. He thought nine was too low. It ought to be thirteen or fourteen at least. In his opinion the magistrates were incapable of doing the work required by the Bill properly. He made no reflection on the magistrates, speaking

generally. They did their work exceedingly well and sympathetically. The theatrical profession insisted that the magistrates should grant the certificates and licenses. And why? Because they knew very well that the local authority responsible for looking after the education of all other grades of children, from which the theatrical children ought not to be exempt, were a more efficient body for this particular purpose. They knew the best schools the theatrical children could go to; they knew the line of least resistance both to the public and the children, better than the magistrates. The local authority would in the interests of the children apply the law more efficiently than the magistrates, and that was why the theatrical profession conceded two years to the minimum age, with the gallant Member's hope that the Home Secretary would do what he was sorry to say he had done—attempted to overturn the decision of the Grand Committee on Trade by a decisive majority. He trusted the House would remember what the vicar of the theatrical quarter of Soho said in his letter to *The Times*—viz., that there was overwhelming evidence that the age was too low, that the education of the children was neglected, and that they were subjected to physical, mental, and moral disadvantage. He knew that the House of Commons was the friend of the drama, and that hon. Members sometimes had a night out, or a night off, at the theatre. This was not a question of the Puritan against the other fellows; it was a matter of their kindness on behalf of children who were unable to help themselves. He trusted that the House of Commons would endorse the practically unanimous desire of the Grand Committee, and save them from the scandal of theatrical children being employed at the tender ages of six to seven and nine. He had a boy between seven and eight. He was a sturdy youngster, with all his mother's beauty and his father's virtues, but sturdy though he was, he should be very reluctant to see that little lad having to go to Drury Lane at ten o'clock in the morning, and that he himself should have to open the door for him at one o'clock in the morning on his return home from Westminster. They had a right to apply the same doctrine of commiseration to other people's children which they asked for their own.

*DR. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye) said he wished to speak, not as a philanthropist, or as a Puritan, but as one of the few medical men of the House, and to raise his voice against the employment of children in theatres. If there was one class of employment for children which developed their nervous system as against their physical system, it was this theatrical employment. What was wanted in this country was an improvement in the physique of the people, but if we let these little children be brought up in the nervous surroundings of the theatrical stage we would produce a class of neurotics. Therefore he entered his strongest protest against the employment of these young children in theatres.

MR. GALLOWAY said that this was a subject in which he had some interest. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman who had put this Amendment on the Paper would learn what a good many of them had learned in Parliamentary life, and that was, the uselessness of endeavouring to bring two points of opinion together which were absolutely irreconcilable; that it was very little use endeavouring to bring about a compromise with opponents of the employment of children in theatres when those hon. Gentlemen had made up their minds that under no circumstances whatever would they have any compromise. The issue as to whether the children should be employed after nine o'clock in the evening, and not before ten o'clock in the morning, was not raised at the present stage. The issue to be decided by the House was whether the jurisdiction of the magistrates was to be preserved, or whether it should be handed over to the local authorities. From a practical point of view there should be no difficulty about it. If they were to hand over the discretion to the local authorities it should be an absolute discretion. There was nothing more necessary in the administration of a law of that kind than that there should be equal administration as between the rich and the poor, and as between locality and locality. Since this matter had been brought to his notice he had taken considerable trouble to inquire, not only in London but throughout the country, as to what happened in regard to children in the theatres. He

did not believe that the terrible things that had been depicted really existed. The hon. Member for Battersea had paid a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Beerbohm Tree and Sir Henry Irving, but they were no exceptions to the general rule. The hardship and suffering supposed to be inflicted on children were altogether overdrawn in the accounts given of their employment. Managers were not the inconsiderate tyrants the right hon. Member for Cambridge University had described.

SIR JOHN GORST: I never said anything of the kind.

MR. GALLOWAY said the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the early Victorian days, when respectability was supposed to be the fashion.

SIR JOHN GORST: "Still supposed."

MR. GALLOWAY asked what was the object of the right hon. Gentleman in drawing attention to that matter, except to cast a slur on present theatrical managers?

SIR JOHN GORST: That certainly was not my object.

MR. GALLOWAY suggested that they had better agree to differ. His right hon. friend gave him the impression that he reflected very severely on theatrical managers, who did as a rule treat the children kindly and gave them opportunity for education. It was now admitted that theatrical managers did look after the children. The question the House had to decide was not whether children should be employed in theatres, but whether a new authority should be substituted for the existing authority. In view of the fact that theatrical managers did see that the children were properly educated, and given such a start as would be of the utmost benefit to them in their future careers, he failed to see why they should give to some scientific local authority a power to refuse licences which otherwise the managers would be able to get from magistrates in the exercise of their judicial authority. He hoped the Home Secretary would adhere to the principle of the clause.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) appealed to the Home Secretary not to modify this clause. The solicitude for children was, in his opinion, one of the most hopeful features in modern legislation. The restrictions upon the employment of children would cause some inconvenience to agriculture, but in the interest of the children that must be submitted to. He objected strongly to exception being made for employment of children in theatres, employment far more harmful to children than agriculture, and he held that no partiality should be shown for one industry over another. Least of all should there be any partiality shown to the theatrical interest.

MR. COCHRANE said some of the opponents of the clause spoke as if the object of the Government were to impose some conditions which made it easier to employ children in theatres. This was the opposite of the truth. The Bill was intended to protect children in every possible way. But in these matters they must proceed by slow degrees. It would be a monstrous thing to put a sudden stop to the industry by which, after all, a certain number of children were obtaining an honest livelihood. The alteration of the age limit and the powers of inspection given to the local authority increased the protection given to the children and the possibility of dealing with cases of hardship such as

had been referred to. One magistrate, Mr. Mead, had drawn up certain rules to regulate such employment of children as he licensed, and if these orders were carried out they would substantially meet the desires of the House. They wished to ensure that these orders would be properly carried out, and this clause, in his opinion, provided that there should be efficient inspection. He hoped the House would agree that it was not desirable at one blow to prevent these children from earning an honest livelihood.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) said it had been suggested that agriculturists stood in a different position from theatrical managers because they desired to employ children during school hours, whereas theatrical performances did not interfere with school work. That was a mere quibble, for the children who were employed until half-past ten or eleven o'clock at night could not be in a fit condition to go to school at nine o'clock in the morning. Children under twelve years of age ought not to be allowed to earn their own living. He hoped the Home Secretary would give way.

Question put.

The House divided; Ayes, 139; Noes, 116. (Division List No. 130.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (*Walworth*)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manchester*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ.*)
Campbell, John (*Armagh, S.*)
Cavendish, V C W (*Derbysh.*)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Worcester*)
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis

Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cox, Irwin Edwd. Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S.*)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
Crossley, Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Fyler, John Arthur

Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn A. G. H. (*City of London*)
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gore, Hn G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Greene, Sir E. W. (*Bury St. Ed.*)
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Ld. G. (*Midx*)
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somerset*)
Hogg, Lindsay
Houlst, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Johnstone, Heywood
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
Kerwick, William
Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)

Lawrence, Sir Jos. (*Monmouth*)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. N.R.*)
 Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. E.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (*Bristol, S.*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lowther, C. (*Cumb. Beldale*)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
 Macdona, John Cumming
 McArthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Killop, Jas. (*Stirlingshire*)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (*Hants.*)
 More, R. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmes
 Mount, William Arthur

Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Remnant, Jas. Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Sinclair, Louis (*Romford*)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas

Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, E.*)
 Smith, James Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (*Oxf. Univ.*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Webb, Col. William George
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. E.*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
 Balfour, Capt. C. B. (*Hornsey*)
 Barry, E. (*Cork, S.*)
 Bayley, Thomas (*Derbyshire*)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Brigg, John
 Broadhurst, Henry
 Bryce, Right Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Crean, Eugene
 Cremer, William Randal
 Crooks, William
 Dalsiel, James Henry
 Davies, M. Vaughan- (*Cardigan*)
 Delany, William
 Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dillon, John
 Doogan, P. C.
 Duffy, William J.
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Evans, Saml. T. (*Glamorgan*)
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
 French, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Sir Michl. (*Lond. Univ.*)
 Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)

Fuller, J. M. F.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
 Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Holland, Sir William Henry
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur O.
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, William (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Joyce, Michael
 Kearley, Hudson, E.
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Langley, Betty
 Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leng, Sir John
 Levy, Maurice
 London, W.
 MacVeagh, Jeremiah
 M'Crae, George
 Mansfield, Horace Rendall
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (*Carmarthen*)
 Murphy, John
 Myers, William Henry
 Nolan, Joseph (*Louth, S.*)
 Norman, Henry
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)
 O'Dowd, John

O'Kelly, Conor (*Mayo, N.*)
 Partington, Oswald
 Philipps, John Wynford
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Bifon*)
 Roberts, John H. (*Denbighs.*)
 Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rose, Charles Day
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shackleton, David James
 Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, H. C. (*Northmb. Tyne-side*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Stock, James Henry
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theo. C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glamorgan, E.*)
 Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
 Tomkinson, James
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
 Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson, J. W. (*Worcester., N.*)
 Younger, William
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir John Gorst and Mr.
 Tennant.

MR. BROADHURST said he did not know whether in view of the result of the division which had just taken place the Home Secretary would be inclined to accept his Amendment.

If he showed any signs of a willingness to accept his proposal he would not trouble the House further. It was quite evident from the division that had just taken place that the opinion of the House was

in favour of a large measure of further protection for children employed in theatres. He was surprised to learn that children of such tender years as seven should be licensed to take part in theatrical performances. He understood that these children were introduced into the different plays and pantomimes solely for the purpose of administering to the pleasures and amusement of adult audiences. That was a condition of things that ought not to exist, and grown-up men and women ought to be ashamed of desiring the employment of infants for their amusement and pleasure. This class of work could not be defended upon any ground whatever as suitable employment for children of from seven to nine years of age. Before the Grand Committee upstairs he suggested that nine would be better than seven, and the Under Secretary in charge of the Bill agreed with him, and the Government adopted his suggestion and made it nine. It might be said that he ought to be satisfied with that concession. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Hear, hear."] At that time his state of ignorance as to theatre work and the nature of this employment was such that he thought to make the limit nine would be a considerable advance, but since then he had heard so much more about the question that he thought he was perfectly justified in submitting an Amendment substituting twelve for nine as the limit of the age at which children should be employed on the stage. The hon. Member for West Ham, whose authority to speak upon the necessity of rest for children between school hours for the educational purposes could not be denied, had shown to the House with great force how this class of employment excited the brains of the children, and how it absolutely unfitted them for their school work the next day. It had been shown by the hon. Member for Northampton that a child was liable to eleven or twelve hours employment in its profession as an actor. If his hon. friend was right in that contention a child employed in that way had no hours left whatever for education. They could not put a child for four or five hours a day to study in school after it had been employed for eleven hours in the exciting work of rehearsals and performances on the stage.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): Where is that done?

Mr. Broadhurst.

MR. BROADHURST said the hon. Member for Northampton had shown that a child was liable to be employed for eleven or twelve hours a day. The hon. Member for Northampton had probably had as much experience in these matters as the hon. Baronet the Member for Peckham, and he preferred the authority of his hon. friend. Under these circumstances he submitted with confidence his Amendment raising the age from nine to twelve. He had been severely criticised by a number of actors for interfering with a state of things which enabled children at seven years of age to be employed, whereas no other form of industry or profession was allowed to employ children under fourteen years of age. No case had been made out why a special clause should be given in favour of child labour in theatres beyond and above what was given to other employers of labour. Many of those theatres were great profit-making concerns, and were quite capable of paying the full price for adult labour or for the labour of young persons. In his judgment twelve years of age was quite low enough to allow for this special kind of employment. He did not propose to detain the House any longer, because he was anxious that this Bill should go through. He thought the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department would give him credit for having done his best to promote the progress of this Bill during the Committee Stage upstairs. He was anxious that the Bill should become law, and he only desired to make it better law, and give greater protection to the young. In his judgment, if the Home Secretary would agree to accept his Amendment he would find an almost universal approval, not only in the House but throughout the country, that he was taking a wise and reasonable step. He agreed that it was not wise to make too great a change all at once, but his proposal was a reasonable one, and he hoped the Home Secretary would see his way to accept it.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 5, to leave out the word 'nine,' and insert the word 'twelve.'"—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'nine' stand part of the clause."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL thought that after the division which had just taken place there was not much use in carrying this question further. The division was a rather remarkable one, but if the Home Secretary could see his way to make some concession on this point he thought that it would facilitate the progress of the measure.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he was never blind to appeals which had behind them the general sense of the House. He understood that in Grand Committee the hon. Member for Leicester himself suggested "nine" as the age. Amid the diversity of opinion he had great difficulty in coming to an agreement on the subject, but in order to show that he was not entirely beyond compromise he would agree to accept "ten."

MR. BROADHURST said that in view of the conciliatory speech of the Home Secretary he would accept the concession made and asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 5, to leave out the word 'nine' and insert the word 'ten.'"—(Mr. Broadhurst.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'nine' stand part of the clause."

MR. LABOUCHERE: Surely the Home Secretary could go a little further. Why had he come down to ten? The right hon. Gentleman said that if he went beyond nine he would get the support of the bulk of the Members of the House.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he had stated nothing of the sort. He said that nine was agreed to as a compromise before the Grand Committee. He hoped the hon. Member would not press this point. He had made a reasonable concession and he could not go further.

MR. LABOUCHERE: said he should move twelve after ten had been accepted. He said these children were mainly employed in pantomimes which did not finish until very nearly twelve o'clock. A great many of the children lived a considerable distance from the theatres, and really it

was too much to ask that a child of ten years of age should be kept up in a theatre until such a late hour.

MR. GALLOWAY hoped the right hon. Gentleman would realise that it was useless to attempt to make compromises with hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Member for Leicester in the Grand Committee agreed to accept the age of nine. Personally, he was quite prepared to go farther than that, but nine was accepted as a compromise. The age had now been extended a year. A limit must be put to these attempts to compromise, and the right hon. Gentleman had better adhere to the provision of the Bill.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said he was extremely anxious to see the Bill carried. But though the supporters of the measure would rather the age were fixed at fourteen, they recognised what the Home Secretary had said, and were only too glad to accept ten, because they believed the right hon. Gentleman intended to make the Bill as good a Bill as he could and to carry with him the support of as large a section of the House as possible. Personally, the only part of the work of the House he enjoyed was the Committee work upstairs, and he desired to support it in every way he could. There party spirit had been to a large extent eliminated, and these proposals were not made in any party spirit at all.

*MR. TENNANT dissented from the view that there were measures of greater importance waiting to be dealt with by the House. He looked upon the measure under discussion as being as important as any before the House, and to prove his anxiety that it should pass he appealed to the hon. Member for Northampton not to press his proposed Amendment.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether he would be in order in proposing the insertion of "twelve" in the place of "ten" after the latter limit had been inserted.

MR. SPEAKER said he should first put the Question, "That 'nine' stand part," which he presumed would be negatived by general consent. He would then put the Question "That 'ten' be inserted." The hon. Member could not move an

Amendment to that, but if he succeeded in getting it negatived there would be a blank in the clause, and the hon. Member could move to fill that blank by the insertion of "twelve."

MR. LABOUCHERE said in that case he would risk losing the limit of ten; therefore he contented himself by protesting against the provision.

MR. ERNEST GRAY said that while he hoped the House would accept the suggestion of the Home Secretary, it must not go forth to those particularly interested in theatrical work that the House of Commons proposed to allow the age to remain at the limit of ten. The proposal would be accepted now, because it was realised that progress in matters of this sort must be by degrees. Fourteen years ago Mr. Matthews, the then Conservative Home Secretary, was defeated because he resisted the raising of the age for half-time labour to eleven, and he was not at all sure the same fate would not have befallen the present Home Secretary had he gone to a division on this matter. He was glad, however, that that had been avoided, but he desired it to be distinctly understood that he reserved his right of moving, in subsequent sessions, a higher age limit than ten.

MR. JOHN BURNS supported the view of the hon. Member for West Ham. He believed that if many Members had not thought that the carrying of the last Amendment would have meant the loss of the Bill the Home Secretary would have been defeated. The Bill, he held, would have to be amended in an early session. The House had no right to impose on agriculture and other industries, which did not make the money which the theatrical profession made out of child-labour, a standard of thirteen or fourteen years, and to enable this lucrative profession to put children to work at the age of ten. He hoped that eventually thirteen would be made the minimum age at which children could be employed for theatrical purposes.

Question put, and negatived.

Word "ten" inserted.

Mr. Speaker.

Clause as amended added.

Clause (Limitation of time)—

"With respect to summary proceedings for offences and fines under this Act and any by-law made thereunder the information shall be laid within three months after the commission of the offence."—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time, and added.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.) moved the insertion of a new clause, the object of which was to give County Councils power to delegate their powers of making by-laws to any borough or district council within their areas. If a County Council did not desire to put the Act into force throughout the whole of its area, it could then empower the council of a borough or district to make by-laws suited to its particular needs, without any outside interference. In his own county there was a large watering-place of over 20,000 inhabitants, which, unfortunately, would be unable to make its own by-laws, because at the time of the census of 1901 it was just under the 20,000 limit. But that was just one of the places in which it would be desirable to have special by-laws applicable to its own particular circumstances, and it was to meet such cases as that he moved this new clause.

Clause (Delegation of power to make by-law)—

"The County Council of any county may, if it thinks fit, delegate its powers to make by-laws under this Act to any Borough or District Council within its area."—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Brought up and read the first time.

Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. ERNEST GRAY hoped the Home Secretary would not accept this proposal. It seemed to hold out the prospect of the same confusion as had been experienced in regard to school attendance by-laws, where a multitude of small authorities enjoyed the right of making by-laws, with the result that the by-laws differed in effect and object, and were a source of endless worry to magistrates, confusion to parents, and dissatisfaction generally. One of the merits of the Education Act

of last year was that it did away with that condition of things, and he hoped that the same local authority as formed the regulations dealing with children within school-hours would have the duty of laying down the conditions under which the children should work out of school-hours. It was eminently desirable that the power of making the whole of the regulations should be vested in the one authority.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) regretted he could not support his hon. friend. This was a matter which required to be looked at from the point of view, not of a small locality, but of a larger area, such as that of the County Council. It was a matter of considerable importance, requiring a large and enlightened view of policy, and that large view was more likely to be obtained in a County Council than in a District Council.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY dissented.

MR. BRYCE said that, at any rate, the hon. Baronet would not deny that the County Council controlled a larger area than the District Council, and that appeared to be a reason for leaving the matter in the hands of the County Council.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS pointed out that they were not dealing with such a question as education, which was uniform throughout the country, but with the labour and earnings of the poor, and even the poorest classes. He would look with the greatest apprehension on this Bill if uniformity was to be imposed. In the smaller areas the requirements were altogether different to those in the larger areas. He objected to allowing a central authority to make by-laws for districts they knew nothing about. The Bill would be good or bad according to the nature of the local authority that had to administer it. He had the greatest faith in the councils of boroughs to

make by-laws suited to their localities, and unless such a power were given there would be confusion of administration, and great hardship would be inflicted on the children in agricultural districts. He appealed to the hon. Baronet to withdraw his Amendment in order that the matter might be dealt with on the definition clause. He hoped when the House reached that clause the Government would revert to the original proposal of the Bill, which was the only logical provision—viz., that the councils which knew the needs of their localities should have the making of the by-laws.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somerset shire, E.) thought the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had gone very far beyond the Amendment. The only question raised by the Amendment was whether or not the County Council was fit to make by-laws with regard to every district within its area. ["No."] Surely it was not desirable that in a county where there were thirty different authorities there should be a possibility of thirty different sets of by-laws. That would certainly not be for the convenience of the public, and the confusion and ignorance of the law to which it might lead would probably result in more hardship than the provisions of the Bill. County Councils were not so ignorant of the needs of the different parts of their respective areas as the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think. Under the Local Government Act, the County Councils constantly made by-laws for different parts of the county; and he could not see why, under this Bill, there would be any difficulty in the matter.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLASSaid he would appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to press the clause. It was not at all necessary, and would only give rise to serious complications.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 14 ; Noes, | 228. (Division List No. 131.)

AYES.

Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Broadhurst, Henry
Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Griffith, Ellis J.
Harnsworth, R. Leicester

Helme, Norval Watson
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
Kearley, Hudson E.
Labouchere, Henry
Phillips, John Wynford

Tomkinson, James
Warner, Thos. Courtenay T.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Edward Strachey and
Mr. Markham.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atkinson, Right Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. Man'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (*Hornsey*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (*Derbyshire*)
Bignold, Arthur
Bill, Charles
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brassey, Albert
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bryce, Right Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
Campbell, John (*Armagh, S.*)
Carille, William Walter
Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (*Worc.*)
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cramer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
Crossley, Sir Savile
Dalketh, Earl of
Dalsiel, James Henry
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
Dickinson, Robert Edmund
Dimdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodote
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Evans, Saml. T. (*Glamorgan*)

Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (*Warwick, S. W.*)
Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
Greene, Sir E. W. (*Bury St. Ed.*)
Greene, W. Raymond (*Camba*)
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld. G. (*Midx*)
Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir Alexander
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (*Somerset, E*)
Hogg, Lindsay
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jebb, Sir Richard Clayerhouse
Johnstone, Heywood
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
Kerwick, William
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (*Monm'th*)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)
Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks, N R*)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.

Levy, Maurice
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (*Bristol, S*)
Lowther, C. (*Cumb. Ebbdale*)
Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
Macdonald, John Cumming
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McArthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
McAlmont, Colonel James
McCrae, George
McKillop, Jas. (*Stirlingshire*)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Manafield, Horace Rendall
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (*Huntingdon*)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (*Hants.*)
More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aymer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robt. Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (*Bute*)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
Myers, William Henry
Norman, Henry
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsey
Parkes, Ebenezer
Partington, Oswald
Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wallasey
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretymann, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (*Greenock*)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, John Bryn (*Bifon*)
Roberts, John H. (*Denbighs.*)
Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
Robson, William Snowdon
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
Samuel, Herbert L. (*Cleveland*)
Schwartz, Charles E.
Scott, Sir S. (*Marylebone, W.*)

Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Shackleton, David James
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sinclair, Louis (*Bomford*)
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, E.*)
 Smith, H.C. (*North mb. Tyne side*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Lord (*Lances*)
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Jn. M.
 Stock, James Henry
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley

Sullivan, Donal
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J.G. (*Oxford Univ.*)
 Taylor, Theo. C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glamorgan, E.*)
 Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. R.*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Webb, Col. William George

White, Luke (*York, E. B.*)
 Whiteley, H. (*Ashton und. Lyne*)
 Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. B.*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson, J. W. (*Worcester, N.*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

*MR. TENNANT said that the Amendment he desired to move dealt with the question whether it should be compulsory on local authorities to make by-laws. The Committee upstairs came to the conclusion that it would be wiser to make it compulsory. One of the strongest supporters of that view was the hon. Member for Manchester who, on the Second Reading of the Bill, said that if those regulations were to be made at all it was essential that they should be compulsory. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife on the Second Reading also said that in order to obtain uniformity it was of great importance that the local authorities should be compelled to issue those by-laws. No doubt, the local authorities in the great towns, such as Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester, would act properly; but there were other local authorities which would not conform to the standard that would be set by them. He would be prepared to withdraw his Amendment in favour of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University, which provided that it should be the duty of every local authority to issue by-laws.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word 'any,' and insert the word 'every.'"—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'any' stand part of the Bill."

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said that in Grand Committee the word "shall" was inserted instead of "may"; and he now proposed to ask the House to reinsert "may." The word "shall" was inserted by nineteen votes to seventeen; but when the same point arose in Clause 2 it was decided the other way by twenty-one votes to fourteen; and the word "may" was now in Clause 2. On the Second Reading of the Bill the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife said that one of the chief reasons why he supported the Bill was because it was optional, and it was the view of the Government that the County Councils and the urban authorities should not be compelled to make those by-laws. Moreover children might be employed in an industry in one district under conditions which would not require the making of by-laws at all; and he did not think that it was the view of the House that the Bill should be of a compulsory or cast-iron character. He had sufficient trust in the local authorities to leave the matter to them. They were the proper authorities to decide whether or not by-laws were required in their own districts.

MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) said he also trusted the local authorities, but the object of his Amendment was to make it quite clear that the local authorities should not disregard the matter, and that it should be the duty of each local authority to decide the matter for itself. Otherwise, some local authorities would be negligent; and it was for them that the law was intended.

MR. GALLOWAY said that the question at issue was whether the Bill should be compulsory or not. It was obvious it could not be decided in the few minutes that remained, and he would therefore move the adjournment of the debate.

*MR. TENNANT asked when the Bill would be taken again.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said that that question should be addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury. It was quite clear, however, it could not be proceeded with during the present week.

Motion made and Question, "That further consideration of the Bill, as amended, be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Galloway*)—Put, and agreed to.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered to-morrow.

MARINE STORE DEALERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) in the Chair.]

Clause 2—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 14, after the word 'article' to insert the words, 'Provided that where articles of the same kind, value, and description are on any particular occasion bought or sold in a lot or parcel it will be sufficient to describe such lot or parcel without describing each of the several articles comprising same.'"—(*Mr. MacVeagh.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said he would move to report Progress. The Amendments were not on the Paper; and the Gentlemen who usually took charge of business after midnight were strangely silent.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green) said he would appeal to the hon. Member not to persist in his Motion. The Bill was urgently demanded in Dublin and Belfast; and all the parties concerned were agreed regarding it.

Bill reported, as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported; as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

COAL MINES (CERTIFICATES) BILL.

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

Adjourned at fourteen minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 24th June, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

Southampton Harbour Bill [Lords];
Ulster and Connaught Light Railways
Bill. As amended, considered; to be
read the third time.

Barry Railway Bill [Lords]; Didcot,
Newbury and Southampton Railway
Bill [Lords]; Fife Electrical Power Bill
[Lords]; Nottinghamshire and Derby-
shire Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read a
second time, and committed.

Scottish American Mortgage Company,
Limited, Bill [Lords]. To be read a
second time to-morrow.

Willesden Urban District Council Bill
[Lords]. Read a second time, and
committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders
(No. 4) Bill. Lords' Amendments con-
sidered, and agreed to.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders
(No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Read the third
time, and passed, with Amendments.

Local Government (Ireland) Provi-
sional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Govern-
ment Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill;
Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders
(No. 2) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provi-
sional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Pier and
Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill;
Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders
(No. 6) Bill. As amended, considered;
to be read the third time to-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provi-
sional Orders (No. 3) Bill [by Order].
Consideration, as amended, deferred till
Monday next.

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill. "To
amend the Alexandra Park and Palace
(Public Purposes) Act, 1900; and to
confer powers on the Alexandra Park

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Trustees to make charges for admission
on bank holidays." Read the first time;
to be read a second time.

Rochester Corporation Tramways and
Improvements Bill [Lords]. Report
[23rd June] from the Select Committee
on Standing Orders read.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second
time.

Local Government (Ireland) Provi-
sional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Reported,
without Amendment [Provisional Orders
confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time to-
morrow.

Public Petitions Committee. Sixth
Report brought up and read; to lie
upon the Table, and to be printed.

Local Government Provisional Orders
(No. 8) Bill. Reported, without Amend-
ment [Provisional Orders confirmed];
Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time to-
morrow.

PETITIONS.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Selkirk, for alteration;
to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER
BILL, AND LICENSING LAW (COM-
PENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL)
BILL.

Petitions against: from Stonehouse
(two); and Devonport (two); to lie
upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMEND-
MENT BILL.

Petition from Denny and Dunipace,
for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S
SISTER BILL.

Petitions against: from Malling;
Addington; and Southwark; to lie upon
the Table.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.

Petitions in favour: from Annbank;
and Wakefield; to lie upon the Table.

N

SALE OF ADULTERATED BUTTER BILL.

Petition from Richmond (Surrey), against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**EAST INDIA (INDIA OFFICE RETIREMENT AT 65).**

Return [presented 23rd June] to be printed. [No. 220.]

ARMY PROMOTIONS.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 25th May—*Major Evans-Gordon*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 221.]

IRISH LAND BILL.

Return ordered, "showing particulars with respect to advances for the purchase of holdings and repayments to Land Commission under Clauses 1 and 40."—(*Mr. Wyndham*.)

Return presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 222.]

COUNCIL OF BOROUGHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES (INDEBTEDNESS).

Return ordered, "showing the Total Indebtedness of the Councils of Boroughs, other than Metropolitan Boroughs, in England and Wales on the 31st day of March 1903, in the following form:—

Name of Borough.	Outstanding loans other than by means of overdrafts on bankers.		Amount of overdrafts (if any) on bankers.		(5) Total of loans outstanding and overdrafts.	(6) Amount standing on the 31st day of March 1903 to the credit of sinking funds towards the repayment of outstanding loans.	(7) Amount remaining due to the Council on the 31st day of March 1903 in respect of loans (if any) raised to advance to other local authorities.	(8) Estimated value of undertakings in Column (1) and other corporate property.	Assessable value of Borough on the 1st day of April, 1903.		Remarks.
	(1) In respect of water works, gas works, electric light undertakings, tramways, markets, harbours, piers, and docks, baths, and burial grounds.	(2) In respect of other works and purposes.	(3) On capital account.	(4) On revenue account.					(9) For purposes of the Borough Rate.	(10) For purposes of the General District Rate.	

—(*Mr. John Ellis*.)

TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AND GERMANY.

Return ordered, "showing (a) Statistics for the years 1890–1902 of (1) trade between Germany and Canada, (2) trade between Germany and the United Kingdom, (3) trade between the United Kingdom and Canada; (b) Import duties levied (1) in Germany on the principal imports from Canada and the United Kingdom, (2) in Canada on the principal imports from the United Kingdom and Germany, and (3) in the United Kingdom

on the principal imports from Germany and Canada."—(*Mr. Loder*.)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**Phthisis in Workhouse Infirmaries.**

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he receives reports from the Poor Law inspectors as to the number of cases of phthisis in the infirmary wards of the

workhouses of England and Wales; and, if so, whether such reports state whether the patients are isolated and receive special treatment; has his attention been drawn to cases in which such patients have been placed in the same ward as other patients; and whether, seeing the danger of infection caused thereby, will he consider the advisability of providing fresh regulations for the isolation and treatment of all cases of phthisis in the workhouses of the country.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The ordinary reports made by the inspectors would not necessarily specify the number of cases of phthisis in the infirmary wards of the workhouses, but in particular instances the reports refer to the manner in which these cases are dealt with by the guardians. Where it appears that patients suffering from this disease are in wards with other patients I urge the guardians to take steps to secure their isolation. The number of workhouses where special provision is made by the guardians for phthical patients is steadily increasing, and I do not propose at present to issue regulations on the subject.

British Trade with the Colonies.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the amount of imports into the United Kingdom from British Colonies in 1846 and 1902, and the amount of the exports from Great Britain and Ireland to British Colonies in those years.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.*) The published Returns of 1846 do not give the values of the imports from each country and possession. But the declared value of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures to British possessions, including India and the Channel Islands, was £16,277,589, an amount which is somewhat in excess, as the Return includes the whole of our exports to West Africa, no distinction being made between our possessions and the possessions of other countries or native territories. According to the latest Returns of Trade and Navigation the value of our imports from British

possessions in 1902, including Protectorates, was £106,793,033. Our exports of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom were in the same year to British possessions, including Protectorates, £109,028,611.

Regulation of Metropolitan Street Traffic —Excavation of the Streets.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, having regard to the difficulties imposed upon the Metropolitan Police in the regulation of traffic by the action of the County Council and borough authorities, as well as the telegraph, telephone, gas, water, and hydraulic power engineers, in taking up the most frequented streets at this time of the year, he can provide that the work shall be done at night, as in Paris, Berlin, and New York.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) I have no power to adopt this suggestion, and I can only repeat that the matter is one which the Royal Commission on London Traffic will, no doubt, take into consideration.

Return of Licences Refused Renewal.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if the Return of Licences Refused Renewal, given in the Parliamentary Paper, No. 141 of the present session, includes licences surrendered or agreed to be surrendered by brewers and others in consequence of intentions expressed by licensing magistrates to reduce the number of licences; and, if not, whether he will order a Return of surrendered licences.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) The answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative, and I do not think that it would be practicable to obtain a Return giving the information indicated.

Officers' Chargers in India.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether, having regard to the increased cost of horses in the markets in India, whether for Australians or country-breds, the European officers of the Indian cavalry will be allowed similar privileges as to

chargers as those recently conferred upon cavalry officers of the British Army.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) The matter is engaging the attention of the Government of India.

Accommodation for Parish Medical Officers in Scotland.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): To ask the Lord Advocate whether, in view of the inconvenience which arises in parishes in the congested districts of Scotland from the difficulty of obtaining suitable accommodation for parish medical officers, he will take steps to amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act so as to permit parish councils to provide suitable accommodation and to give them powers to borrow money for this purpose.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) The Secretary for Scotland can give no undertaking as to the introduction of a Bill to amend the Local Government (Scotland) Act in the sense desired by the hon. Member, but the matter referred to by him will receive due consideration.

Belfast and Portadown Post Offices—Religious Belief of Members of Staff.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General the number of officials employed in Belfast and Portadown Post Offices respectively, and the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics there are in each.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The numbers of the staff employed at the two offices in question are as stated in the Estimates for the year ending 31st March, 1904, viz.: Belfast, 513; Portadown, 28. I have no information as to the religious belief of members of the Post Office staff, and I have repeatedly declined to make any inquiry on the subject.

Salaries of Customs Watchers.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will state how many Customs watchers who joined the service since August, 1896, received an increase of salary in 1900; and whether he will

take steps to amend the General Order so that the concession may be extended to these men.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) No watchers who joined the service since August, 1896, received an increase of salary in 1900. Such increase is granted to a watcher for combined length of service and special merit. All the watchers in question are potentially within the scope of the concession, and most of them may be expected in time to benefit by it. No amendment of the General Order is required.

Commercial Treaties—Most-favoured-Nation Treatment.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he can state, with regard to those countries where we do not enjoy, *de jure* or *de facto*, most-favoured-nation treatment, the character and amount of the advantages granted to other countries; and if he will lay a statement giving the figures.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The Board of Trade have no objection to giving this information in the form of a Return if my hon. friend will move for one.

High Voltage Currents on Bare Wires on Public Roads.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): To ask the President of the Board of Trade will he say what are the present regulations restricting the use of high voltage currents carried on bare wires over or on public roads; and whether, seeing that currents of 10,000 to 40,000 volts are carried by overhead bare wires on the Continent and in America to the advantage of the industrial community, he will consider whether a pressure of 10,000 volts could now be permitted, provided that efficient cradles or guards of a type approved by him be employed to protect such wires; whether he has any information showing that high tension bare wires carrying high voltage current have ever caused any injury or loss of life to the public in America and on the Continent when used only for

transmitting power to sub-stations ; and that the dangers to the public, if any, are not greater where bare wires transmit current direct to tram motors than in the case where the line is never in contact with a moving collector.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The Board of Trade have not yet made any regulations relating to the transmission of electricity at high voltage by bare overhead wires. I have no information as to injury or loss of life to the public caused by bare wires carrying high voltage supply in America or on the Continent, or as to the relative dangers to the public from wires used for tramways (where constructed under Board of Trade regulations) and from those used for other purposes. Two schemes have recently been submitted and are now before the Board's electrical adviser, who has been instructed that the promoters may proceed with their works step by step under his supervision. The Board propose to give their best consideration to applications for the use of high voltage, dealing with each case on its merits.

Report on Tariff Wars between Foreign Countries.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT: To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can obtain from His Majesty's representatives abroad reports on recent tariff wars between foreign countries, their origin, duration, and result.

(*Answered by Lord Cranborne.*) If my hon. friend will be good enough to give me a little more detail as to the information he requires I will do my best to obtain it for him.

Bathing Shed at the Serpentine.

LIEUT. - COLONEL TUFNELL (Essex, S. E.): To ask the hon. Member for West Derbyshire, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he would have erected by the Serpentine a lock-up shed for the use of the bathers in the morning, and place it in charge of an attendant.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The First Commissioner having made inquiry into this matter regrets that he

is unable to adopt the suggestion of my hon. friend ; it would not be possible to provide adequate accommodation of the kind proposed for bathers without putting up buildings which would greatly disfigure the banks of the Serpentine.

Elementary Education in Ireland.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the Irish child has not equal facilities for education in the national schools with the children of England and Scotland, and that an additional grant has been given to England and Scotland for education, he will take steps to secure that the balance of the Equivalent Grant due to Ireland should be devoted to elementary education solely.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am not at present in a position to make any announcement in reference to the allocation of this grant.

Town of Frankford—Change of Name.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the County Council of King's County have decided, in compliance with the wishes of the inhabitants, to restore the ancient name of the town of Kilcormac instead of the modern one of Frankford ; whether there is any enactment preventing them from so doing ; and, if so, will he intimate to the Local Government Board and the Commissioner of Valuation the propriety of not interfering with the desire of the County Council in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The County Council, at a recent meeting, adopted a resolution changing the name of the town of Frankford to that of Kilcormac. There is no authority, statutory or otherwise, enabling the council to make the proposed change, and the council has been so informed by the Local Government Board.

Interference of Police with a Public Meeting at Tallow.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received

a copy of a resolution of the Lismore Board of Guardians, protesting against the action of the police officers who prevented the legally convened public meeting announced to be held in Tallow on the 7th June taking place by threats of physical force; and, if so, will he state what action he proposes to take in the matter; and whether the Irish Government has advised the King to abandon his proposed visit to Lismore Castle.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The promoters of the proposed meeting were warned two days beforehand that it would not be permitted to be held. An attempt was made to hold it, but was frustrated by the police, who dispersed the crowd without, however, using bâtons or unnecessary force. A meeting was held one and a-half miles distant without interference. No further action in the matter is called for.

Army Schoolmasters—Promotions to Inspectorships.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War how many Army schoolmasters have, during the last twenty-five years, been gazetted to a commission as inspector or sub-inspector of Army schools before attaining the age of forty years, and upon what date was the last appointment made under these conditions; have any instructions been given, with a view to extending the area from which selections are made from the corps of Army schoolmasters to fill the appointment of Inspector of Army Schools, in order that a proportion of such inspectors will be commissioned before attaining the age of forty, and not continue to be debarred from the advantages held out by the recent Army Order regulating their promotion to the honorary rank of major.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) In reply to the first part of the Question no such promotion has been made under the age of forty. As regards the second part of the Question there is no intention of altering the present system of careful selection, which works well. The cases arising under the Army Order mentioned can only be very exceptional, and the promotion to the honorary rank of major was only intended for such exceptional cases.

Re-employment of Retired Officers—Report of Committee.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the Secretary of State for War when the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the cases of retired officers re-employed during the late war will be promulgated.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) My hon. and gallant friend is under a misapprehension, as the Committee to which he evidently alludes has been considering the question of the re-employment of retired officers in any future war. The Report is not yet made.

Imprisonment for Contempt of Court—Case of Mr. Lewis.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to the imprisonment of Mr. Webb, London County Councillor, for contempt of Court in connection with certain alterations of premises held in Oxford Street; and, if so, whether he will have the matter inquired into with a view to future legislation dealing with the power of Judges to commit for contempt of Court, and the power of ground landlords to insert penal clauses in terminable leases.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I understand the hon. Member to refer to the case of Mr. Lewis. I am advised that the facts are that Mr. Lewis deliberately broke the conditions of his lease, and that he defied the order of the Court requiring him to keep those conditions. He was accordingly imprisoned for contempt of Court. This seems hardly to be a case on which to found a proposal for altering the existing law.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The Cape "Ragging" Case.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the recent Court-martial at Wellington Barracks and the circumstances attending it, he will give an early day for the discussion of the salary of the Secretary for War.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I do not see the relevance of the beginning of the Question to the end. Of course, a convenient day will be found for the further debates on the Army Estimates.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): May I suggest to the First Lord that he should postpone the Land Bill for ever in order that this "ragging" question may be gone into?

Destruction of Unsound Army Rations at Pretoria.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War with reference to the 1,700,000 Army rations destroyed near Pretoria during April last, will he state the total value so destroyed, the respective quantities of soldered and non-soldered tins, and also the names of the firms who respectively supplied them, together with the dates on which they were supplied; is he aware of the fact that good meat properly preserved and tinned practically never deteriorates; and, if so, is he prepared to call to account those persons who supplied these rations; and will he lay upon the Table of the House the Report called for from the General Officer Commanding South Africa.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The value was approximately about £80,000. The numbers of soldered and unsoldered tins were roughly 1,120,000 and 548,000 respectively. The names of the firms who supplied them are as follows:—Aberdeen Preserving Company, W. Bruce, John Davidson, Duhamel and Company, London Canning Company, Maconochie Brothers, Milne and Sons, Moir and Wilson, John Moir and Son, Poulton and Noel, Sturton Brothers. Twenty-two thousand of the rations were supplied at the end of 1900, and the rest between April and June, 1902. Good meat properly preserved and tinned and properly stored should keep for at least two years without deterioration; these rations, however, also contained vegetables, and the tins had been subjected to considerable variations of climate. The whole question is being investigated. The Report can be laid.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): What form is the investigation taking, and will there be a regular and searching inquiry?

MR. BRODRICK: The War Office is investigating what steps are necessary. The inquiry will take the usual form.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Will any claim for compensation be made against those persons who supplied the rations?

MR. BRODRICK: I cannot say; I shall have to make inquiry. It is impossible without knowing exactly to what the tins have been subjected during the early part of the time they were in South Africa to say whether any blame attaches to the contractors or not.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Has not the right hon. Gentleman just admitted that a large proportion of these rations only arrived in Africa last year?

MR. BRODRICK: I am not in a position to make any further statement at present.

Co-operative Unions—Free Advertisement in Army Regulations.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether in the forthcoming Army Regulations it is proposed to give free advertisement to Co-operative Unions; and if so, whether he would give those in the trade whose businesses may suffer from such competition an opportunity of making representations before he finally decides to embody this measure in the Army Regulations.

MR. BRODRICK: No, Sir. There is no such intention. Perhaps my hon. friend will kindly refer to an answer I gave on Monday last.†

Woolwich Arsenal Hospital.

***MR. CROOKS** (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will request the Board of Inquiry now sitting at Woolwich to report as to the desirability of providing a hospital nearer the danger zone than the present one.

† See page 59.

having regard to the fact that it took twenty minutes to remove the injured men to the present one, on the occasion of the recent explosion, owing to the distance.

MR. BRODRICK: This point has already been thoroughly considered and it is not thought advisable to provide a new hospital. The existing hospital is close to the machine shops, where the majority of accidents occur, while a fully equipped hospital train is always ready near the danger buildings to transport men to the hospital. Ample provision of first-aid requisites is made throughout the Arsenal, and men qualified to render first-aid are organised so as to be always readily available. The time taken in the removal of these men to the hospital is not considered excessive, and it must be remembered that first-aid had already been rendered before removal.

***MR. CROOKS:** Has the War Office ever considered for a moment the rider of the jury on the occasion of the last explosion, that greater facilities should be afforded for rendering aid to the injured? I know all about the first-aid but, honestly, this hospital is a very long way from the point where it is most needed.

MR. BRODRICK: All such recommendations are carefully considered; but I think the hon. Member must realise that, considering the Arsenal, although containing a great number of workmen, is not of unlimited size, the provision of hospitals at various points, when already there are ample means of communication, would be putting the authorities to great additional expense and trouble.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: What is expense to men's lives?

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that a great many lives might be saved in twenty minutes?

***MR. CROOKS:** Will the right hon. Gentleman consult the Inspector-General of the Arsenal upon this point? It is

a matter of burning importance. There are 16,000 men there.

***MR. SPEAKER:** Order, order! The matter is one, no doubt, of great importance, but the hon. Member cannot debate it now.

Woolwich Arsenal—Pay in the Danger Zone.

MR. CROOKS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will refer to the Committee of Inquiry into the explosion at Woolwich Arsenal, now being held at Woolwich on behalf of his Department, the question whether the system of payment partly by piece work and partly by day work rate is a source of danger, owing to the desire to obtain extra pay over the day rate of wages; and whether it would be advantageous to the service and to the safety of all employees within the danger zone to fix such a rate of wages as to obviate the necessity of men working at the present high tension.

MR. BRODRICK: This Committee has been appointed to investigate the circumstances of the explosion and has not been asked to consider general questions of this nature. The question of amending the present method of payment will be carefully considered.

The Naval Works Bill.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Can the right hon. Gentleman say if the Naval Works Bill will soon be introduced?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am told by my naval colleagues that the Naval Works Bill is very nearly ready, but it is impossible for me as yet to fix a date for its introduction.

Germany and Canadian Tariffs.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: On behalf of the hon. Member for Galway City I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what representations have been made to His Majesty's Government by the Canadian Government in regard to the difficulty with Germany over tariff regulations; when were such representations made; and

has the Canadian Government sought the intervention of His Majesty's Government in the dispute.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The High Commissioner for Canada made representations on behalf of the Government of the Dominion on this subject in 1898 and 1899 which were brought before the German Government by His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, and in 1901 when these representations had been fruitless, the Government of the Dominion discussed the matter informally with the German Consul-General at Ottawa. No formal communications have passed with the Government of Canada on the subject since 1901.

Germany and Canada.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps the Government has taken, or is taking, to induce Germany to cease differentiation against Canada other than inviting discussion in this country upon retaliatory duties; and in particular whether the attention of Germany has in this connection been directed to the hospitality she enjoys at our coaling stations.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord CRANBORNE, Rochester): In reply to the first Question, I have to state that Papers showing what has passed will shortly be laid on the Table, to which I would direct the attention of the hon. Gentleman. The answer to the second Question is in the negative.

Trinidad Riots Inquiry.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has yet received the Report of the Commissioners sent to Trinidad to inquire into the water riot; when will it be laid before Parliament; and whether there will be an opportunity of discussing it this session.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The Report has not yet been received, and I am unable to make any statement on the subject at present.

MR. LOUGH: Will it be before the end of the session?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am unable to make any statement.

British Guiana—Cost of Coolie Immigration.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether an active agitation has sprung up in British Guiana against the burden thrown on the taxpayers by the cost of coolie immigration; whether he has received any memorial on the subject; and whether it will be open to that colony to bring this matter before the Permanent Commission under the Brussels Sugar Convention on the grounds that it is of the nature of a bounty to the sugar producers; and if he can see his way to relieve the general taxpayers of the West Indies of any further obligations in the matter.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that the memorial to which he refers has not yet been received. In reply to the second part I would refer the hon. Member to the answer I returned to the recent Question of the hon. Member for King's Lynn on the same subject, 22nd June, 1903.†

South African Dynamite Industry.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing that on 13th January, 1899, in a despatch to the High Commissioner, he stated that His Majesty's Government were advised that a dynamite monopoly in the South African Republic was not necessarily inconsistent with Article XIV. of the London Convention, provided such a concession was to benefit the State generally and not simply to favour a concessionaire, he will say why now for many months past he has permitted, in face of the protests of British dynamite manufacturers, the creation of a new dynamite monopoly in South Africa, from which the Transvaal Government derives no revenue whatever; and whether this new monopoly is in direct conflict with the views His Majesty's Government held

before the war and which they repeatedly pressed on the late Transvaal Government.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no intention of constituting or continuing any dynamite monopoly. The duty proposed for revenue purposes is 1½d. per lb., and I have already told the hon. Member several times that the question of an equivalent excise on the local manufacture is under consideration. The manufacture in the Cape Colony is dealt with under the provisions of the Convention, but this has not yet been ratified by the Cape Government. Under the law of the late Republic all dynamite from outside the State was prohibited, and the price was accordingly at one time from thirty to forty shillings per case higher than it is now.

MR. MARKHAM was understood to ask if the duties were not 75 per cent. higher than before the war?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have given all the information I have.

Kimberley Diamond Mines.

MR. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing under the special laws to protect the Kimberley mines against theft of diamonds, detectives are permitted to offer diamonds for sale to persons whom they suspect of illicit diamond buying, and that convictions have resulted from such action, he will say on whose representation this law has been introduced into the Transvaal Legislative Council, in view of the public feeling in South Africa against this special law enjoyed by the De Beers Company.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The draft ordinance to regulate trading in diamonds is being introduced by the Government. I have not received any correspondence on the subject.

South Africa—Precious Stones Bill.

MR. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to a speech delivered last Thursday by Sir R. Solomon, Attorney-General of the Transvaal Government, on the Second Reading of the Precious Stones Bill, in which he

stated that the recent diamond discoveries were larger and richer than any others in South Africa, and that it was necessary the mine should be as much as possible under the control of one person; and, if so, will he say whether, when he was in South Africa, this policy of placing the diamond mines in the hands of monopolists was sanctioned and approved by him.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I imagine that the policy will depend on the merits of each case. The subject was not discussed by me during my visit to South Africa.

Barmaids in Bengal and Burmah.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the Act recently passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, forbidding the employment of women as barmaids or in any other capacity in any of the licensed premises in that province; and whether it is intended to enact similar legislation in the other provinces of India.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): It is intended to undertake similar legislation in Burmah. This is the only other province in which the question has arisen, so far as I am aware.

Greek Currant Monopoly.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government has expressed any protest to the Greek Government, under the provisions of the Treaty of 1890, against the proposal to establish a monopoly for the sale of Greek currants; and, if not, whether, with a view to preventing interference with the consumption of currants as well as with their retail distribution, he will make representations to obviate the dislocation of this trade.

LORD CRANBORNE: His Majesty's Minister at Athens has informed the Hellenic Government that His Majesty's Government will reserve the right of denouncing the Commercial Agreement of 1890 in the event of the monopoly being sanctioned.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Has any reply been received to that communication?

LORD CRANBORNE: I must ask for notice.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: What is the date of the communication?

LORD CRANBORNE: Quite recent.

Morocco—Cape Juby Expedition.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can inform the House of the conditions upon which the British factory at Cape Juby was sold to the Government of the Sultan of Morocco; and whether, in view of the stipulation inserted with the intention of preventing the territory from being alienated by the Moorish Government, he can state what view is taken by the Spanish Government, having rights in the neighbourhood, as to the private French armed expedition supported by private ships now operating in the neighbourhood; and whether inquiries will be made as to whether the Foreign Enlistment Act is being violated by enlistment in the United Kingdom of persons for that expedition.

LORD CRANBORNE: The Agreement signed on March 13th, 1895, between the British and Moorish Governments respecting the purchase by Morocco of the property of the North-West Africa Company at Cape Juby is published in the State Papers, Vol. 87, p. 972, and in Hertslet's Map of Africa by Treaty. The inquiries made by His Majesty's Government lead to the belief that the reports as to the so-called French expedition have little foundation in fact—and the Spanish Government are fully aware that they have been greatly exaggerated. I am not quite sure which provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act the right hon. Baronet has in view, but upon the facts so far as we are aware of them I am inclined to think that the Act does not apply.

South African Field Post—Missing Registered Letters.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a registered letter

addressed to Private Thomas Edens, 7,059 B Company, 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Field Force, South Africa, was despatched from the Army Post Office, Middleburg, Transvaal, on the 21st July, 1901, to the Officer Commanding, Benson's Column, and that the registered letter list was returned signed I. Hardmarsh, Lance Corporal; if so, will he state whether the Officer Commanding 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, has been able to obtain any satisfactory information as to the disposal of the registered letter after delivery to the military authorities; and, if not, will the person who registered the letter be compensated.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am aware of the facts mentioned, and it is the case that, according to the information supplied by the Army Post Office, the Officer Commanding the 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders was unable to obtain any satisfactory information as to the disposal of the registered letter in question after its delivery to the regiment. The registered letter passed out of the custody of the Postmaster-General on its reaching South Africa. It is consequently impossible that I should give compensation from Post Office funds.

MR. SLOAN: But who is responsible for seeing that registered letters reach their destination?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The letter passed out of the control of the Post Office when it reached South Africa, and was taken charge of by the Army Post Office, over which I have no control whatever. The letter was delivered to the unit to which the regiment was attached, but as to what became of it subsequently the officer in command has been unable to get any satisfactory account.

MR. SLOAN: Then I may take it, it is immaterial whether a letter is registered or not.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Has not a receipt to be signed for it?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes. Speaking of this case from memory I believe the registered letters were duly delivered to the corporal acting as the Postal Orderly of the unit, who signed the receipt for them. It was a general receipt and the Commanding Officer is unable to trace this particular letter.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is there to be no responsibility whatever on the part of the Post Office?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The responsibility rests with the Military Post Office in South Africa, over which I have no control. Any further Questions should be addressed on the subject to the Secretary of State for War.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Have you no jurisdiction?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not see any reason for further communication with my Department.

Navigation off the Icelandic Coast.

MR. DOUGHTY (Great Grimsby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, whether, in view of the loss that has been sustained by vessels and crews off the coast of Iceland, and to the dangerous condition of several points on the western coast of the island, he will consider the advisability of representing the matter to the Danish Government with a view of influencing them to place lights on the most prominent headlands.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I am advised that out of some fifty-two casualties which have been reported to the Board of Trade as having occurred to British vessels off the coast of Iceland since 1887, not more than five or six could be considered as possibly due to want of lights on the most prominent headlands. Only one or two of these were off the west coast. In these circumstances I am afraid that a representation may not be successful, but I shall have pleasure in consulting my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to whether such a representation can advantageously be made.

Nottingham Smallpox Hospital.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the inquiry promised by him on the 25th May as to the smallpox hospital recently erected by the town council of Nottingham has been made, and with what results, in respect of the proximity of population thereto, both resident and working; and whether he has taken, or proposes to take, any further steps in the matter for the protection of those affected by the erection of this hospital.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): One of the medical inspectors of my Department has visited this hospital, and has made a Report on the subject. It appears that although the population actually resident in the neighbourhood does not exceed the number which I should regard as permissible if it was proposed to raise a loan in connection with the hospital, yet a considerable number of workmen are daily employed within half-a-mile of the site. I have written to the town council pointing out the objections to the site, and urging them to endeavour to obtain another.

Regulation of Motor-Car Traffic.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, having regard to the present state of things as regards motor-cars, and to the public demand for such action as will ensure the safe and reasonable enjoyment of public highways by all, he will introduce without delay and press forward legislation on the subject.

MR. WALTER LONG: I hope to arrange for the introduction of a Bill on this subject in another place very shortly.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: And press it forward?

MR. WALTER LONG: Certainly.

Irish Land Courts—Jurisdiction in England and Scotland.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, seeing that until last year it was always

assumed that the Irish Land Commission and the Land Judges Court had jurisdiction to compel parties resident in England or Scotland to obey orders made in Ireland, and that it has now been decided in England and the decision followed by the Irish Courts that such jurisdiction does not exist, with the result that where the title deeds of a property for sale in Ireland are in custody of an English mortgagee or solicitor or deposited with a bank in England, the party having custody of the documents can obstruct the proceeding for sale, and the Irish Courts are powerless to compel the lodgment of the deeds, and that if any person instituted proceedings in Ireland to sell an estate any person in Ireland having custody of the deeds can now block the sale by sending them to England, a Clause will be inserted in the Purchase Bill giving both the Land Judge and the Land Commission power to have their orders exemplified and sent over to the English Courts to be enforced by an English or Scotch Judge when necessary.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) : I have read and considered the authority referred to in the Question. It does not, in my opinion, establish that the machinery set up by the 41 Geo., c. 90., s. 6 and 21 and 22 Vic., c. 72, s. 36, is ineffectual if properly availed of. It was the omission to observe the requirements of the first-named statute which caused the difficulty in the case mentioned. The matter, however, is still under consideration.

Dingle Railway.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, what has been done with regard to the Dingle Railway ; and whether an attempt will be made to relieve the ratepayers this year of the burden which this line is to them.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) : Negotiations are in progress with respect

to this railway. For the present, therefore, I am unable to give a more definite reply to the Question.

Gun Licences in County Tipperary.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if he will state why the application of Mr. James Coffey of Doonane, Newport, County Tipperary, for a gun licence, or the transfer of the licence of his father, was refused, in view of the character of this man and of the fact that he has to look over the farm of his father of 500 acres, and that his father is now too old to use a gun, and that James Coffey used to hold an Excise licence to carry and use a gun.

MR. WYNDHAM : I am informed by the Resident Magistrate that no such application has been received by him.

Crime in County Clare.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Judge Carton received white gloves at the recent Ennis Quarter Sessions ; and whether in view of the peaceable state of the county Clare, the proclamation of certain districts under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act will now be withdrawn.

MR. WYNDHAM : I am prepared to consider this question so soon as I find an opportunity for consideration.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND : I will repeat the Question next week, as I hope that by then the first clause of the Land Bill will have been passed.

Irish School Teachers' Remuneration.

MR. SLOAN : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the promise of the Resident Commissioner that no teacher would lose a penny by the new system of payments, the principal teacher of school, Roll Number 15,020, District 11, has lost

over £60 in the last three years, while the teacher of a similar school with the same attendance, the same service and qualifications, but whose average during the three standard years was normal, would receive over £800 more in salaries before being pensioned than the teacher of this school, supposing them to be equal and to get all available increments; and will he state how many similar cases there are in Ireland, and to what cause are they due; and will he make inquiries with a view of removing the alleged grievance.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners of National Education report on this Question as follows: No such unqualified promise was given by the Resident Commissioner. The Commissioners do not admit the supposed loss of income alleged by this teacher. In fixing Mr. Kyle's income under the present system he was allowed not merely his average earnings during the preceding three years, but was specially granted the highest amount earned by him in any of those years. This was allowed irrespectively of the triennial increments and possible promotions provided for deserving teachers under the rules. The Commissioners could not enter into a discussion or consider the hypothetical circumstances put forward in the latter part of this Question.

Irish Prison Matrons.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the scale of salaries and dietary, applying to assistant matrons in English prisons, apply to those employed in a similar capacity in Ireland; and, if not, will he say in what essential particulars the scales differ.

MR. WYNDHAM: Assistant matrons in Irish convict prisons are paid salaries of £49, rising by £2 triennially to £55. In local prisons the scale is £35, by £1 a year to £45. They are all provided with furnished apartments, fuel, light and uniform, and a number of them receive extra allowances of from £5 to £15 a year for special duties. There are no scales of dietary, and no allowances in lieu of rations. I must

refer the hon. Member to my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department for information as to the corresponding scales in the English Prison Service.

Irish Land Purchase.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the omission of the one-eighth perpetual rent-charge from the Irish Land Bill will be met by an increase of one-seventh in the annual purchase instalments, or by an extension of one-seventh in the length of the purchase term.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am laying on the Table of the House this afternoon a Return which will illustrate the effects of the abolition of the perpetual rent-charge. I would ask the hon. Member to await this Return.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): When does the right hon. Gentleman propose to put down the consequential Amendments?

MR. WYNDHAM: As soon as the first clause has been disposed of I hope to be in a position to put down many of the Amendments which are, in the view of the Government, necessary.

Land Purchase Returns.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Return, under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Acts [C. 6925, 1893], has been continued in the same form to the present date; and, if not, whether he will direct a Return in that form for the last five years to be prepared and laid upon the Table at the earliest possible moment.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, Sir; the Return has not since been continued. It was expressly limited to transactions under the Acts of 1885, 1887, and 1888, and operations under these Acts ceased shortly after the preparation of the Return. With respect to sales under the Act of 1891, a Return has been annually presented to Parliament, giving detailed information concerning every advance made. Five of these Returns,

which are very voluminous, have been laid on the Table, and to tabulate the entries in the manner suggested would, I am afraid, occupy a large portion of the staff of the Land Commission for a very considerable period. I cannot say whether I could properly impose this additional labour on the Land Commission, but I will make further inquiry into the matter.

South African Garrison.—India's Burden.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in connection with the promised announcement as to the retention of troops in South Africa, His Majesty's Government have had under consideration any proposal for charging India with a proportion of the cost of these troops; and whether an opportunity will be given of considering Indian opinion on the subject before any decision is arrived at.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think, perhaps, the hon. Gentleman will agree with me that it would be desirable to wait till the announcement of which he speaks is made before we consider any of the collateral issues connected with it.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): Are we to understand that the Government really consider the propriety of putting on the poor taxpayers of India the cost of this first step towards the retrenchment of our Army at home?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, the hon. Gentleman is not to understand that. He is to understand the answer which I gave, and which I hope is clear.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: Is it likely that this announcement will be made before the House rises for the recess?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot give any definite statement on that subject, but I should think it probable.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Are we to understand that things were less advanced than the right hon. Gentleman led us to suppose earlier in the session when he said that the matter could be discussed on the War Office Vote?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no reason to doubt that it can be discussed on the War Office Vote.

MR. PIRIE: When will the War Office Vote be taken?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot say.

India and the New Fiscal Policy.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the capacity of India's grain productiveness and the labour awaiting industrial employment there, he contemplates the inclusion of India's commercial and fiscal relations with the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire in the scheme of inquiry now being undertaken by His Majesty's Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course it will be impossible to exclude India, and it never has been excluded, from any consideration of the fiscal policy of this country and its effects. My hon. friend, I think, will feel that the general policy is not likely to be departed from by the Government.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government of India will be consulted as to the effects upon Indian trade of any change which may be suggested.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If any change in this country affects India, India will be consulted upon it. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, there is a Secretary of State for India who is always a member of the Cabinet, and it is quite impossible that the Cabinet should do anything in which the Indian Government were concerned as to which that Government would not be fully informed.

Colonial Governments and the Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government have invited or contemplate to invite the Colonial Cabinets and Crown Colony and Dependency Legislative Councils to undertake an inquiry into

the effect of the Colonial Secretary's proposals as to our fiscal system on the same lines as is now being conducted by the Imperial Cabinet ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think this question is premature.

MR. BLACK: Is it not the scheme of the Colonial Secretary that is premature ?

[No answer was returned.]

Shipping Agreements.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury can he now lay on the Table of this House the formal document embodying the agreement which had been come to by His Majesty's Government on 30th September, 1902, with the American International Mercantile Marine Association, and which was in course of execution on 18th May last; will he afford this House an opportunity of discussing that agreement, and also that with the Cunard Company, before their final execution; in what form does His Majesty's Government propose that these agreements shall be discussed, and if by Resolution, can he undertake that the Motion for a Resolution approving them shall be set down as First Order at an afternoon sitting; and, in view of the delay that has occurred, can he now undertake that the discussion on this matter shall be taken within some definite fixed time.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The agreements are not yet signed, and I do not think it would be possible or proper to lay them on the Table of the House until they are signed. When the arrangements are finally concluded they will be placed on the Table, and I will do my best to secure a suitable opportunity for their discussion.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I have asked repeated Questions on this point. Considering there has been eight months' delay, can the right hon. Gentleman name some definite time for the discussion, especially in view of the serious rumours published in the Press in regard to the American combine ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think it would be desirable to attempt to name a date, which must turn on the course of Parliamentary business. I conceive it improbable, almost impossible, that a day should not be found before the close of the present session.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Will there be an adequate opportunity for discussing the subject ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have always said there should be "a fitting opportunity."

Irish Gold Ornaments.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of Mr. Justice Farwell's declaration that the Celtic ornaments in the British Museum are the property of the Crown, arrangements will now be made to have them placed in the Dublin Museum ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already promised a colleague of the hon. Member to answer this Question a few days hence.

Scottish Education Vote.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the dissatisfaction throughout Scotland with the Minute of the Scotch Education Department, dated 28th May, 1903, providing for the distribution of the general aid grant, and to the fact that this Minute will become operative on 28th June; and whether, in these circumstances, he can see his way to grant facilities this week for the discussion of the Motion upon the Paper for disapproval of the Minute ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the request of my hon. and learned friend is a little unreasonable. The Minute to which he refers was, I understand, explained at very great length the other night, and discussed on the Education Vote by many hon. Gentlemen, including the hon. and learned Member himself. It does, therefore, seem rather unreasonable to ask for a further opportunity of debating it.

† See page 38.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Seeing that the debate was not concluded, cannot some opportunity be afforded of further debating the Education Vote?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not wish to dispute with the right hon. Gentleman the question of the relative amount of time that should be given to the various Scotch Votes, but I do think eight hours is quite enough for a discussion on this subject; and that Scottish Members would desire to debate other matters.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that although the Committee was ready to take a Vote on the question the Lord Advocate himself talked it out?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not in the House at the time, but I understood that the Committee had gone away from this Minute in order to discuss another topic.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

The Select Committee on workmen's trains was nominated of—Mr. Bigwood, Mr. Bonar Law, Colonel Bowles, Mr. Harris, Mr. Levy, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Lough, Mr. Nannetti, Captain Norton, Mr. Peel, Mr. Matthew Ridley, Mr. Harry Samuel, Mr. Sheehan, Mr. Ure, and Sir Thomas Wrightson.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That five be the quorum.—
(*Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.*)

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 1 :—

Another Amendment proposed—

In page 1, line 28, to leave out the word "twenty," and insert the words "twenty-five."—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

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Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty' stand part of the clause."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) said he desired to continue the discussion in no unfriendly spirit, for he had no desire to add any additional element of difficulty to an already difficult situation—a situation sufficiently difficult for men of all parties to deal with. In discussing this question hon. Members should remember that they were now settling or unsettling the fate of the Irish landlords for many generations to come. Whatever might be the merits of the zone system, the zone system in respect of the first-term tenants was not being framed upon the same scale as the zone system which had been framed in reference to the second-term tenants. The Government were making a hostile discrimination against a class of tenants, who were 250,000 strong, and who for many years—most of them—never received any benefit whatever under the Land Act of 1881. If the land compromise of which hon. Gentlemen spoke with so much enthusiasm when it suited their purpose, and which when it did not suit their purpose they ignored—was to be judged at all, it ought to be judged in its entirety. According to the compromise come to at the Conference, the average bargain for second-term tenants would have been a reduction of 20 per cent., and the fair equivalent of that, at all events, according to the view of the representatives of the Irish Party at the Conference, was a reduction of at least 40 per cent. for first-term tenants. They did not attempt to define exactly what the fair equivalent should be. There were only two ways of ascertaining it: either the whole of the 250,000 should be allowed to go into Court individually—a course which no one would dream of proposing—or the second-term rents should be fixed automatically as the judicial rents were reduced under the Act of 1887. The Government adhered to the average reduction of 20 per cent. in regard to second-term rents, on the ground that they were carrying out the Conference scale, and it was unfair not to advance, at all events, as far as 40 per cent. in the case of first-term tenants. In common justice the right hon. Gentleman was bound to level up in this matter. If the Amendment of his hon.

and learned friend erred at all it erred on the side of moderation. All through the proceedings there had been a desire to arrive at a fair compromise, and he submitted to the right hon. Gentleman that in resisting this claim he was really in contradiction not only with the Land Conference, but with himself, because if they were to admit that the scale for the second-term tenants was a fair one, then it would follow that the scale for the first-term tenants was unfair, and, what was more, the unfairness was practised against a category of tenantry who were at least three times as numerous as the others and who had never until very lately received any relief at all under the Land Act of 1881. He was convinced that already every sensible landlord had made up his mind to make sensible and moderate terms, irrespective of this impossible average of twenty-five years purchase. He would be only too happy to come to business. The acceptance of the Amendment, therefore, would hurt nobody. On the other hand an obstinate resistance counted for a great deal in helping to create that feeling of distrust which it was desirable to avoid if the Bill was to work smoothly.

With regard to the new bogey—the incumbrancers and mortgagees—which had been introduced, he thought it was pretty plain that the wrongs of the mortgagees were the invention of those subtle gentlemen the Irish lawyers. It was really hard enough to bring about an agreement between tenants and landlords, but now the tenants were faced with a new army of enemies and were being called upon to secure not only the landlord's rents but his debts. The tenants of Ireland had already suffered sufficiently in the shape of extortionate rents without being called upon not only to satisfy the landlords as to the landlord's interest, but to secure the landlord's creditors against any possible dishonesty on the landlord's own part. It was an intolerable burden to place on the tenants' shoulders, and all he could say was that if there was any danger as to incumbrances, the landlord might be allowed to repurchase his own domain, which would be ample security for the creditors. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not prove

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adamantine on this point. Let him give up his legal fiction as to the dangers to incumbrancers and give the tenant the very slight modicum of additional relief proposed by the Amendment. On those benches, at any rate, they had shown that they were not disposed to unnecessarily increase the difficulties of the Chief Secretary, and he hoped, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman in return would meet them in that matter.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) said that his simple reason for rising was to recognise the spirit of the opening remarks of the hon. Member for Cork, who used words which were gratifying to him—though by no means unexpected—that they ought, all of them, to try, if they could, to arrive at a common ground of agreement upon the issue raised by this Bill. But if the hon. Member would bear with him, as this was a matter of major importance, he would ask what would be the effect of the Amendment if it were carried? It would not prevent certain bargains being made. On the contrary the bargains would be made under the new clause which he had already put upon the Paper, and the only effect, in practice, would be not to prohibit these bargains but to deny to any tenant who wished to enter into such a bargain the advantages of doing so in the most expeditious and cheapest way. The hon. Member went on to say that the general trend of the discussion had been towards giving, where that might be necessary, a greater latitude at the opposite end of the scale. The hon. Member said that if the Amendment were accepted nobody would be hurt; but he maintained that it might hurt a limited class of persons—viz., the large farmers who had enjoyed comparatively low rents, perhaps agreed upon between them and the landlords as first-term rents, and who might desire to buy and to pay a fair price, but which would represent a higher annual instalment than 25 per cent. He could not prevent them making such a bargain, and why should he say that they should not take advantage of the simplest and cheapest method of procedure? His opinion was that that would be a mistake; and that it was unnecessary to make the procedure cumbrous and expensive. Why not allow them to work up to the limit

allowed them and make their bargains in the cheapest and most expeditious manner? That was his reason for adhering to the attitude he had taken up.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman could not make an advance on the point under discussion. He admitted that the situation was to some extent changed by the new Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman which appeared on the Paper, but hon. Members would understand that that did not alter their opinion that this Amendment ought to be accepted. He did not think, however, that anything was to be gained by longer discussion, as most Members were anxious to come to the consideration of the new clause, which really dealt with what was the crux of the situation.

* MR. BUTCHER (York) said he entirely agreed with the hon. Member who has just spoken that the situation had been altered by the new Amendment put down on the Paper to-day by the Chief Secretary, the effect of which would be to meet the objection that they must do something to allow people, in proper cases, to go outside the strict limit of the zone imposed. In the absence of such an Amendment it might conceivably have been proper to accept a 25 per cent. instead of a 20 per cent. reduction. He did not think that that view could properly be urged now in view of the new Amendment proposed. The only effect of accepting the Amendment of Mr. Redmond's would be that a bargain on the footing of a 20 per cent. reduction could not be carried out without delay and expense, whereas if the Amendment were rejected the bargain of the 20 per cent. reduction would be carried through without reference to the Land Commission. Might he remind the Committee that in a very considerable number of cases first-term rents were as low as they would be if they were second-term rents determined in the Courts.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): A great many are the other way.

* MR. BUTCHER, continuing, said that with the exception of flax and wool there had been a rise in the price of all produce in Ireland since the year 1887,

and therefore, so far as they were concerned, there was no occasion for reducing first-term rents. But there were other cases of first term rents, the class of cases where, by agreement between the landlord and tenant, the rents were so fair and reasonable that it was not worth while going into the Courts again. If he were right so far he thought he had established the view that there were a great number of first-term rents which were as low as second-term rents.

AN HON. MEMBER on the Irish benches :—No.

* MR. BUTCHER did not deny that there were some first-term rents which ought to be reduced, but that would be done within the scope of the limits between 20 per cent. and 40 per cent. There was ample scope within the limits laid down by the Bill for the landlord and tenant to bargain together and fix upon a price and to allow the sale to go through at once. But in view of the new situation created by the Chief Secretary putting down his Amendment, there was really no need to press the present Amendment, for if it were carried it would operate to the prejudice of both landlord and tenant.

MR. WYNDHAM said he quite understood that on many of these questions hon. Members holding strong views desired to go into the division lobby to emphasise their views; but if they were to divide on every question they would extend the discussion on the Bill to the end of the session. They should go on to the more important topic which everybody wished to discuss, and this question could be decided by a simple "Aye" or "no."

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that in view of the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had made what he regarded as a very considerable concession in the Amendment on the Paper, he had had no desire to prolong the proceedings. Of course the right hon. Gentleman would understand that it was rather difficult for some of his friends to abstain from going into the lobby, but in view of the fact that their views had been emphasised in the discussion and by the division on the previous Amendment, and

that it would be somewhat churlish to refuse the right hon Gentleman's request, he was agreeable to accepting a decision of the question on the voices.

Question put, and agreed to.

* MR. DUKE (Plymouth) said that if it was the will of the Committee that he should not move his Amendment, but should await the Amendment of the Chief Secretary, he would gladly fall in with that arrangement. [Cries of "Hear, hear."] He gathered it was the desire of the Committee to proceed as quickly as possible to the consideration of his right hon. friend's Amendment. Under those circumstances he would not move.

MR. WYNDHAM said it might be for the convenience of the Committee if he defined the attitude of the Government on his hon. and learned friend's Amendment, unless it were understood that his hon. and learned friend the Member for York would also not move his Amendment. It was the intention of the Government to take on itself responsibility in the matter, and to give guidance and advice to the Committee regarding it.

MR. JOHN REDMOND hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be permitted to move his Amendment at once. He would suggest to the hon. and learned Member for York to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. BUTCHER said as it was the obvious wish of the Committee that the Chief Secretary should move his Amendment he would gladly assent to that arrangement.

MR. WYNDHAM formally moved to omit in Clause 1, page 2, lines 1 to 7 inclusive.

Amendment proposed,—

"In page 2, to leave out lines 1 to 7 inclusive."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question put, "That lines 1 to 7 inclusive be there omitted," and agreed to.

* MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said that his hon. friend the Member for East Down would not move the next Amendment standing in his name, but he

reserved his right to deal with the matter on the Report stage.

MR. WYNDHAM said the very fact that the hon. Members for Plymouth and York had waived their rights increased his obligation to explain very fully the attitude of the Government. But it must not be said that the Government were making concessions in order to meet the combined wishes of the Irish landlords and tenants to the prejudice of the general taxpayer. That object did not come in. What was the attitude of the Government? They had taken the unusual course of putting the Land Bill down for an afternoon sitting in the middle of the week because it was their desire to make progress, and they felt that there was the greatest danger in delay. It was self-evident that a Bill of this magnitude created a great number of questions of importance and a still larger number of questions of interest, upon any one of which most of those knowing anything of Irish affairs would wish to record their views. The work could not be carried on satisfactorily, however, unless they concentrated their attention on the main questions and avoided discussing matters of minor importance. The Amendments of his hon. friends showed that Members of that House who had constituted themselves, more or less, the representatives of the landlords were agreed, either on the merits of the principle, or else, if they had some doubts as to the advantages that would accrue by accepting the principle underlying the Amendments, that they should make some advances towards the position occupied by the representatives of the tenants. That was a very weighty matter which the Government had properly to consider. There might be landlords who doubted whether the Amendments would prove to be of any intrinsic value either to themselves or to the tenants, but who were willing to accept them in order to bring everyone into line. That fact was of great importance in determining the attitude of the Government. If the representatives of the landlords came forward to arrive at some basis of agreement in respect of the first clause, was the Government, when the interests of the general taxpayer were not concerned, to be the one party to decline to put its pride in its pocket and obstinately adhere to their own view that a great value was

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attached to the expeditious and cheap automatic process. The Government considered that to be a benefit to both landlord and tenant, and it had proved to be so in the past. But if the two parties, who he had to allow had much better opportunities of knowing their own interests, thought that in some cases the additional delay was a greater fault, their opinions were worthy of consideration. On the merit of the case there might be two opinions, but if the landlords and tenants were agreed that some such Amendment should be accepted, and no wrong was done to the taxpayers, general opinions became perfectly irrelevant. Therefore in accepting the principle underlying the two Amendments he intended to accept it in no grudging manner.

The Government provided by loans for security to the taxpayer, and they also provided protection for the interests in Irish land of all persons other than the landlords. They were bound in some way or another to give those two protection. Hon. Members naturally approached the subject in a spirit of advocates, and were not concerned with the interests of the other parties. The duty of protecting those interests rested on the Government, and he maintained that the admitted difficulty of passing such a measure was increased by the duty of the Government to safeguard them. As he had accepted this great change he hoped that hon. Members would do him the credit of believing that all through he had recognised the burden of responsibility that rested on the Government because this was a revolutionary measure which not only enabled but induced persons to sell a great deal of property which did not belong to them. No one knew exactly the capital value of the other interests in Irish land, but it was a commonplace to say that at least two-thirds or three-quarters of the estates in Ireland were either settled or heavily mortgaged; and taking the value of those mortgages and the prospective value of the settlement, it would not be surprising to learn that out of the £100,000,000 with which they were dealing, the capital value of the property which belonged to other people was greater than the capital value of the owners. Could any Radical or Socialistic Government sell £50,000,000 or £60,000,000 of other

people's property without giving protection in the right of being heard and having full justice done to everybody. The Government therefore had to protect these interests in the Bill and to constitute themselves the guardians and trustees of posterity. They said that looking at the prospect of agriculture in Ireland and the effect of past legislation upon that agricultural prospect, ample protection was afforded if none of this property passed for less than twenty-one years purchase in the case of second-term rents. They were bound to adhere to the bargain in certain cases between the landlord and tenant upon terms suitable to both, but some alternative method to protect other parties had to be devised. It was clear that those interests must be in no degree prejudiced by the passing of this Bill, and they must not be bereft of any protection they now enjoyed. It was equally clear to him that if they substituted some form of protection other than the automatic protection of the zone they could not avoid greater cost and greater delay; for greater cost and greater delay were inherent in any method of protection other than an automatic method. Even under the automatic process it would be possible for a great English corporate body, knowing nothing of Irish affairs except that they had £1,000,000 invested in Irish lands, to obtain the services of the ablest lawyers in the land to see whether the bargains which were being concluded sufficiently protected their interests. But so long as the bargain was a statutory bargain, and, on the whole, was fair, they would lose their case, and nobody else would attempt a like procedure. If they opened the door to bargains of any character, there must be proper protection; and the last thing he desired to do was to penalise persons who chose to avail themselves of this Act. But certain penalties must inevitably attach to persons who availed themselves of the procedure under this Amendment. It would take them longer to get their business through, and it would cost them more to get their business through; and he believed that in a great many cases landlords and tenants would find it to their mutual advantage to adopt the short and cheap automatic process.

He thought that hon. Gentlemen who had studied the Amendments on the Paper would admit that the phraseology upon which he had hit, with the assistance of his legal advisers, was so simple that all persons concerned could at a glance understand what would happen if they adopted this alternative course. They would understand that all persons interested were to have an opportunity of being heard. Of course, "opportunity" meant due warning and notice, and so forth; but he held that the first clause was not the proper clause in which to indicate the extent of such warning. If need be, Clause 21 could be amended; or it might turn out to be preferable to deal with this matter in the rules which must in any case be drawn up if this Act was to be operative. But there was another difficulty. They would have to have another form of procedure. In his opinion they would have to make some alteration in this case in the allocation of the bonus. As the Bill was drafted, if a landlord agreed with his tenantry inside the zone it was assumed that other interests had been adequately safeguarded and posterity was not injured; and, according to the Bill and the Government's intention, the landlord became possessed of the bonus without any trouble in the matter. Where the landlord and tenant decided to take advantage of the alternative course, he thought that procedure could not be properly followed, and the bonus must be put in the pool of the purchase money. Of course the landlord would receive it in the long run if all the claims were satisfied, but he could not have it immediately. The proposals in the Bill were of a very revolutionary character, because, with the protection of the zone, he was prepared to say that there was sufficient protection for other interests, and therefore that the vendor could have the bonus. That was a great inducement, perhaps an undue inducement. It was, perhaps, an incentive to the landlord to be done with the matter on almost any terms and to take the bonus, but he adopted that course because he was anxious that purchase should proceed expeditiously in Ireland. He could not adopt that course where a certain number of bargains

were made outside the zone, but the landlord would not be worse off than he was under the existing law. In these cases he thought the bonus must go into the purchase money.

He saw no grave difficulty in retaining the expeditious method where such bargains did not involve any great amount of purchase money. Supposing a landlord agreed with the great bulk of his tenants inside the zone, and made bargains with ten, fifteen or twenty persons outside the zone, the best course would be to pay the cash difference up to the zone limitation, and then the whole matter could go through in a day, as it would do under the automatic process. In cases where a landlord sold the whole of his property outside the zone, would any hon. Member from Ireland contend that the landlord should take the bonus and leave the other parties interested to struggle for the purchase money. It could not be sustained. It could not be permitted for a moment, and he did not think it put any penalty on the alternative course which hon. Members had suggested. They would minimise delay and seek to make the procedure as cheap as they could, but it would take a little longer and cost a little more. In cases where it was largely employed, and the landlord was not prepared to waive a very small percentage of his bonus for a short time only, probably two or three months, the bonus ought to go into the whole purchase money of the estate. This was a matter of so important a nature and so complicated that he thought it would be better not to proceed at greater length now, but to hear what hon. Members had to say. If they saw any difficulty with the procedure, perhaps before opposing it they would ask for further elucidation, in order to gauge whether one system would be unduly handicapped as against the other. In his opinion it would not be. The Government had gone a long way to meet what he understood to be the view held in common by the representatives of landlords and of tenants in Ireland. They were prepared to sanction this revised concordat between the parties mainly interested. They hailed it as a new testimony to the fact that all classes throughout Ireland desired a settlement of the land question. The danger of united Ireland resolving

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herself into constituent atoms had, he hoped, been avoided. There was one other danger—that of delay; he hoped that also would be avoided. He begged to move.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 15, to leave out the words 'shall not sanction the advance,' and insert the words 'may, subject to the limitations in the Land Purchase Acts, sanction the advance if they are satisfied with the security, and if, after giving all persons interested in the estate an opportunity of being heard, they consider the agreed price to be equitable, having regard to the interests of all such persons as aforesaid.'"—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. JOHN REDMOND said there were two preliminary observations he desired to make. The first was as to a probable oversight. He thought it would be necessary to insert the words "as amended by this Act" after the words "Land Purchase Act," in order to secure the increased limit of the amount of the advance agreed to the other night. The other was that he found it difficult to enter into a discussion at present on the somewhat complicated machinery with reference to the bonus, as sketched by the right hon. Gentleman. That matter would have to come up as a definite Amendment on Clause 14, and the right hon. Gentleman must not take him as agreeing on behalf of his hon. friends to the exact proposal he had made on this point. Their only object in the matter was that in the class of cases referred to the incentive to sell should not be taken away from the landlord. The fear that occurred to his mind was that by dealing with the bonus as the right hon. Gentleman suggested that incentive might be taken away. He was aware that the right hon. Gentleman did not propose to abolish the bonus, but simply that it should be "hung up" pending an investigation of the claims of encumbrancers and so forth. Even that limitation might interfere with the incentive to sell. It was not necessary to discuss the point now; he would simply safeguard himself by saying that when they came to discuss the machinery they

would approach the question with an open mind. Both sides had the same object in view, and he hoped they would be able to come to an agreement by which that object would be achieved.

Then as to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. Under the clause as originally drawn, free bargains between landlord and tenant were absolutely forbidden, as no bargain would be sanctioned unless the tenant paid a certain minimum price. The position of the Irish Party in reference to that provision was that it was monstrous, illogical, and oppressive; consequently, they did all they could, by speech, and by vote, to get the provision taken from the Bill. When, on the matter being discussed, the Chief Secretary adopted what seemed to be an absolute *non possumus* attitude, he took a very serious view of the situation. He honestly conceived that if the Government had said their last word on the question the passage of the Bill was seriously imperilled, and he did not shrink from the responsibility of plainly saying so in the Committee. At the same time, he expressed the hope that the right hon. Gentleman had not said the last word on the question, and he was glad to find that that hope had been justified. The right hon. Gentleman had made concessions which fundamentally altered the clause, and largely removed the objections which the Nationalist Party entertained to it. Under the clause as it would now stand a number of tenants, who he calculated at about half the tenantry of Ireland, would be excluded from the operation of the zone, the only tenants to whom the zone would apply being the judicial tenants, and its relation to them would be fundamentally altered by the present Amendment. The judicial tenants would now be free to make any bargain they liked with their landlord. If the bargain fell within the zone, the purchase would take place without delay or inquiry; if it fell outside the zone, the bargain would be sanctioned just as bargains were sanctioned under the existing Land Purchase Acts—after due inquiry into the security for the loan on the one side, and into the equities of the case on the other. The right hon. Gentleman, for reasons which could be appreciated, had emphasised the question of the inquiry into the equities of the case, but the inquiry would be no more severe, full,

costly or prolonged than the inquiry in every case of purchase under the existing law. He and his friends recognised that in cases of this sort there must be inquiry into the equities of the case and the security for the loan; and they were not at all frightened by the provision. He heartily congratulated the Chief Secretary on the concession he had made, and he also congratulated Irish Members on both sides on having succeeded by argument in inducing the right hon. Gentleman to make the concession. The fact that the Amendment had been pressed by the representatives of both landlords and tenants was a most important consideration. The idea underlying the clause was originally suggested by Lord Dunraven; it had been supported all through by the "Conference" landlords, and he was exceedingly glad that it now had the support of all sections of Irish landlords. He hoped one result of the agreement would be that in the remaining portions of the Bill, where, as far as he knew, there were no vital points upon which differences of opinion or interest arose between landlords and tenants, the same united front would be observed in pressing necessary Amendments upon the acceptance of the right hon. Gentleman. The present Amendment would enormously shorten the discussion on Clause 1, and remove any danger of acrimonious discussion. Of course, the Amendment did not satisfy in full the demand that had been made. The Chief Secretary had met their protest against the existence of this zone, and they were now perfectly free to say that the Government had come half way to meet them, and although the proposed settlement was not absolutely satisfactory to them, it certainly went a considerable distance to meet their wishes. By making this concession he believed the right hon. Gentleman had smoothed the passage of this Bill, and they would reserve for the later clauses a full discussion of the machinery he had suggested.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said he wished to join with the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down in congratulating the Chief Secretary upon having, in a statesman-like manner, found a way out of a very serious difficulty. It was always very difficult to reconcile the diverse interests

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of landlord and tenants, and while on certain points it might be anticipated that there would be acute differences, he thought the spirit shown by the right hon. Gentleman would enable them to feel confident that when those points arose he would recognise the views of both sides, and, looking to the responsibilities which rested upon him, would be able to find an equally satisfactory way out of the difficulty.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he did not wish to mar the happy family arrangement which had been come to by suggesting anything against the Amendment put before the Chief Secretary by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford. That suggestion, in his judgment, would be a fatal Amendment in many cases, because, by inserting the words "as amended by this Act," they would at once import into the Land Purchase Code the whole of the exclusions which the right hon. Gentleman himself had imposed in the previous portion of the clause. This Amendment might be fairly described as Ashbourne Acts *cum* bonus. Under the Ashbourne Acts they might sell a house or other property, but under this Act such bargains and sales would be impossible. He thought some other means must be taken of meeting a point which naturally, on the spur of the moment, did not occur to the right hon. Gentleman. In adding his humble congratulations he asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether he would be wise in involving the Committee in the discussion of a long series of enactments to safeguard the rights of the remainder men and mortgagees on the question of bonus. No doubt the Chief Secretary had correctly stated the view which would be taken of the trust deeds as to the disposition of the bonus, but he wished to point out that his Amendment would fully protect all those people by the addition of a very few words, because what would happen would be that the mortgagees and remainder men would not allow a sale to take place unless they were satisfied and got their share of the swag. The mortgagees and the remainder men would at once say to the tenant for life, "We won't allow you to sell this at all unless you make arrangements with us." He suggested the addition of the words

"and the circumstances of the case." Surely one of the circumstances would be a case where a mortgagee or a remainder man might say if he got £5,000 he would agree to the sale. That would then be a matter taking place in the face of the Court, and there would be no mystery about it, and then the Court could ratify a bargain which had been come to between the parties. Upon this question he was anxious that they should not on the first clause get into a tedious wrangle upon what did not concern them. This was really a matter between the landlords and the owners of the various interests in the estates. Let them settle this matter by some simple words or some provision as to rules, but he hoped they would not lengthen this interminable Bill by further indirect provisions to safeguard interests which he thought could be adequately provided for under the words suggested by the Chief Secretary. In conclusion he wished to say how satisfactory it was to him to have noted the spirit in which the hon. and learned Member for Waterford and the hon. Member for Cork had received the undoubted concession made by His Majesty's Government, and he expressed the hope that these proceedings in their future course would be very much condensed and shortened by the very statesmanlike and admirable course taken by the Chief Secretary.

* MR. DUKE said he should like to join in the congratulation which had been expressed to the Chief Secretary for the course he had taken. He did not express that opinion as anybody's advocate, for he was not required by the circumstances of his own constituency to be the advocate of any party in this great land war which was going on. As an English Member he thought he was entitled to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon the course he had taken. Some few days ago the hon. and learned Member opposite had expressed what was evidently a concluded opinion that this Bill could not work under a cast iron system of zones. It was in that state of the case that his attention was called to the matter by a Member of the landlord class in Ireland, and he was assured that no one would

dispute that upon certain holdings there ought in some exceptional cases to be larger reductions than the zone permitted. He congratulated the Chief Secretary upon having found a way out of this difficulty, and upon having put an increased motive power behind the Bill with a view to the permanent settlement of the land question. As to the disposal of the bonus he did not think it was essential that when an inquiry had taken place, and it had been found that the interests of the encumbrancers and reversioners were safeguarded, there should be a second inquiry to make sure that the money was disposed of in the right direction. He could not help thinking that once the assent of the encumbrancers and reversioners was obtained there would be an end to the difficulty.

MR. DILLON said he joined with the hon. and learned Member for Waterford in the great gratification felt on the Nationalist Benches at the course pursued by the Chief Secretary. Although the Chief Secretary had not seen his way to do all that they asked in the earlier discussion of the Bill, he had gone a great part of the way to meet them; and it would not be fair or reasonable if they did not recognise the spirit he had shown in making that concession, and let him see that in handling the Bill in such a spirit its progress would be a great deal more rapid than otherwise. He accepted without reserve his statement that, in making this concession, he made it frankly and fully and without any reservation. He had specifically stated that he had no desire to penalise in any respect the bargains made outside the zones. In pursuance of that declaration he would ask him to consider, before they came to Clause 21, whether there was any necessity for dealing with the bonus in a different way as regarded cases where sales took place outside the zones and those which took place in the zones. There was no ground whatever for distinction. In the case within the zones it must be a heavily-encumbered estate, and there would be no inquiry before the sale was effected from the encumbrancers. The estate could be sold by the landlord or those entitled to act for him without obtaining any leave whatever,

but the money to be paid would be tied up in Court until the various claims were ascertained. The only distinction that appeared to exist was as to the protection of the mortgagee and the remainder man. In the case of a sale within the zones it was held to be afforded by the limit of the minimum price, and in the case of a sale without the zone it was supposed to be afforded by the legal inquiry. They were both protected by different processes. He only mentioned these considerations now, but he presumed they would have to discuss them more in detail later on. The right hon. Gentleman asked the question—Could anybody maintain that, in the case of a sale under this section, without the zone, the landlord should be entitled to walk off with a bonus and leave the rest to be disputed over by others interested in the estate? That was exactly what was allowed to be done in the case of the large class of tenants excluded from the action of the zone, and in the case of the congested estates. He begged to impress on the right hon. Gentleman that if any alteration of the terms on which the bonus would be handed to the landlord was of such a character as to penalise a man making a bargain outside the zone as compared with inside the zone, that would be to take off with one hand the benefit which this clause gave with the other. The last point to which he wished to draw attention was the inquiry which was to take place as to the minimum price and the protection of all charges on the estate. He understood that the inquiry would be the same as existed under the present law. He gathered from the right hon. Gentleman that it was not to be in any way a more oppressive, extensive, or expensive inquiry, or one calculated to create more delay. If on further examination of the wording of the Amendment any verbal Amendment was found to be necessary, in order to secure that the inquiry should only be such as took place now under the 1896 Act, then they would reserve their right to move that Amendment. Although he had considerable objection to these zones at all, he acknowledged that the action now taken by the right hon. Gentleman revolutionised the opinion

of men who, like himself, had a strong objection to the clause. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman would receive the recompense which ministers who took this course always received in the spirit of reasonableness shown by opponents.

*MR. BUTCHER said that he spoke as an Irishman representing an English constituency, and as one who was sincerely desirous to see the Bill passed into law. He joined in congratulating the Chief Secretary on what he had done to meet the wishes of the Irish representatives. He was tempted to say, in the words of the Psalmist, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." He hoped they might go on in the same spirit in the further consideration of the Bill. He listened with great satisfaction to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, when he expressed his conviction, in which he himself might be permitted to share, that now that the difficulties connected with Clause 1 had been surmounted, there was really nothing in the remaining clauses of the Bill which need cause much controversy or delay. For himself he still adhered to the view he originally expressed, that the general principle of Clause 1 as to zones was sound and valuable in the interest of landlord and tenant. It was of enormous importance, to his mind, that landlord and tenant should be allowed to come together within reasonably wide limits, and that when the tenant bought his holding he should be put at once in possession of it. When they came to deal with the case raised by the Chief Secretary's Amendment, he agreed that more difficulty arose. There were many who thought that it would have been better to have left the zones as they stood, but speaking for himself, he could not help saying that there was considerable force in the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who said that there were exceptional cases which ought to be treated outside the zones, and that provision should be made in the Bill for dealing with them. The Chief Secretary had found a way of doing so. He thought it would be a calamity if this Bill, which was generous to Ireland on the part of the

British Parliament, were to fall through by reason of any want of fair dealing or spirit of conciliation on the part of either landlords or tenants, or their representatives. He believed that danger had been averted, and certainly he regarded the Amendment to be an important one for the purpose of getting over what was a pressing difficulty. He hoped and believed that the Amendment brought forward by the Chief Secretary would have the effect desired, and that it would enable this Bill to pass into law, and not only to pass, but, what was to his mind most important, to pass with the cordial goodwill and co-operation of all sections in Ireland who were interested in the peace and happiness of that country.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) joined in the congratulations to the Chief Secretary for the manner in which he had met the opposition of his hon. and learned friends below the gangway. He thought the Bill had been considerably improved by the Amendments which were now put forward by the Chief Secretary. He considered these Amendments had been properly described by his hon. and learned friend the Member for Louth as rolling into one as it were the land purchase system under the Ashbourne Act with this new land purchase system governed by the zones. There was nothing, therefore, if parties did not choose to agree to bring themselves within the zones, to interfere with their present position. They were in exactly the same position as if this Act had not been passed. That was of considerable importance; it would ensure that the taxpayer would not suffer, and it would facilitate very much the support of those English and Scotch Members who did not affect to understand thoroughly the complications of the Irish land system. These Amendments made it clear that the State would be fully indemnified against the possibility of any loss, or any default on the part of the purchaser under this Act, but he must say that he could not altogether agree with his hon. and learned friend the Member for Louth that the Amendment of his hon. friend the Member for South Tyrone in regard to farms of the

value of £3,000 or £5,000 as the case might be, was unnecessary.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said it was unnecessary now.

*MR. HEMPHILL said if it was unnecessary his observations fell to the ground. The only observation he wished to add was that he reserved altogether his opinion on the question of the bonus until he saw the Amendment in print which the Chief Secretary meant to propose. He thought it would be quite premature now to say that the bonus should be dealt with in a different way where the tenants agreed to bring themselves within the zone, and where they came within the new amended clause.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he joined heartily in congratulating the Chief Secretary on the proposal he had now made. He concurred with those who thought that the Bill was in great danger, but the right hon. Gentleman had found a way out. Undoubtedly there were counties in Ulster—and he spoke for the province of Ulster—where a majority of the tenants were judicial tenants, and if the Bill had passed as introduced, those tenants would have been remorselessly confined within the zones. He thought that would have been a great calamity, and he was exceedingly glad the Chief Secretary had found a way out of the difficulty. But, at the same time, hon. Members had better keep their heads. This question of the bonus was a very serious one. The Chief Secretary the other night in consenting to introduce a clause affecting the non-judicial tenants stated that he would take care that they were brought within the scope of the Bill—that was in order that the landlords should get a bonus and yet not be outside of the old Ashbourne Acts. He was bound to say that if the bonus was to be seriously tied up in any way—he did not deny that some arrangement would have to be come to—one of the great inducements to the landlord to sell would be taken away. Therefore, he hoped the Chief Secretary would give to this question the serious consideration it deserved.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said he wished to say that the statesmanlike and conciliatory disposition exhibited by the right hon. the Chief Secretary had gone a great way to remove any irritation that might have been caused among the representatives for Ireland. He did not think that the hon. Member for South Tyrone need be in the least afraid that they were going to lose their heads about this or any other matter. He must say, for himself, that he was not altogether satisfied with the arrangement, which would still leave the ultimate decision as to the purchase price to the discretion of the Estates Commission, instead of being settled by the parties between themselves. But the Estates Commission would undoubtedly start under more favourable auspices than perhaps any Government Commission had started before in Ireland. Some of them were, however, bound to remember what Government by Board or Commission had been in Ireland in the past. It was only fair to state that it would be the interest and duty of the Estates Commission, as the guardians of the British Exchequer, to exercise a wise discretion as to the bargains which would save the tenants much. They still held that it would have been wiser for the Government and the landlords to have left the bargaining free altogether; but they were all deeply sensible—and in this he was sure he spoke for every Member of the Irish Party—of the kindly and conciliatory spirit the right hon. Gentleman had shown in the enormous concession which he had made on this matter, the more especially as very considerable concessions had already been made in excluding a vast body of tenants from the zones, and also in regard to the abolition of the perpetual rent-charge. He had been happy to hear the hon. Member for York re-echo what his hon. and learned friend said that evening, that once this clause was disposed of—as he hoped it would be during the afternoon sitting—there would be no longer any question of anything like vital conflict between landlords and tenants in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman only acted—as he was sure he was anxious to do—in the same generous spirit as he had done

to the judicial tenants, with reference to the evicted tenants, to the tenants in the congested districts, and to the Irish agricultural labourers, there would be no disposition on these benches to discourage him from obtaining the full benefits of the Act for all parts of Ireland.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said he wished to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the Amendment which he had introduced. The spirit and the actual wording of that Amendment appeared to him to be very much superior to the original Amendment submitted by the hon. Member for Plymouth; and in saying so he did not for one moment wish to forget that he was a representative of an English constituency. The Chief Secretary had said that the English constituencies which were concerned in this matter had agreed to accept the Bill on the understanding that it would work properly. The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman would tend to make the Bill work properly; and therefore every British representative should agree to it. The desire of the landlords of Ireland, all through the discussion, had been to come to an amicable arrangement with the hon. Gentlemen who represented the tenants, because they felt that unless the Bill worked well and satisfactorily, and to the satisfaction of both landlords and tenants, it would be unacceptable. Undoubtedly there were some landlords in Ireland who would have preferred to have the zones alone, and to have every agreement come within the zones; but he might say, on behalf of all the landlords with whom he came in contact, that they cheerfully accepted this Amendment, and on their behalf he heartily supported the right hon. Gentleman.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) said he wished to join in the congratulations to the Chief Secretary on the course he had taken, and to re-assure the hon. Member for South Tyrone that they would not lose their heads over this matter.

Question put and negatived.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.) said that the question to which the Amendment he wished to propose referred had been touched upon the other day, and the right hon. the Chief Secretary seemed to think that he could not advance any further than he had already gone. But it was abundantly clear that Members from all quarters of the House were in favour of extending the benefits of the Act to the large farmers of Ireland. His Amendment was of a very modest character. It was founded on a resolution of the National Convention, and applied to the case of large farms which had been partly used for tillage purposes and partly for grazing or dairying purposes within the last five years. In these cases the limitations should be extended, and the Estates Commission should be empowered to sanction an advance for the purchase of these farms. If the right hon. Gentleman accepted the Amendment he would find that he would be doing no violence whatever to the promise he had made to the British taxpayer when he introduced the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had shown that of the 80,000 smaller tenants in Ireland who had already purchased their farms there had hardly been a single defaulter; and surely if that were the case in regard to the poor tenants in some of the most wretched parts of Ireland, and that they had paid their money readily and cheerfully, there could be no doubt that the large farmers, who had such a great stake in the country, would not become defaulters. Whenever the Irish tenant farmer got fair play and was honestly dealt with, and was not forced into an unfair bargain, he did his level best to carry out his bargain. The question of the repudiation of these bargains was not worth taking into consideration. The honour of Ireland would be the best guarantee for the maintenance of the bargains. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 2, line 21, at end, to insert the words
 ‘(4) Notwithstanding any provisions to the contrary contained in the Purchase of Land Amendment Act, 1888, an advance may be sanctioned under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts exceeding the sum of three thousand pounds or five thousand pounds, as the case may be, to one purchaser where, in the opinion of the Land Commission, it is expedient to make any such larger advance

for the purpose of carrying out the sale of a large farm which, in the opinion of the Land Commission, has been for five years before the passing of this Act mainly used for tillage or dairying purposes.’” —(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

MR. CAREW (Meath, S.) said that unless the advance to the tenants to enable them to purchase were extended, a number of tenants who could purchase under the existing Acts would be excluded from the operation of this Bill. There was no doubt that the purchasing power of the £3,000 and £5,000, the amounts allowed under the law at present, would, under this Bill, be considerably reduced. He took the case of a tenant purchasing under the existing Acts and compared it with the case of a tenant purchasing under the Bill. He took eighteen years purchase as the average purchase price of first-term rents under the existing Acts. A tenant purchasing at eighteen years secured a reduction of 28 per cent. of his rent. The annuity to repay £3,000 advance was £120. Consequently, at eighteen years purchase an advance of £3,000 would reach all tenants whose rents were £166 a year and under. Similarly, under a £5,000 advance, the annuity to repay it would reach all tenants whose rents were £277 and under. Under the Bill he took 20 per cent. as the average reduction on second-term rents, and 30 per cent. on first-term ones. The annuity to repay £3,000 was £95 12s. 6d. A rent on which this represented a 20 per cent. reduction was £119, and 30 per cent. £136 in round figures. Under the £5,000 advance the annuity to repay it was £159. A rent on which this represented a 20 per cent. reduction was £199, and 30 per cent. reduction £227. It consequently followed on the basis of these figures that, if the limits of advance remained as at present, under the £3,000 advance, all first-term rents between £136 and £166, and all second-term ones between £119 and £150, would be excluded from the benefit of the existing Acts. Under the £5,000 advance, first-term rents between £227 and £277, and second-term rents between £199 and £250, would be excluded. It was only necessary to state

such an anomaly to have it rectified. This was not merely a tenant's question, but a labourer's one as well. The tenants whom it was the intention to benefit, were the largest employers of labour in their respective districts. The least service the State could do to the country was to help the large farmer, for by so doing it stayed the tide of emigration. As he desired to see the Bill made law, he would only express the hope that the Chief Secretary would see his way to increase the advances so as to put the tenants, if not in a better, certainly in no worse position than under the existing Acts.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.) said he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment of his hon. friend. Otherwise, every judicial rent of £200 and upwards would, in his opinion, be excluded. He based his calculation on the average number of years purchase, as he did not suppose that rents of this character would be sold at the minimum price, nor did he imagine the maximum price would be paid, and he calculated that a £200 second occasion rent would be the extreme limit that would be covered by the provisions of the Bill as it stood. It was notorious that many farmers in Leinster and Munster, whose holdings were partly agricultural and partly pastoral, would be excluded if the right hon. Gentleman adhered to the present limits. They heard a great deal about Irish emigration, and they heard a great deal from labour representatives about the number of working men in Ireland who were obliged to seek work in England, with the result that they reduced the standard rate of wages, because they increased competition. But if large farmers in Leinster who employed a considerable amount of labour, and also the dairy farmers in the Golden Vale were excluded from the benefits of the Bill, how could the working classes find employment in the rural districts. The benefits of the Bill should not be confined solely to the tenant farmers and the landlords. One of the great advantages of the Bill would be that it would enable large farmers to give an increased amount of employment. He would therefore impress on the right hon. Gentleman the absolute necessity

of accepting the Amendment. The British taxpayer ran no risk. The money would be secure whether it was advanced to a large farmer or a small farmer. His hon. friend had rightly confined his Amendment to farms which were substantially tillage or dairy farms, and had not asked for the inclusion of grass farms. Other hon. Gentlemen might be more interested than his hon. friend or himself in keeping Ireland green to the eye at any rate, and would probably move Amendments to include grass farms. He, however, was not particularly interested in grass farms; and the Amendment was confined to a class of farmers who were a benefit to the country in which they lived.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said he did not find any fault with hon. Gentlemen opposite in pressing their views on the Government. The Chief Secretary, however, stated the other day that he intended to adhere to the position he had taken up on the Second Reading, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not now increase the liabilities of the British taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Bill was not popular on his side of the House, because hon. Gentlemen now found that they were not getting what they bargained for. A change had undoubtedly taken place. Hon. Gentlemen were willing to give £12,000,000 because they hoped and expected that the Bill would be a permanent settlement of the land question. Now, hon. Gentlemen opposite said that it would not be a final settlement. In those circumstances the liability of the British taxpayer ought not to be increased, and he hoped the Chief Secretary would stand firm.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he regretted the speech of his hon. friend; but if he had studied the question his hon. friend would see that there was no question of increasing the liability of the British taxpayer. He had a right to say that, because he also represented the British taxpayer, whose interests he had to consider. But he would entreat his hon. friend not to intervene before he had looked into the matter. He would not repeat the arguments he had already used in favour of

the limits being extended. All he would say was that he believed the landlords of Ireland were universally in favour of the principle of the Amendment, while not committing themselves to all the details.

MR. EDWARD BARRY (Cork County, S.) said he rose to support the Amendment. His constituents were in favour of extending the limit to farms which were partly tillage and partly dairy farms. At the same time he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would draw the line at that, because the large dairy farms employed no labour except such as was required in the shape of dairymen.

MR. WYNDHAM said he desired to intervene at this stage of the Bill for the sake of arriving at a proper definition of these farms. He had consulted his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject, and in his judgment some extension might possibly be made to secure an advance in such cases. The capital amount involved was insignificant when dealing with a problematical loan of £100,000,000. Therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself were agreed that some extension was desirable, but he could not agree to an unlimited extension and he thought £7,000 would amply meet the case. The only other observation he had to make was that he did not think they could profitably discuss this matter when a number of hon. Gentlemen who had opinions on the subject had not put their views on the Paper in the form of Amendments. As the matter of limit was important, he would move an Amendment to make it £7,000, and he engaged before the Committee ended to put down a definition of that to which they intended it should apply. He moved to put in after the words "Purchase Acts" the word "not" and after the words "sum of" to omit "three" and insert "seven," and to omit in the next line "or £5,000, as the case may be," then they could omit "larger" in line 6, so that the clause would read as follows—" (4) Notwithstanding any provisions to the contrary contained in the Purchase of Land Amendment Act, 1888, an advance may be sanctioned

under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts not exceeding the sum of £7,000 to one purchaser where, in the opinion of the Land Commission, it is expedient to make any such advance for the purpose of carrying out the sale of a large farm which, in the opinion of the Land Commission, has been for five years before the passing of this Act substantially used for tillage or dairying purposes." He would prefer to leave the rest of the clause as it stood to be considered on Report.

Amendment proposed to proposed Amendment—

"In line 3, after the word 'Acts' to insert the word 'not,' and after the words 'sum of' to leave out the word 'three' and insert the word 'seven,' and to leave out the words 'or five thousand pounds as the case may be' in line 4, the word 'larger' in line 6."—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN asked whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to include the grazing farms.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, only the agricultural land.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was a very great one, but he would suggest with regard to those lands that were partly tillage and partly grazing land, whether the right hon. Gentleman could not use a word which would be quite plain to the Land Commissioners and call them "mixed farms." Except in the county of Dublin there was no such thing as a pure tillage farm and, according to the phrase the right hon. Gentleman used, a farm of 100 acres in extent, having only thirty acres tilled, would be a tillage farm. He would suggest the right hon. Gentleman in defining these farms should find a word not capable of being misunderstood by the Land Commissioners.

*MR. KENNEDY (Westmeath, N.) supported the suggestion of the hon. Member for North Louth. According to the Amendment as he now read it one third of a farm at least should be tilled. If

that interpretation were correct, outside the county of Dublin there would not be a single farm over 120 acres in extent which would be admitted to the benefits of this Act. What were the limits of tillage? He was a grazier, but he was not speaking on behalf of the graziers. The £7,000 limit put the graziers out of it altogether. They would buy out no grazier for £7,000. [AN IRISH MEMBER: You know nothing about Connaught.] It was very unfortunate that every question which affected Leinster had to be viewed through Connaught spectacles. This question of tillage was not a question of yesterday. Two hundred years ago there was a law in force in Ireland that five acres out of every 100 should be kept under the plough. Would that be regarded as "substantial tillage" within the meaning of this Amendment? Yet it was those farms that employed labour. Who would give employment if they did not? Did the small farmers do it? On those farms there was only employment enough for the family. Did the graziers do it? The men who gave the employment were the large farmers, men who farmed 100 or 200 acres, whose annual rental ran to £200 or £300. It was the farmer who resided on his land and who kept up a permanent staff, not necessarily engaged in tillage, who employed labour. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for North Louth.

MR. WYNDHAM said the last speech had proved the wisdom of his advice that they should take the Amendment as it stood, and then hon. Members who had views on the subject should put Amendments on the Paper. He had no wish to exclude agricultural holdings, but he appealed to the Committee to bring the discussion to a close. They were all agreed as to the exclusion of grazing farms, and they were in substantial agreement as to finding a proper definition to cover agricultural holdings. That definition, however, could not possibly be framed at once, and it was only waste of time further to discuss it.

MR. LEAMY was understood to say that he had been willing that this limit should be increased simply because under the Bill as it stood a large number of his

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constituents would be unable to take full benefit of it, but after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman he was quite prepared to wait.

MR. COGHILL expressed a desire to have the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this Amendment. It would also be an advantage, as there were some questions on which the Cabinet were not altogether united, to have the opinion of the Colonial Secretary.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) thought the announcement of the Chief Secretary entitled him, as a representative of the British taxpayer, to ask two or three questions. The first was, whether the right hon. Gentleman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made any estimate of the addition to the £100,000,000 advance involved in the extension to £7,000. The second was as to the effect of the extension on the bonus. Would it have the effect of diminishing the amount of the bonus which could be assigned to the poorer estates, upon which it was desirable to facilitate purchase to an even greater extent than on the richer estates? The third was whether, supposing the bonus was affected, the right hon. Gentleman intended to increase the total amount of the bonus.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was not intended to increase the bonus. It was impossible to make an estimate of the additional capital involved by this extension; it might possibly be £100,000 or £120,000, but in any case it was infinitesimal in relation to the £100,000,000.

*THE CHAIRMAN suggested that the most convenient way in which to put the question would be for the Amendment to the Amendment to be withdrawn, and then he would put the Amendment in its amended form.

Amendment to the Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. TULLY expressed the hope that no loophole would be left to the grazier through the word "dairying." Many graziers were now taking on cows and

selling the milk to the creameries, and they might come in under the term "dairying."

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB moved the omission of Sub-section (4). He pointed out that since the introduction of the Bill the framework and the principles of Clause 1 had been totally changed, and the state of things to which this sub-section was intended to apply no longer existed. He therefore could not see the use of retaining the sub-section.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 22, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed "That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM thought it would be better to retain the Sub-section, as possibly when the question of the congested estates was discussed some alterations would be made rendering the Sub-section necessary. It had to be borne in mind that these congested estates were not sold indiscriminately to the tenants, but were bought by a State Department; and there was a provision in the Bill authorising expenditure for the improvement of such estates. In the interests of the general taxpayers it was necessary to buy these estates as cheaply as possible, and they could not enact in one part of the Bill that public money should be spent on the improvement of these estates, and in another part put a statutory limitation on the price. He hoped the hon. and gallant Member would not press his Amendment.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he would withdraw the Amendment in view of the statement of the Chief Secretary, but he hoped that if material Amendments were made on Clause 5 the right hon. Gentleman would re-consider the matter.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON, in moving to extend Sub-section (4) to holdings on estates purchased by the Congested

Districts Board, said he had some doubt as to the necessity of the Amendment. The considerations to which the right hon. Gentleman had just referred applied equally to these holdings, and he was sure that the Chief Secretary would accept the Amendment if it was necessary.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 23, after the word 'Act' to insert 'nor in the case of holdings on estates purchased by the Congested Districts Board.'" —(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL pointed out that there might be congested estates outside a congested district.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was willing to accept the Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

MR. DILLON said that, at an earlier stage, he objected to the clause on two main grounds. The first was the illogical and intolerable proposition that a landlord should not be allowed to sell to his tenant at a price on which both might agree. He was glad to say that the Chief Secretary and the representatives of the more rational section of the Irish landlords had agreed to remove that objection, and, in doing so, had met one of the strongest objections to the clause. There remained, however, an objection which he felt bound to mention before the clause was disposed of; for though it had been largely mitigated by the Amendment of the Chief Secretary, it had not been altogether removed. That objection was the retention in the Bill, as regarded the whole body of the judicial tenantry of Ireland, of the two limits. These limits would set up an artificial and totally false standard of the price of land in that country. That standard, in the minds of many, would be, not the minimum price, but, he feared, the mean price of the minimum and the maximum, and that would be twenty-one and a half or twenty-two

years purchase of the first-term judicial rents, and twenty-five years purchase of the second-term judicial rents. What was the present ascertained value of land in Ireland? The average price in 80,000 sales, extending over the last fifteen years, was between seventeen and eighteen years purchase on the basis of first-term judicial rents. Calculating the land stock at a selling price of ninety-two it represented, reduced to terms of cash, sixteen and a half years purchase of the rent. The average price of all the holdings valued for purposes of sale in Ireland in the Land Judge's Court for the year ending the 31st March, 1902, was 17·9. That fact was of special value, because it was based on the valuation of the Land Commission, and therefore acted as a check upon the bargains he had referred to. The Land Commission had to value the farms, and the price worked out at 17·9 years purchase on the average, but in that was included a year of cash ordered to be added in addition to the price estimated by the Land Commission. Therefore the average price put on was seventeen years purchase, and that had to be valued in depreciated land stock. Consequently, the real price was at the rate of fifteen and a half years purchase on a cash basis of the judicial rents. What he dreaded was that this might put into the minds of the Irish landlords the idea that they were entitled to claim these terms in all future sales. The importance of what the Chief Secretary had said to-day could not be exaggerated. He did not estimate the importance of what had taken place simply on account of the particular concession which had been made. What he valued more than that was that a condition of hostility and bitter animosity between the representatives of the landlords and tenants had been altered and changed in a most marvellous degree by what the Chief Secretary had done. He had been regarded by hon. Members as a hopeless irreconcilable, but now he saw light upon the Irish land question, and if the landlords would approach the tenants in the same spirit which had been shown by Irish representatives in the House, and by the Chief Secretary, and if they would abandon the idea that they were to use this Bill in order to get higher prices; if they would approach the

Mr. Dillon.

working of this Bill in that spirit, in his opinion this measure would bring to an end the Irish land war. The importance of what had taken place, therefore, was by no means to be limited to the great concession which the Chief Secretary had granted. It might have far-reaching results, because if the Irish landlords dealt with the evicted tenants in a generous spirit, and if they were restored to their farms upon generous terms—if they approached the sale of their estates in a spirit similar to that displayed in the consideration of this clause, then he thought the day was near at hand when the question would be settled by the goodwill of the tenants and the landlords alike.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he desired to say at once that as Clause 1 was first introduced it would have been impossible for him to vote for it. He asked the Committee to look at what had been accomplished by three days discussion. They had got a £7,000 limit placed in the Bill instead of £5,000, and that would bring in a considerable number of large farmers, who ought not to be excluded from the Bill. They had also abolished the perpetual rent-charge. He thought that was another advantage. He knew there were differences of opinion upon that point in some quarters, but there were no differences amongst the Irish tenants upon that question. Besides this, they had got one-half of the Irish tenantry of Ireland taken out of the zone altogether. The non-judicial tenants numbered 130,000, and the tenants on the congested districts taken outside the zone would count up to 250,000. The great concession made this afternoon would leave the judicial tenantry free to negotiate their bargains either within or outside the zone. That was a considerable achievement, and Clause 1 was now in such a shape that Irish representatives could return to Ireland and endeavour to make this Bill a success.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) said it was only right that an "Outlander" of some sort should have a little say in this matter, especially at this most critical period in the history of the Bill. As it originally stood, this

clause was of such a character that any one disposed to regard it from the point of view of the British taxpayer would have had some difficulty in voting for it. But there had been great transformations. After narrow shaves, and great dangers escaped, the right hon. Gentleman and his Bill had got into smooth waters. That must be a matter for unmitigated congratulation on the part of every one having the interests of Ireland or of the United Kingdom at heart. The attitude which he took up on the Second Reading was one of friendliness to the general purpose of the Bill, with a desire to look critically at the provisions as far as they affected the interests of the tenants; because the interests of the taxpayers were involved in the interests of the tenants. When he spoke of taxpayers he always remembered that there were taxpayers in Ireland, although, of course, the larger portion of the burden would fall upon those on this side of the channel, who were not directly concerned in the negotiations which had taken place. The interest of the taxpayer was wrapped up in the interest of the tenant, because if the conditions imposed on the tenants were in any way burdensome, there was every probability that as years went on difficulties would arise; and if there were not repudiation of a violent character, there might be great hardship, and, therefore, great difficulty in maintaining the financial interests of the Imperial Treasury. An arrangement had been come to after great difficulty, which did secure for the clause the acceptance of those who spoke on behalf of the Irish tenants; and that was a security that, when the Treasury was engaging to spend so large a sum of money, and to risk so large an amount of credit, the desired purpose would be attained—namely, peace, contentment, and prosperity among the different classes in Ireland. It had been quite understood on all hands that here and there landlords and tenants will be found outside the Bill. But that was a small matter compared with the equitable and reasonable relations established between the tenants paying instalments, and the Treasury receiving those instalments. It was satisfactory to those who regarded this matter from his point of view that

those who were entitled to speak on behalf of the tenant-farmers of Ireland accepted cordially, and as a sufficient solution of the question, the proposal as it now stood. His hon. friend the Member for East Mayo, whose remarks had been more critical in their character than those of some of the hon. Members with whom he acted, had spoken of now seeing daylight in that matter, and expressed the hope that this Bill would put an end to the land war in Ireland.

MR. DILLON: Yes, if the landlords act reasonably.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said that was so, of course; but he was bound to say that so far as the landlords in this House were concerned he did not think they had acted or spoken unreasonably in the course of these debates. There had been a corresponding disposition for conciliation not only in the gushing moments of the Conference in Ireland, but throughout the trying tests of these debates on both sides. They must trust that the same spirit would be applied when the Bill became an Act and was put in force. He had said that he and his fellow "Outlanders" had no responsibility in this matter. He was bound to say that they had very little knowledge of what had occurred in the matter, because though they had seen some movements which indicated that there was a shifting of the scenes behind, the curtain had never been lifted. And they did not know at all how, or why, or by whom, the arrangements had been come to, but if the arrangements were satisfactory, although they were not in any way responsible for them, they would join their voices with those of the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Members from Ireland in expressing the earnest hope that the Bill as amended might bring all the blessings which were expected from it.

MR. WYNDHAM thought it was only due to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, that he should express his satisfaction at the words which had fallen from his lips. The right hon. Gentleman did not search too closely into the

intricate secrets of Irish land legislation, but was satisfied with the result of their efforts. He was satisfied to this extent, in the first place, that he could continue an attitude of more than friendly neutrality towards the various controversies which sometimes divided them into different classes in Ireland, and that he could in fact give support to the measure so long as the spirit which prevailed this afternoon did still prevail. The right hon. Gentleman expressed satisfaction, in which he himself shared, at the fact that the representatives of the tenants accepted this clause. The right hon. Gentleman had stated, and he re-echoed his remarks, that the attitude of those who represented the landlords had been a remarkable attitude. It was important that both of those classes should continue to be actuated by the spirit which informed the proceedings of the Land Conference with the result to which they had attained. With that result they might not reach finality in the sense the hon. Member for Stoke-upon-Trent attached to the word, but they would avoid a finality of another character which would have been disastrous to Ireland—a finality of any attempt made by the representatives of the tenants and the representatives of the landlords to meet on one common platform for the good of their common country.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 2.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): Moved an amendment to the effect that the limit should be increased from ten to fifty acres. His object was to give a wider area for the selection of tenants who were to be transplanted from their present bog holdings and put on better land. If they were to take the people out of what had been called the "agricultural slums," and move them on to the grazing lands, there must be a wider limit than the Chief Secretary had inserted in the Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 30, to leave out the word 'ten,' and insert the word 'fifty.'"—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the clause."

Mr. Wyndham.

MR. DILLON said he had an Amendment to the same Sub-section on the paper to leave out the words "acres in area, and five." He wished to say a word on his own Amendment, because it was affected by that now proposed by the hon. Member for South Leitrim. The limitation under this clause was very important, because for the first time there was inserted in a Bill a definition by the Government of an uneconomic holding. But anyone acquainted with the West of Ireland knew that to put the limit in this case at £5-rateable value was absurd. His Amendment was designed to raise the limit to £10, which he thought a very moderate demand indeed. He objected to a limit of £5 being set up, or to any check being placed on the action of the Commissioners in enlarging holdings valued under £10 a year. He would not support the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Leitrim, but he would urge the Chief Secretary to consider whether he could not make an announcement which would render it unnecessary to move his own.

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Member had raised a rather large question here, and perhaps he had in his mind also the similar definition in Clause 5 of a congested estate.

MR. DILLON: They do not necessarily hang together.

MR. WYNDHAM said they did not necessarily hang together, but when he came to that clause they would be able to discuss the limits involved. He would warn the hon. Member that the limits in Clause 5 affected the taxpayers, and put a pecuniary obligation upon them, but he was prepared to say that in this clause the definition did not affect the taxpayers. Indeed, he was not sure that by acceptance of the Amendment less money would not have to be paid than would be paid under the definition as the Bill stood. They had now passed from holdings which were occupied, and they were dealing with land which was unoccupied, and which might be sold to certain classes of people. In drawing up the clause he had had regard to the fact that the amount of untenanted

or spare land was a limited quantity, and there was not enough to go round. If he accepted the hon. Member's words and left out of account the factor of area, there would be a presumption that this additional land, of which they had not too much, should be given to increase any holding worth £10 or under. But some of these holdings were very good indeed. He did not know that there was enough to go round, and the reason which led the Government to adopt this definition was that they should give the benefit of the untenanted land in the first place to those who needed it most. They thought they ought to have regard to the holdings which were indubitably of an undesirable character, and not include holdings from which the occupiers could gain a fair livelihood. He submitted these considerations as reasons for not hastily abandoning the provision in the Bill.

MR. DILLON said what he desired was that tenants whose holdings were under £10 rateable value should get the preference where there was land which they required in the neighbourhood or within reasonable distance. He was perfectly willing to refrain from proceeding with his Amendment for the present to give the right hon. Gentleman time for considering the matter which he desired to see dealt with. He could afterwards move the Amendment in another form.

MR. BLAKE (Longford, S.) said that the whole difficulty would be solved if a preference were given to the smaller holdings in cases where there was not sufficient land to give extensions all round. What was wanted was a system of levelling up.

MR. WYNDHAM said he saw the great force of the argument of the hon. Member for East Mayo, and he would gladly consider the matter before the Report.

MR. TULLY said that the clause assumed that the value of the holding would be 10s. an acre. His Amendment assumed that it would be 8s. an acre, because he knew hundreds of cases in

which the holding consisted of fifty or one hundred acres of bog-land which required to be improved into good grazing land.

MR. WYNDHAM said that all those who knew Ireland would agree that mere extent of land, even if it were bad, was better than a holding that was too small. The tenants often did wonders with such land. Twenty or twenty-five acres were often reclaimed by the tenant and his whole family working at it, and they could make a living from what was formerly uneconomic land. Their first care should be for those whose acreage was so restricted that, no matter how large the family, they could not turn it into an economic holding. He would consider before Report whether he could accept an Amendment, not going so far as suggested by the hon. Member for East Mayo, but in that direction.

MR. TULLY said that after that assurance he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON said he had an Amendment on the Paper to omit from Sub-section (d) the words, "who is not at the date of the purchase the tenant or proprietor of a holding." If these words were retained they would destroy the effect of the sub-section in the case of unhappy tenants who had been out of their holdings for fifteen or twenty years, and who had got a little cottage and a patch of land from a neighbour. That would be strictly called a holding, and the result would be that the Commissioners, when they came to re-instate them under this sub-section, would find themselves unable to act.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 34, to leave out from the word 'apply' to the word 'Provided,' in line 35."—(Mr. Dillon.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."—(Mr. Herbert Robertson.)

MR. WYNDHAM said he saw the force of what the hon. Member said, that a holding might be a mere patch by the

roadside, and he was prepared to consider that matter. He was not, however, prepared to say that he would go the whole length of the hon. Gentleman's Amendment, but he would put down some definition as to what was a holding.

MR. DILLON: Put some Amendment down.

MR. WYNDHAM: I will put some Amendment down before the Report stage.

MR. DILLON: Then I will withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON moved—

"In page 2, line 38, after the word 'made' to insert the words, 'to the legal personal representative of the deceased person, if any, or, if none, then. . .'"

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, London-derry, N.) said that the Amendment would be unworkable. The legal personal representative might have other avocations in life, and might be absolutely unable to take up the land.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said he wished to move as an Amendment the insertion of a sub-section bringing within the category of persons to whom advances might be made "a labourer as defined by the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, and residing upon, or within, three miles of the estate." He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would accept his Amendment, because the labourers were looking forward to getting allotments of untenanted land, and they would be disappointed if they were not enabled to do so, particularly in the South of Ireland.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, at end, to insert the words, '(e) A Labourer, as defined in the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as

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amended by this Act, and residing upon or within three miles of the estate."—(Mr. O'Shee.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said that whatever might be alleged as to the merits of the hon. Member's Amendment, he was quite clear that it could not be properly dealt with until that part of the Bill referring to labourers was reached. He intended when Clause 4, which referred to agricultural labourers, was reached, to put down an Amendment dealing with them.

MR. O'SHEE said that in that event he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.) moved as an Amendment to Clause 2 that an advance might be made to a person who, in the opinion of the Land Commission, would be a suitable occupier for the holding. The Chief Secretary had told them that land was a commodity which was necessarily limited in certain districts. But there were districts in which it might happen that, after persons having prior rights had been satisfied, there was land remaining which was available for the creation of new holdings. Everybody in Ireland was becoming acutely aware of the evils that had been brought on the country by the continuous decrease of the population. It was obvious that while the settlement of the land question in the ordinary acceptance of the term would have important results upon the question of depopulation, inasmuch as it would increase the feeling of security in the country, at the same time it would not directly lead to the creation of more homes. That was the object at which this Amendment was aimed. A great statesman, for whom some of them at any rate had a great admiration, had said that what he was working for was "more homes." That phrase was not then applied to Ireland, but he could say that was what they also desired to work for. During the last fifty years in Ireland there had been a great many fires put out, and he and his friends desired that the smoke of the turf fire

might rise again from as many homesteads as, with due regard to the general economic welfare of the country, might be possible in the future.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, at end to insert the words '(f) A person who in the opinion of the Land Commission would be a suitable occupier of such holding.'"—(*Mr. Hugh Law.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he would point out that Clause 7 of the Bill, which related to the purchase of untenanted land, fully dealt with the subject raised by the hon. Member. Their efforts would work better if they did not concentrate them on one district. Hitherto they had been hampered by dealing with only one estate or holding. He knew the difficulties that had to be faced, but he did not believe they could carry out his scheme if they included strangers from another county. He believed that on the lines of the Bill a great deal could be done, and practical assistance would not be given by adding to the category those persons who had nothing to do with the estate or locality.

MR. O'SHEE supported the Amendment on the ground that the owner of the holding on an adjoining estate might be a useful occupier.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was willing to develop the argument still further. That the son of the holder on an adjoining estate might be a suitable person he was quite willing to admit. He had given close attention to the subject and believed that they must proceed by estates and not work sporadically all over Ireland. It was doubtful whether there would be enough land available for all if the contemplated categories of hon. Members were to be included in the Bill.

*MR. HUGH LAW said he would not press the Amendment if the right hon. Gentleman found, after full consideration, that he was unable to accept it. What he had in his mind was that the son of a small farmer or for that matter of a

large farmer should, instead of being under the necessity of emigrating to America, be enabled, as far as possible, to marry and settle down in Ireland, although not necessarily in the neighbourhood of their fathers' holdings. After all, Ireland was not a very big place, and although it was true that schemes of migration of existing occupiers had not been so far successful, it would be a somewhat different matter to deal as he suggested with the young men who, in the natural course of events, would leave the parent nest and make homes for themselves elsewhere. However, if the right hon. Gentleman felt that the object in view would not be attained by the Amendment he would not press it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN moved an Amendment for the advance to be made to a caretaker of a holding on the estate, or a person who is in occupation of such holding as tenant at will or tenant at sufferance.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, at end, to insert the words, '(e) A caretaker of a holding on the estate or a person who is in occupation of such holding as tenant at will, or tenant at sufferance.'"—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said that under this clause they were dealing with the tenant class, and expressly with those who had ceased to be tenants but had been tenants within five years. He was unable to accept the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB moved to omit Sub-section 2, which limited the advance in respect of any particular farm to £500. He was a little troubled as to the real meaning of the words, but, no doubt in replying to the Amendment, the Chief Secretary would explain them. He thought the whole object of this clause was to give the Land Commission power to deal with a very complicated and difficult question. In such cases it

was obvious that it was not desirable that the amount should be put so low as £500, and he would consequently like to see either no limit at all or an extension of the sum. His own feeling was to entirely omit the sub-section, but in any event there was a very strong feeling that a higher limit should be allowed.

Amendment proposed —

"In page 2, line 40, to leave out Sub-section 2."—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said he thought that perhaps the best plan would be to explain why the Sub-section had been included in the Bill. Clause 2 dealt with persons who had no estate, local or otherwise, on Irish soil, and who had no right under any Land Act, but who would like to become tenant farmers or peasant proprietors under this Bill. There was only a certain amount of land available, and therefore if it were to be handed out in large slices to those who had no right to it, there would not be enough for persons who had a right. Some limitation was necessary, and although it was very difficult to work out the problem successfully, a simple solution was found in limiting to a certain sum the advance to persons having no holdings at all. Assuming the case of a man with a very small holding who wished to increase it from seven to twenty acres, the Government said the new advance should not exceed a certain sum, and in that way they made the land go round further. Whether £500 was a right sum was open to argument, and he thought it would be possible to increase it to £1000.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said the Amendment he now moved was a vital Amendment. Its object was to put the evicted tenants on an equality with the others and not to confine the evicted tenants to an advance of £500 purchase money. As the Committee was aware, as the Clause stood it would shut out the whole of the evicted tenants with a valuation of over £20 a year if the

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advance was limited to £500. Even if the Land Commissioners saw fit to extend the limit to £1,000 it would only admit evicted tenants whose valuation was below £40, and would shut out the rest. He would not labour the point, because everybody who knew Ireland knew that the effect of that would be to leave this delicate and difficult question in a more unsettled and angry condition than it had ever been before. It would inevitably have the appearance of a deliberate policy of vengeance against the very class who naturally had the strongest claims on the sympathy of their brother tenants, because they were the men who had sacrificed their holdings for the sake of their brother tenants. He was quite satisfied neither the Chief Secretary nor the Irish landlords were animated by any such vindictive and stupid motive, and he with confidence commended the Amendment to the right hon. Gentleman's acceptance. He could assure him that if he would accept this Amendment frankly now, he would be sending a message of peace that would give more satisfaction in Ireland than the message he had sent that afternoon.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 40, after the word 'section' to insert the words 'to persons other than those mentioned in Sub-section one (d) hereof.'"
—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DILLON said he attached the utmost importance to this Amendment. After what had occurred he hoped to see the whole of the evicted tenants in Ireland restored to their old holdings. If they desired to affect the imagination of Ireland let the landlords only restore the evicted tenants, and if they would do that they would do more than anything else they could do to assist the passage of this measure. Let them do that and show that there was a general desire on the part of the landlords to close this chapter of war—and open a chapter of peace; and it would affect immediately the imagination of the people of Ireland and do more to make the working of the Act easy than anything else. It was not a question of money; it was a question of

whether the war was to be prolonged or closed. He therefore desired to see before the Committee ended an intention on the part of Irish landlords to, as far as possible restore the evicted tenants to their old homes. This was a most important Amendment, and he hoped it would be accepted.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) understood the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite to restore evicted tenants to their old homes, because the distressing circumstance of their eviction was mainly caused by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The landlords had no objection to restore an evicted tenant to his holding if it was not occupied, but they had the strongest objection to displacing a tenant for the purpose of restoring his predecessor who had been evicted.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he took it the hon. and gallant Member was in favour of the Amendment. The Amendment removed the disability which was in the Bill which applied to evicted tenants and not to other classes purchasing land. All they asked was that the condition of the evicted tenants should not be made worse than that of other people. He knew there was not the slightest feeling among Irish landlords against evicted tenants; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would tell the Committee that no distinction would be made.

MR. WYNDHAM said he appreciated the importance of the point raised, but he could not see how it arose under this clause. He understood that it was desired that as many of these men as possible should return to their homes, and his hon. and gallant friend said that he desired that should be done. His desire would be to facilitate the solution of the question as much as possible, provided that no pressure was used to put in people who were not really farmers. He could accept no Amendment which would have that effect. He had intended to deal with the more important side of this question upon Clause 48, on which he should move at the end of the first sub-section to insert the words—"Provided also that this sub-section shall not apply to the case of a former tenant or his

representative purchasing his former holding." He could not go as far as he was here asked to go. They were dealing with the quantity of land that was available. He was, as he had said, prepared to alter the £500 to £1,000 or £2,000, which would make it possible for an evicted tenant to get an advance to make a start in life. But he could not make any advance to evicted tenants against others.

MR. KILBRIDE understood the effect of the right hon. Gentleman's statement to be that, in the case of the evicted tenants who could not be restored to their former holdings, it would be impossible to give them an equivalent position to that which they had formerly held. The wounded soldiers of the land war must not be prejudiced by anything in this Bill if it was to promote a final settlement. In the case of a man who had had a holding at £100 rental, it would be impossible to put him in a corresponding position. By this limitation, a £100 evicted tenant would be turned into a £50 occupier. The whole case of the evicted tenants would be prejudiced. The main object of the Bill was to put an end to the land war, but if that end was to be achieved the wounded soldiers of the struggle must not be prejudiced by any provision of the Bill. The interest of the average Conservative Member in the Bill was to see the agrarian struggle settled in order that the Imperial interests of England all over the world might be settled. He really could not see why the right hon. Gentleman should refuse to give way on this point and leave to the discretion of the Estates Commissioners the amount to be advanced.

MR. DILLON contrasted the minuteness of the point as regarded the cost of the amount of land involved with its immense importance, from the point of view of public feeling in Ireland. The Chief Secretary was proposing to say to the few tenants it concerned—and it was only a few tenants, but they were the men who had made the largest sacrifices in the course of the struggle—that if he could not restore them to their old homes he would penalise them, and make it impossible for the Commissioners to give them holdings as good as those from

which they had been evicted. There were probably only a dozen or fifteen such men who would not come within the terms of the concession which the Chief Secretary had announced, but they were men who had a great hold on public opinion in their districts, and whose punishment would arouse the bitterest possible feeling. But what was it all for? The British taxpayer was not involved. The land was to be sold to somebody, and the British taxpayer would make the advance, no matter to whom it was sold. Moreover, the landlords had no objection. The sole point, according to the right hon. Gentleman, was that he had only a certain quantity of untenanted land, and that it would be a great mistake to give a large portion of that land to one man because he was an evicted tenant. He was influenced, not by the landlord's interest or the interest of the Treasury, but simply by a desire to do good to the Irish people. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to be guided in a matter of this kind by local opinion. No doubt this was a matter of sentiment, but he did not suppose there were more than 1,000 or 2,000 acres of land in dispute, and he was confident that the right hon. Gentleman, on consideration, would see that this was a matter vital in importance.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, he would like to be allowed just to call to the mind of the Committee exactly what the Amendment meant. An overwhelming majority of the evicted tenants in Ireland were men who could be restored to their old holdings. The Chief Secretary had promised an Amendment which would deal satisfactorily with 99-100ths of these men. But there remained the one section of men whose farms had been "grabbed." Even of these cases the great majority would come in under the limitation of the right hon. Gentleman, and so it came to this, that they were now standing out for a limitation which would hit only a handful of men in Ireland. But in order to exclude these few men what were the Government going to do? They were going to leave a sore in Ireland which would not only have an evil effect in the localities where the men resided and where they were known, and where their old farms were, but also in-

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flict injury on every part of Ireland, cause irritation all over the country, and militate against the chances of the Bill being satisfactorily received and worked. What were they doing it for? The Irish landlords had no interest in the matter—they were perfectly content that this handful of men should be treated on the same basis as the rest of the evicted tenants. Then in Heaven's name what did the Government mean by it? Why were not these men to be treated on the same basis as the rest of the evicted tenants? There was no substance in the case of the right hon. Gentleman. He could give way on this point and admit these men without injury to his Bill and without imposing any more liabilities on British taxpayers. It would be like losing the ship for a pen'orth of tar if they imperilled the Bill on this point. He could not conceive that the right hon. Gentleman would have any difficulty in giving way. He knew he was quite sympathetic on this evicted tenants question. He asked him not to stand on the mere symmetry of the clause; but to make this small concession which would be received, although so small, with even more satisfaction than the large concession given earlier in the evening. It might be a question of sentiment; but they could not leave sentiment out of the settlement of a question of this character, where they were trying to put an end to a social war and to bring classes together. He hoped, under the circumstances, the right hon. Gentleman would make the small concession they desired.

MR. BLAKE said the purpose of this Bill was to create a sentiment of concord and conciliation in Ireland, but the right hon. Gentleman had declared that for reasons the force of which he quite appreciated he was unable to meet public opinion in this particular matter now at issue. That was extremely unfortunate, but if these people could not be restored to their own homes, they ought so far to be placed in the same position, that no pecuniary limitation should interfere with their getting holdings equivalent to those from which they had been evicted. He hoped these tenants would not be made the worst of their class. He thought it would be the height of

unwisdom to mar the spirit and sentiment upon which this Bill depended by making thirty or forty martyrs and so many sources of disaffection without any question of the British taxpayer being involved. The least that could be done was to permit the new home to be of the same economic value as the old one. The number of persons affected was small, but the sentiment of the country was solid upon this question, and he implored the Chief Secretary to have regard to that sentiment and not mar the settlement of this question with a condition which one could not appreciate as being anything substantial at all.

*MR. HEMPHILL appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to accept this Amendment. If the Committee had a free hand they would almost to a man vote in support of it. This proposal merely gave a discretion to the Land Commission to sell at the limitation price and to sell parcels of land to evicted tenants who could not be reinstated in their old homes. There was a provision to enable evicted tenants whose farms had not been occupied by other tenants to be reinstated. The object of this proposal was to give the Commissioners a discretion in regard to giving this land to men who had been driven out of house and home. There was no reason at all for making that invidious distinction. Under this clause they had authorised the Commissioners to sell to an evicted tenant a farm up to a certain limit, and by a subsequent clause they enabled evicted tenants to be restored to the farms which happened to be vacant. This third class of evicted tenants, who did not amount to more than twenty or thirty in the whole of Ireland, they were dealing with were a class whose farms had been taken by land-grabbers, and who were most anxious to be restored to their position of respectable tenant farmers, but who would be excluded if this Amendment were rejected.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND hoped the right hon. Gentleman would meet the view of Irish Members on this matter because it was really a very small question. He had taken the trouble in view of this debate to get a Return of the number of evicted tenants in the

county he represented, and the number was not very large. He doubted if a single one of those tenants would be affected by the point under discussion. He was equally certain that there were districts where a good deal of bad feeling would be created if a single evicted tenant was not included in the benefits of this Act. It was a very small matter, but it was one which would leave a good deal of trouble behind if it was not dealt with. The question of evicted tenants was one upon which a great amount of attention had been concentrated, and if it was found that any large number of evicted tenants were made to suffer under this Bill, it would have the effect of making other tenants hold off in the hope that they might be able to get better terms for those who had fought their battles. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not make up his mind adversely, and if he was not prepared to accept the Amendment at the present moment, perhaps he would undertake to inquire for himself and see if he could not verify the statements which had been made.

MR. WYNDHAM said he attached great importance to this question. Otherwise he should not have gone as far as he had done and suggested that the limit should be extended to £2,000, nor should he have drafted an Amendment on Clause 48 which would admit of any man who had lost his holding returning to it. The question was not as simple as some hon. Members would have them suppose. They had in mind some definite class of men. His Bill dealt with all persons who had lost or surrendered their holdings during the last twenty-five years, and it would be invidious if the Government were to endeavour to select out of those who had lost their holdings for reasons good, bad, or indifferent, during that period, a limited number. His effort had been to draw no distinction—let bygones be bygones—in putting facilities before those who had lost their holdings, to put the same facilities before all, and to give the same facilities to those who had lost their holdings as were given to other persons in Ireland who had farms which were not adequate to support their existence. There was

nothing vindictive or invidious in that. There was nothing in that which raised up a single memory of the bitter and unhappy past. The hon. Member for Clare had said that it would be regrettable if one evicted tenant were excluded from the benefits of the Bill. His words, perhaps, went somewhat further than his meaning. No evicted tenant was excluded from the Bill. But if they were to go up to a higher value than £2,000 there would be very great danger that some evicted tenants might be excluded from the benefits of the Bill. The amount at the disposal of the Government was limited, the classes to be relieved were many. Their means were small, their needs great, and he could not take the responsibility of asking the Committee to go further than he had indicated—viz., where it was possible to reinstate a tenant in his old holding to allow him to have the benefits which others enjoyed; but where it was not possible let him take his holding on equal terms with all other persons who sought the benefits of the Act, and come in on a scale which was higher than he had originally intended, and which would be dangerously high if he increased it to the exclusion of many who deserved to have their needs attended to, and, he believed, many of the evicted tenants.

MR. KILBRIDE said he remembered a speech upon this question delivered two or three years ago by the hon. Member for South Ty. one, when he commenced his compulsory sale and purchase agitation. He did not pretend to quote the hon. Member accurately. What he meant was that he did not mean to quote him verbatim, but he intended to give the substance of what he said. The hon. Member stated that the landlord forgot the days when he was responsible for starting the Land Trust Company, and that was the medium through which evicted tenants were enabled to become occupiers. The Chief Secretary spoke about the amount of money being limited, but how much money would it take if he abandoned the £2,000 limit? Was he going to allow twenty of the wounded soldiers in the land war to continue in their present position because they were more active and more in the front of the

battle than other people? Was he going to continue to make them believe that the landlords of Ireland had succeeded in inducing him to continue to persecute them? That would be the result if the right hon. Gentleman persisted in refusing to accept this Amendment. He was sure that later on, when the right hon. Gentleman came to the section he had indicated his intention to amend, he would have in the meantime changed his mind.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary whether he could see his way to inquire for himself how many evicted tenants there were who could not be restored to old holdings of over £100, and who would be excluded from the benefits of this Act as it stood.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that he had been reproached for not having spoken on this subject. He refrained from speaking first of all because the subject under debate did not very much concern the part of the country he represented, and he therefore left the discussion to those who were likely to be interested. He wished to say at once in justice to the Land Conference that he agreed there should be a settlement of this question, and he desired frankly to associate himself with hon. Members opposite in their contention. If he had not spoken it was because he did not wish to impede the progress of the Bill in a matter in which his own constituents and the province of Ulster were not largely concerned. It was perfectly true that in days gone by, when he thought proceedings were going on in Ireland which were not a credit to anybody, and which he thought were illegal, he took a strong line. He did not wish to go back on that. He desired to draw a sponge over those bitter memories. He did not think this was a large question, but he confessed that on the whole the words of the clause gave a chance of opening up a very great question because there was no definition of what an evicted tenant was save that he was a man evicted during the last twenty-five years. That was not the sense in which they understood the evicted tenants question. What they understood was that an evicted tenant was a man

Mr. Wyndham.

who had suffered during the prolonged agony of the land war, and to-night he desired to start with a clean slate on the question. He was with his hon. friends opposite, and he trusted that in the interests of peace and good feeling this open sore would not be left to mar the Bill.

*MR. CHANNING said he wished to make an explanation. The Chief Secretary had indicated that he was prepared to accept the principle of the two Amendments he had on the Paper to enlarge the £500 limit to £1,000, and similarly £1,000 to £2,000. He wished to explain to his hon. friends from Ireland that he had placed these Amendments on the Paper with the fullest intention of endeavouring from the point of view of an English Member to cover the case of the evicted tenants, the one point to which he attached almost more importance than any other in the Bill. He did not care to propose these Amendments now, as they might act in a restrictive sense. He thought the speech of the hon. Member for Cork and his Amendment did represent what was a fair and just line in dealing with this question. He most warmly supported as an English Liberal the demand that this open sore, which though small was irritating, should not be allowed to fester and create further trouble in the settlement of the Irish land question.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said he entirely reciprocated the spirit in which the hon. Member for South Tyrone spoke as to the desirability of not mentioning those controversies associated with the past in the land struggle. Really, the reason they were pressing on the Government this apparently small point was the desire that a new chapter in the land question of Ireland should be opened in that spirit. He did not wish to use any language which might appear to be too strong, but at the same time he could not but impress upon the Committee the enormous importance to the future of Ireland of this comparatively small point with which they were dealing. In all wars there was a point of honour, which though

apparently small itself had really infinitely larger results upon the future of the reconciled foes than many other points of greater magnitude and importance. The question of the evicted tenants was to the people of Ireland something like the exchange of prisoners in a campaign. The people expected the Irish representatives to see that these men were rescued from the position in which their patriotism and their desire for the good of their fellow tenants had landed them. The large holders who were evicted were a class who were entitled to appeal to them more strongly than those who had risked small amounts. Many of the smaller holders were face to face with chronic starvation, and if they risked their holdings they ran a comparatively small risk, but the large farmers in many cases were in a comparatively comfortable position. They were ready to risk, and in many cases to lose, good homes and farms in order to improve the position of their poorer brethren. It would be a shame on their part to desert these men. That was the feeling of the Irish people in regard to this matter. The spirit in which this Bill was received in Ireland would have a large amount to do with its success when it came into operation. The fight they had made on those benches had been inspired by the feeling that unless this Bill had the active co-operation of all forces in Ireland it would not have the great results they all desired it to have. They felt that if this question remained unsettled there would be a feeling of dissatisfaction, and, what was more, a feeling of strong and bitter indignation, which he was sure would have very serious effects indeed upon the future working of the measure.

That was the question from the sentimental point of view. Now he came down to concrete facts. The Chief Secretary seemed to be under the delusion that this was in point of numbers and money a large question; it was nothing of the kind. He thought he could count on the fingers of his two hands all the men to whom this question would apply. There were a few on

the Luggacurran Estate, the Massereene estate, and the Clanricarde Estate. The Clanricarde Estate was a synonym for the fiercest aspect of the land war in Ireland during the last twenty years. There were 100 families evicted there, and they were still evicted. But there were just two of these families who would come under the Amendment with which they were now dealing. He took the Clanricarde Estate because there the landlord was most exacting in his demands and cruel in asserting them, and there the tenants made the strongest opposition. The right hon. Gentleman was giving to Ireland a great and revolutionary measure of reform. He was sending to Ireland a mighty message of peace; and was it worth while to deface and destroy to a large extent the kindly feeling and sense of relief with which the Irish people would see the end of this struggle of centuries, by excluding from the benefit of the Act two families on the estate in Ireland which had been the scene of the fiercest and wildest controversy? On the Luggacurran Estate there were six or seven families who were affected by this Amendment. That was the estate of the Marquess of Lansdowne, a member of the Ministry, and one of the men responsible for the introduction of this Bill. He was sure the noble Lord was most desirous that it should pass into law. He was a man of sense, judgment, and tact, and he did not believe that he would for a moment say that these six or seven tenants were to stand between Ireland and a satisfactory settlement of the question. He did not know what the figures were in regard to the Massereene Estate, but he knew that there was great bitterness of feeling on that estate, and he knew also that as long as there were some people not settled that part of the country would remain in a discontented condition.

And, it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this Evening.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

Read the third time, and passed.

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 40, after the word 'section,' to insert the words 'to persons other than those mentioned in Sub section one (d) hereof.'"—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.) who was almost inaudible in the Gallery, was understood to say that he supported this Amendment. In the constituency which he had the honour to represent there were 100 families, the whole of which, with the exception of two, would be included in the operation of the Bill. Under the circumstances he appealed to the hon. Gentleman not to leave any source of trouble, but give the Bill every chance of fair play by accepting the Amendment.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said the point that the Committee were now on was of very considerable importance, but was, at the same time, in itself a very small point. He was inclined to think there had been some misunderstanding with regard to the position of the Chief Secretary, who did not wish to sever Class D from Classes A, B and C. He was thoroughly in accord with that; it would be the greatest possible mistake to make a definite distinction between those four classes, each of whom it might be desirable should hold untenanted land in Ireland. But although these four classes ought to be treated as one, there were a good many reasons why, in each of these classes, very much larger holdings might be granted to

various persons. It was perfectly clear that on some estates there would be very little land available, and it might be inconvenient to have laid down in the Bill anything by which persons got more land than the limits laid down by the Bill. But he could imagine an estate which had a considerable amount of land to dispose of. For instance, they might have the demesne land. A man might want to go out of Ireland altogether, and wish to sell his demesne—he hoped that such a thing would not occur, but it might, and there would then be a considerable amount of land to be disposed of—it would therefore be very convenient if the Land Commissioners or the Estates Commissioners should have power to very considerably exceed the limits laid down by the Bill for advances to tenants of each class. He made no distinction between them, and much disliked such a distinction being made in the Act of Parliament.

Class D is the one of which hon. Gentleman opposite thought most, and they would consider that the most important part of this Bill was that they should be satisfied. He could imagine a case where they had a very good tenant on the holding, and where they had a considerable amount of land which they were going to cut up into small holdings. The owners of those small holdings would be labourers. No one would suggest for a moment that they would be able to live out of their holdings, and they would have to seek work elsewhere. Labour was a very important item in Irish economy. Now in cutting up these large pieces of land which fell in to the Commissioners, they would create a considerable body of labourers, and it was desirable therefore that there should be persons round about who could give employment to them. The only person who could do that was what was called in Ireland the strong farmer, and therefore the wisest discretion that the Estate Commissioners could exercise would be to create in the middles of these tracts two or three good-sized farms, which they could grant to substantial persons, and it might well be that a tenant or a son of a tenant who had a holding on the estate would be one of the best persons to whom the

Land Commissioners could give a large holding on the estate which had fallen into their hands, which must be allotted to somebody; therefore there were two classes who might easily be made tenants of such large holdings.

The Class B tenants might also be excellent persons to take a large farm, but on the whole it was not likely that they would be. The tenant in Class C was in the position of a small farmer, and it was possible that he might not be able to take a large farm; but taking the extreme case, he might have a large capital or he might be a man more skilled in his occupation than many holding similar holdings, and in that case it might well be that he would be a proper person to allot a large farm to. Then came Class D itself. The man who was in Class D was a large farmer and not a suitable person to put upon a small farm. Every man in Ireland was a farmer, and everybody knew perfectly well that a man who was accustomed to cultivate a small farm was not a likely person to cultivate equally well a large farm, and in the same way a man who was accustomed to cultivate a large farm was not the best person to put to cultivate a small farm. If they had a considerable amount of land on their hands they were not so careful as they ought to be about their fences, and they were not likely to be as careful when growing large crops as the man who was in the habit of growing small. If this scheme stood exactly as it was upon the Paper, the person who had been a large farmer would only be able to become a comparatively small farmer. The limit of purchase was £2,000, and that was not likely necessarily to place him in anything like the position that he had been in before, and assuming that he had retained his old experience he would not be able to carry on his business in the same style as he had been previously accustomed to carry it on. He did not for a moment overlook the sense of soreness that might exist in these districts of Ireland on the part of those persons who by the Act itself were prevented from being placed in the position they were before, but he was a little surprised to hear that the number of them was so few, and it was exceedingly satisfactory to know that so few would be left out

of the Bill. But the effect of it would be to leave a soreness in future, and while the point in dispute was small and trivial, it was an item not to be left out of the account. Their object was to prevent any feeling of soreness. The particular Amendment they had under discussion was at the beginning of the second Sub-section of Clause 2, which related to the advances that might be made and to make this exception: "After 'section' to insert 'to persons other than those mentioned in Sub-section 1 hereof.'"

The objection to inserting those direct words was that it made a distinction between Class D and Classes A, B, and C, and to that distinction he objected. In his opinion this Amendment was a mistake. They wanted the Bill to work, and having regard to what he had previously said he thought the Land Commissioners ought to be able to make advances to any extent they thought fit, under exceptional circumstances, to members of any one of these Classes A, B, C, and D. The actual effect of that, so far as the landlords were concerned, would be to increase the number of purchasers. They gave to the landlord another class to whom they could sell, which in itself was a benefit to the landlord. It was, therefore, a direct advantage to the landlord, but the suggestion that he would make to the Chief Secretary was this—he would not at this moment suggest any special words, and it would be unreasonable to ask the right hon. Gentleman to do so either, but he would suggest that a general power should be given to the Land Commissioners, under exceptional circumstances, to increase the advances throughout the whole of these classes, and that the Amendment should be withdrawn on an undertaking by the right hon. Gentleman that he would, before the Report stage, consider this matter and place upon the Paper an Amendment giving power to the Land Commissioners to travel beyond the limitations laid down in this clause.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said they had heard the speech of the hon. Member with considerable satisfaction. The concessions which the right hon. Gentleman had made with regard to this Bill were very great, and extremely little was now

Mr. Herbert Robertson.

necessary to make the settlement complete, but he would point out that there was considerable danger of a wide-spread feeling of bitterness and disappointment being created where the right hon. Gentleman, if he chose, could create wide-spread satisfaction. He could not too strongly impress upon the Chief Secretary the fact that this was exactly one of those questions which went to the very root of Irish feeling and which might have a very serious effect indeed on the spirit in which this Bill would be received, and might endanger the result of the conciliatory efforts of the last six months. He would remind the Chief Secretary that the Land Conference came to the unanimous conclusion that an equitable settlement of the evicted tenants question was an indispensable condition of success. The speech to which they had just listened proved conclusively that there was no objection to this Amendment on the part of the landlords; and it would be ten thousand pities if the settlement was marred by a provision which would add insult to injury in the case of these small numbers of evicted tenants. It ought not to be beyond the wit of man to find some compromise; and he believed his friends around him would not find much difficulty in closing with the hon. and learned Member's suggestion that the Estate Commissioners should be empowered to make additional advances in special and exceptional circumstances, and in all categories. He was not in the least disposed to be unreasonable. They recognised that the Chief Secretary had realised the importance of this question, and that he had already made important concessions; but he would beg the Chief Secretary to complete a good day's work by deferring to Irish opinion on this matter, remembering how splendidly the Irish people had behaved in reference to the whole of this settlement.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he joined entirely in the spirit which animated the speech of the hon. and learned Member for South Hackney. He wished to endorse very much what had been said; and hon. Gentlemen opposite would thoroughly understand that those who represented the landlords' interest had no spirit of violent antagonism. Although this question seemed simple on the surface it was really complicated. They

had to recognise that if the scope of the Bill was increased to meet the case of men whose holdings had not been occupied that would create a new grievance on the part of those tenants whose holdings were occupied, because they could not take advantage of the Bill. His view was that it would be far better to withdraw the Amendment, if the Chief Secretary was prepared to look into the matter, and see whether it could be dealt with in a spirit of justice and fair play to the men who had exercised their legal rights, and were in occupation of holdings others now wanted to resume.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he appreciated to the full the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth, who was really anxious to see justice done all round. The hon. and learned Member for South Hackney had made a suggestion which, if adopted by the Chief Secretary, would enable them to find a way out of the difficulty. He hoped the Chief Secretary would accede to the request made on behalf of the Irish landlords—viz., that there should be given a discretionary power to the Estate Commissioners to exceed the limits in special circumstances.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had been very much impressed by the speeches made on this question, not only by their matter, but also by their tone and tenor, and by the evident desire of everyone to settle the question in such a way as to make it a real settlement. But he would ask hon. Members on both sides of the House to realise that, oddly enough, he, who was responsible for the Bill, spoke on each point which arose under certain disabilities—possibly because his attention had been so absorbed by the Bill during the last few months, that there rushed into his mind many points which might be affected by a hasty decision on any one point. He had endeavoured, according to the facilities at his disposal, to deal with this question impartially, and that might have led him to take too rigid, too economic a view when he was asked to dispense so large areas of Irish land. Perhaps the most burning question in Ireland was the increase of holdings which were too small; and when

other questions were brought before him, there was a tendency on his part to be niggardly in respect of squandering the acreage of Irish land available for that purpose. But a purely practical view was not always the wisest view. The hon. Member for Cork said that this evicted tenants' question was made a cardinal feature in the Conference Report; and the hon. Member for South Hackney, and the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth, on behalf of the landlords of Ireland, said: "We admit your difficulty, and, as far as we are concerned, we do not wish to stand in the way of a full settlement of the question." They dwelt on the necessity of allowing nothing in the Bill to bring pressure to bear directly or indirectly on men who had taken up holdings which others had left, and to that he agreed. It was with regret that he could not accept the Amendment. But, having said that, might he add that it must be evident to all who had listened to the discussion that it had tended more and more to become a conflict between the point of honour maintained by hon. Members opposite, and the question of principle maintained by himself? Conflicts of that kind were apt to become prolonged and acrimonious, and to swing further and further away from the practical issue. He understood the point of view of hon. Members opposite. It did not affect the taxpayer, or the mortgagee, or the landlord; to that he agreed. But he was entitled to say, also, that it did not affect the tenant who now occupied a farm from which somebody had been evicted. Whom, then, did it affect? It affected all parties in Ireland to whom it would be very expedient and desirable that further accommodation should be granted. That had been present to his mind throughout these debates. He had insisted, and must continue to insist, upon the equal treatment of men in all the categories in Clause 2. If any settlement was to embrace the point of honour and the question of principle, there must be equal treatment meted out to all those who ought to be given, if it could be managed, greater opportunities for carrying on the industry of agriculture in Ireland.

In dealing with the category of those who once had an occupying tenancy in land, and had lost it, they

must not stop to inquire for what reason, or under what circumstances they had lost their tenancies. They could not pick out here and there those who were misguided, others who had been fraudulent, and others who had been misled. If they did that they would be raking up the past. They must not look beyond this: that it was desirable, if they could, to give these men another chance. There must be inside the category those who had been evicted from or who had surrendered their holdings in despair and had gone to America, and afterwards come back. There must be equal opportunities given to all, and there should be no line or phrase in the Bill which would give an advantage in the race of life to any set of men over another set of men. If that were so, and that had been the consideration which had determined the Clause as it stood, surely hon. Members from Ireland would agree that the problem was a difficult one, and the hon. Member for Cork would not ask him now, after an hour-and-a-half's debate, to improvise an alternative plan to the one he had constructed in order to meet all the difficult points. He had present to his mind cases other than those dealt with in the Clause in which it might be desirable to enlarge the scheme. Take the case of removing a certain number of small men to untenanted land, and setting them up within reasonable limits with holdings of fifteen or twenty acres. It might be eminently desirable to induce one large farmer to move in order to give employment to the sons of these small men, and it would be a pity, he frankly admitted, if such hard and fast lines were introduced into the Bill as would prevent him holding out a sufficient inducement to the large farmer to move. Again, he would take another case laid before him by his colleagues on the Congested Districts Board. In the far west of Ireland it was not easy to get the poorest men on the worst holdings to undertake the, to them, great adventure of moving into better holdings at higher rents. One might demonstrate to them that another farm on a purchase instalment of £10 or £12 a year would be a much better bargain for them than their present holding at 30s. or £2. They dared not face the risk; they would not move;

Mr. Wyndham.

they would sooner give up the battle of life than take his word, or the word of the Congested Districts Board, that it would be wise for them to go into a far-away country among men they had never seen, and undertake an obligation far heavier than any they had before borne. It was therefore better to induce the big men to move, so that the small men around them might have their holdings extended. But it was necessary to offer these big farmers an equivalent elsewhere, and if he adhered to the absolutely rigid limits laid down in the clause, he would be very much hampered in his efforts to cure this disease of congestion. He could not undertake to accept the Amendment, or to announce that night a policy of his own. He would reconsider the matter, and see whether it would not be a wiser manner of carrying out the policy he had at heart to give some discretion to the Estates Commissioners, in certain circumstances, to admit exceptions, when it was for the general good of the community. He did not wish to deceive the Committee by promising more than he could fulfil. To extend the opportunities afforded by the Bill would naturally add to the difficulties of administration; the more people to whom they gave those opportunities the harder it would be to carry on the work rapidly. When he came to deal with the question, he would ask the representatives of all classes in Ireland to bear in mind that the amount of land available for the purpose was not unlimited; and the claims for the equitable distribution of that land among those who stood in need of additional land to enable them to fight the battle of life must receive, and would receive, his most careful consideration.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said he was sure that the Irish people would be satisfied with the tone, temper, and spirit of the Chief Secretary's speech. He had not the slightest desire to coerce the right hon. Gentleman to improvise a plan for enlarging the powers of the Estates Commissioners in dealing with the evicted tenants, and, therefore, he had great pleasure in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Question put, "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill," and agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR moved to insert after "owner," in line 13, the words, "who for five years prior to the passing of this Act has been resident for more than six months of each year in Ireland." His object was to confine the benefits of the clause to resident landlords. This clause enabled a landlord to sell his demesne for hard cash, and to buy it back on credit. That was a very large concession to the landlords, the object being to encourage them to remain resident in Ireland. But at the same time they ought not to enable absentee landlords by a transaction of that kind to make a large sum of money by re-selling his demesne for cash after he had re-purchased it on credit. That would only be a premium on absenteeism. They did not want to put more money into the pockets of those landlords who drew large sums from Ireland, spent the money elsewhere, and never contributed a farthing towards the encouragement of local industries, or for the improvement of the condition of the people. There were landlords drawing £10,000, £15,000 and £20,000 a year from Ireland who had not been in the country for twenty-five or thirty years. Lord Clanricarde, for instance, had not set foot in Ireland since 1873, yet all that time he had been drawing £25,000 yearly from the country, and he had absolutely refused to give one farthing back. He desired that the cases of these men should be separated from the case of genuine resident landlords. He only asked the Committee to accept the principle. He was quite willing to agree to any Amendment to vary the term of six months mentioned in his Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 13, after the word 'owner' to insert the words 'who for five years prior to the passing of this Act has been resident for more than six months of each year in Ireland.'"—(Mr. T. P. O'Connor.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*SIR JOHN COLOMB pointed out the difficulty of defining who was a non-resident landlord. The hon. Member, of all men, ought to remember the large number of Irishmen whose brilliant

careers in the Army, the Navy, the Diplomatic and Consular Service and the Civil Service made it impossible for them to spend half the year in Ireland. Were these men to be penalised because they had not remained idle at home? The Amendment could hardly be seriously intended, and he hoped the Committee would be allowed to proceed with the discussion of more important questions.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that the principle of the clause ought to be conceded, although the State ought not to lend money to men who did not need it or ask for it. There were not very many of these distinguished soldiers, sailors, and diplomats mentioned by the hon. and gallant Member who had demesnes in Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Oh, yes, there are. There are two close by my place.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL doubted if there were many of that class who wanted the money. If the principle of the Amendment were approved they ought to modify the provision as to the six months' residence every year.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I am quite willing to lessen the period.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL was glad to hear that. He was simply contending for the principle, and under the circumstances he would be inclined to support the hon Member's Amendment.

MR. DILLON said this was a very important Amendment so far as the principle was concerned. The Chief Secretary had dwelt with great force on the scarcity of land which would be at the disposal of the Estates Commissioners for the purpose of enlarging holdings. Now, there were in Ireland a considerable number of derelict estates and demesnes, and it would be deplorable if they were prevented from the possibility of passing into the hands of the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board. What had occurred in the case of the Dillon Estate? Neither Lord Dillon nor his father had ever used the residence on that estate, and he doubted if they visited it more than once in ten years.

Very wisely, when he had the chance Lord Dillon sold the whole estate, and part of the demesne was used by the Congested Districts Board for the purpose of enlarging the holdings of the surrounding tenants. The next result would be that the poor tenantry would have no chance at all. Was that a reasonable use to put public money to? He considered the concession of allowing the landlords to sell their demesnes for their full cash value and purchase them back again was a very big concession. He, however, did not oppose it in the case of any landlord who could be held to be a resident landlord, or of any man who desired to use a demesne for himself and his family. The right hon. Gentleman talked of distinguished Irish soldiers and civil servants who might wish to return to Ireland. He would not dream of opposing purchase in their case; but there were in Ireland a large number of demesnes which had not been used as residence for many years and which were derelict. It was most desirable that they should pass into the hands of the Commissioners or of the Congested District Board for the purpose of enlarging surrounding small holdings; and it would be deplorable if the Commissioners were to lose all chance of getting possession of demesnes of that kind. He would rather give a special bonus in such cases, in order that the land might be available for the purpose of enlarging small holdings.

MR. ATKINSON said he thought the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment would, on consideration, see that it was scarcely workable.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said that he offered to modify the Amendment if its principle were accepted.

MR. ATKINSON said that in addition it was almost impossible to select any form of words which would define rationally what a resident landlord was. Everyone would admit it to be desirable that a landlord who had lived in the country, and who intended to live in the country, should be able to purchase, and also that it was even more desirable to sell to men who hereafter would reside in Ireland. It was said, however, that some persons would buy who did not

intend to reside. He thought that this was an unsubstantial argument, for why should any man wish to buy who did not intend to reside? [AN HON. MEMBER: To sell.] First of all, such a purchaser could not sublet, and purchasers were not likely to flock from different parts of the world in order to buy property which was surrounded by a number of peasant proprietors. As to buying demesnes as a speculation, he thought that was one of the most visionary notions it was possible to entertain.

MR. ASHTON (Bedfordshire, Luton) said he had put down an Amendment to reject the clause. He could not agree with the hon. Member for East Mayo that the demesne lands should be used for the purpose of putting tenants upon them. When Mr. Gladstone's Bill was brought in in 1886 demesnes were left out altogether. He did not see why the British taxpayer should be asked to advance money for the purchase of demesnes. He could understand the British taxpayer lending money to buy out small tenants in Ireland; but he did not think they ought to be called upon to find money for other purposes. It was proposed that the Land Commission should buy up the landlords' demesnes, and sell them back to the landlords again.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not entitled, on this Amendment, to enter on a general discussion of the clause.

MR. ASHTON said that in that case he would reserve his remarks.

*MR. BUTCHER said that as regarded the merits of the clause the Irish Members on both sides were entirely agreed. The general object of the clause, as he understood it, was to enable landlords who desired to reside on their property in Ireland to do so. With that proposal he entirely and cordially agreed, because not only would it enable Irishmen—and after all landlords were Irishmen—to live in their native land and discharge their duties in connection with local affairs, but it would also enable them to spend in Ireland the money they would derive from the sale

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of their land. Then the question was whether it was desirable to impose these restrictions in connection with an object which was admittedly desirable. He submitted that, as a matter of fact, the restrictions proposed were not practically possible. Again, they all knew that in the course of the last few years there were certain Irish landlords who, for reasons on which he would not now enter, were unable to live in Ireland; and it would be most desirable that in the new period of peace and harmony which he trusted would result from the operation of the Bill, that those landlords would be able to return to Ireland and live there. If the Amendment were accepted they would, however, be shut out from the operation of the clause. He sympathised with the hon. Member for the Scotland Division in not desiring to give Lord Clanricarde an opportunity of purchasing his demesne; but, as he understood the clause, it was not compulsory on the Land Commission to purchase the landlord's demesne. The Commissioners would have a certain amount of discretion.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said that if the discretion were made quite clear he would be perfectly satisfied.

*MR. BUTCHER said that the words in the Bill were "may purchase." He ventured to suggest to the hon. Gentleman that the Amendment was not workable; but he hoped it would be made clear that some discretion would be given to the Land Commission in certain cases.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said that if the discretion of the Land Commission were made perfectly clear he would be satisfied. He did not stand by the exact words of his Amendment. The clause was intended to encourage landlords to reside in Ireland, and absentee landlords should not be allowed to take advantage of it. Connaught was a country of derelict mansions and derelict estates. His hon. friend the Member for East Mayo referred to one case where the residence had not been used, or usable, for a considerable number of years, the demesne being let to graziers. The right hon. Gentleman was quite in accord with the Irish Members in

the object they had in view in endeavouring to obtain land in order to increase small holdings, and a clause such as that before the Committee would probably defeat their purpose. He was rather surprised at the speech of the Attorney-General. The right hon. Gentleman was kind enough to give him a lecture on law the other night. He would return the compliment by giving him a lecture on letters, and telling him that ever since the days of Maria Edgeworth everyone in Ireland knew what was meant by an absentee landlord. If the right hon. Gentleman would give them an assurance that he would endeavour to make a distinction between absentee landlords and resident landlords, he would be satisfied.

MR. WYNDHAM said that he fully recognised that the hon. Member did not stand by the exact terms of his Amendment, but would not any attempt to define what a resident landlord was give umbrage to the whole class of landlords? Could they find any term which would not sweep away at one blow the hope, perhaps long cherished by the landlord, to live at home, and would it not be open to landlords to say that the House of Commons had come to a hasty decision on this point? Further, would it not place an obstruction in the very path which the hon. Gentleman wished to follow? Might it not be a point of honour with Irish landlords not to sell, because certain landlords were debarred from entering into their property in full? They were asked by the Land Conference to allow a free deal between landlord and tenant; but if this clause had not been brought in, the landlord who arranged a sale himself would be penalised as against the landlord who sold to the Land Commission. Again, there were cases in which the landlord could not sell to his tenants unless by some such transaction as that which would be governed by this clause. Certain sums of money were liberated; and in those cases the effective operation of the Amendment would be to stop the sale. If they were not to handicap free bargaining as between landlord and tenant, then the clause should stand. The hon. Gentleman said there ought to be some discretion. There was discretion. Under another clause the Commissioners would have power to define

what an estate was. If a landlord desired to retain, say, 3,000 acres in his own hands, the Commissioners might decide that the bargain was not good enough, and they might make it a condition that they should be given, say, 500 acres more for the purpose of enlarging small holdings.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said as he saw no chance of convincing the right hon. Gentleman he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

MR. BUTCHER said the object of the Amendment he was about to move was to make it quite clear that the Land Commission had power to purchase demesne land not only in cases where the landlord sold to his tenants, but also in cases where the landlord sold to the Land Commission itself. That power was implied in other clauses of the Bill, but it did not seem to be clear in this case. In Clauses 1 and 3 the word "estate" did not include demesne land, while if it was said that in Clause 5 the Land Commission had power to purchase demesne land from the landlord under the words "purchase the estate" his answer was that the word had a different meaning from that in Clauses 1 and 3. His only object was to make the point quite clear, and he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 13, to leave out from the word, 'has,' to the third 'the,' in line 15, and insert 'agreed to sell the estate under the Lands Purchase Acts to the Land Commission or otherwise.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM thought the hon. and learned Member had placed this Amendment on the Paper under a misconception. The case of the sale of an estate embracing the demesne to the Land Commission was dealt with in Sub-section (2) of this clause. Sub-section (1) dealt only with the case of a landlord who had made arrangements with his tenants, and it was inserted in order that the landlord should not suffer by adopting that method of procedure.

Mr. Wyndham.

If there was any discrepancy it arose from the fact that he had drafted this sub-section from the Bill of last year to meet the wishes of the Land Conference, and the general desire in Ireland that a man who made his own arrangements with his tenants should not lose the advantage possessed by the man who sold his estate in the ordinary sense of the term to the Land Commission.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON understood the point of his hon. and learned friend to be that, whereas Sub-section (2) said—

"Where a parcel of an estate purchased by the Land Commission is resold to the vendor" there was no power in the Bill enabling the Land Commission to purchase.

MR. WYNDHAM pointed out that it was no use endeavouring to raise questions appertaining to sales to the Land Commission on a sub-section dealing with sales other than to the Land Commission. Sub-section (1) dealt only with cases in which the landlord did not sell to the Land Commission. If there was any doubt as to what happened when he did sell to the Commission, the point should be discussed on Sub-section (2).

MR. BUTCHER said it was mainly a matter of drafting, and if the right hon. Gentleman was satisfied that the Land Commission had power, without the Amendment, to purchase demesne land, he was quite content.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. TULLY moved an Amendment which, with a subsequent Amendment lower on the Paper, would enable the Land Commission, in the case referred to in the clause, to purchase "land in his (the landlord's) own use within a mile of his residence" instead of "land in his occupation and adjacent to the estate." He explained that the Amendment was directed against the eleven months' system. At present landlords who had grazing land let out on eleven months' tenancies were technically and legally in occupation of that land, so that unless the clause were amended in the manner suggested by the Amendment

all the professions of the right hon. Gentleman of anxiety to have the available land divided amongst the tenants of the smaller holdings would go for nought. The Bishops of Connaught had considered this question, and at a meeting, over which the Archbishop of Tuam presided, the following resolution was passed:

"That no landlord should be enabled out of public money practically to purchase from himself any land outside his residential demesne, nor should any persons be allowed to purchase non-residential holdings except on condition of making them residential, and the money granted for this purpose should not in any case exceed £10,000."

He contended that unless the right hon. Gentleman struck out the word "occupation" and inserted the words he proposed he would not be acting in accordance with public opinion in the West of Ireland. The grazing lands in Roscommon were all in the occupation of the landlords, being let on the eleven months' grazing system, and he did not think the right hon. Gentleman intended that lands of that description should be sold under this clause and the smaller tenants deprived of the chance of securing the land. He hoped the Chief Secretary would be able to make this further concession.

Amendment proposed —

"In page 3, line 17, to leave out the word 'occupation,' and insert 'own use.'—(Mr. Tully.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'occupation' stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said that if he acceded to the request of the hon. Member he would defeat the object of the hon. Member, his own object, and the object of the Bishops of Connaught. The clause provided "the Land Commission may purchase from him any demesne or other land in his occupation." If he accepted the Amendment the Land Commission would not be able to buy anything except the demesne, and the land in the occupation of the landlord would remain unbought. That could not be the hon. Member's intention. The desire was that the Land Commission should secure such land, and then, as the clause went on to provide, re-sell the whole or part of it to the landlord, but it

was necessary that the Commission should obtain the whole of it if they were to carry out any of the objects of the clause.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he did not pretend wholly to understand the Western question, but it was one thing to say that the Land Commission might purchase lands in a man's occupation, but an entirely different thing to say they might purchase land in a man's use. The word in the clause was "occupation," and that would include the land let out by these Connaught landlords on the eleven months' system. Was that desirable? The object of his hon. friend was to limit the provision to cases where the landlord had attached to his demesne a home park or land of which he was in "effective" occupation. If the land was let for twelve months the landlord would not get the benefit of the clause, but because it was let for eleven months the landlord was to be allowed to have the benefit of State credit to acquire the land into his own hands, and having so acquired it, to become a fresh landlord. He desired to prevent the re-starting of landlordism in connection with these eleven months' lettings. If the landlord was in effective occupation of his demesne and of land adjacent thereto he was welcome to work, use, and enjoy it. But his hon. friend had taken a very acute point which would not have occurred to anybody who was not intimately acquainted with these lettings, and had pointed out that there were many landlords who were not in effective occupation, but who enjoyed rentals out of these "floating" tenancies on the eleven months' system. It seemed to him that his hon. friend, who lived in the heart of the district chiefly concerned, had put down an Amendment which went to the root of the question, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman, as he had not taken up a definite position on the matter, would give the point his consideration.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said they had no objection to a landlord's getting back his demesne and the land which was in his own use and occupation, but they did object to his getting hold of the land which he let out to graziers. He was not sure, however, that the right hon. Gentleman's clause did not meet their view, because at the end of the sub-sections

there came the words "may resell the whole or any portion" to the landlord. Did that mean that the Land Commission had the right to refuse to resell to the landlord land which was not in his demesne, and was not in his own use and occupation, but was let for grazing purposes?

MR. TULLY was afraid the Chief Secretary did not know much about the condition of things in Roscommon, Mayo, or the other grazing counties. Lord Dudley was now living in Roscommon, and if the right hon. Gentleman would consult him he would find that this Amendment would remove a very real blot on the Bill. The castle where Lord Dudley was living could, under the terms of the Bill, be sold to the owners of the estate; but they owned also three-fourths of the plains of Boyle, which were let on eleven months' tenancies as grazing lands. Under the provisions of this section, the owners of the estate could buy not only Rockingham demesne but also three-fourths of the plains of Boyle. In that case, where were the small farmers of the district to get any land on which to settle?

MR. WYNDHAM was afraid they were somewhat at cross purposes. Whenever he found himself in disagreement with the hon. and learned Member for North Louth on a drafting point he felt the matter required to be looked at. But in any case this Amendment was proposed at a point which dealt with the Land Commission buying land, whereas it should come in the provision relating to the selling of the land, so that by accepting the Amendment he would prevent the Land Commission acquiring land which was necessary for the objects they had at heart. It was clear that the Amendment could not come in at this point because the Commission must have the option of buying the land. Further on they would come to the words "may resell the whole or any portion." The arguments of hon. Members opposite had all been directed to showing there must be a limitation placed on the discretion of the Land Commission in re-selling, not on their power of buying, and when they came to the words he had quoted the matter could be further argued as to the wisdom of fettering the dis-

cretion of the Land Commission in so intricate a matter. The Commission had many methods for entering into arrangements satisfactory to all parties, but he questioned whether it would be wise to say that they would not sell to the landlord any property of a certain description under any circumstances.

MR. DILLON agreed with the view as to drafting expressed by the right hon. Gentleman. At the same time, he thought it would be necessary to put some words into the clause to prevent the grazing lands from being resold without a discretion being given to the Land Commission. He thought it would be better to accept the suggestion of the Chief Secretary to discuss the matter on the question of resale.

MR. T. M. HEALY admitted that technically the Chief Secretary might be right, but insisted that the effect of the clause would be that the Land Commission might resell to the landlord, and therefore recreate and reconstitute the exact condition of affairs which was objected to by his hon. friend the Member for South Leitrim. He thought they had made a good point. He did not think land let for eleven months ought to be repurchased by the estate owners and resold to the landlord. That would be a real genuine grievance. Take for example a Connaught landlord with his land let upon the eleven months' system. His land might be repurchased and he might then do as he pleased. He was surprised that his hon. friends did not protest against that proposal, because it was the Connaught land grievance. It seemed to him that every Connaught man in that House ought to rise up and support his hon. friend in protesting against this clause. This clause enabled the Connaught landlord to buy back his eleven months' tenancies and establish eleven months' lettings with the sanction and the money of the British Government.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said it seemed to be assumed by his hon. and learned friend that the Land Commission instead of taking steps to increase holdings in the west of Ireland was about to do the contrary. He did not suppose that anybody imagined that the Land Commission would deliberately resell to

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the landlords considerable lands which everybody admitted should be as far as possible distributed amongst the people in the West of Ireland whose holdings were inadequate. If there was the slightest chance of doing that everybody would be in favour of an Amendment to guard against it. The Chief Secretary had told them that the Land Commission had no such intention, but on the contrary that they acquired those lands not to resell them to the landlords but to increase the number of holdings in the West of Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM said that this was not the proper point at which to deal with the question. The hon. and learned Member for Louth had explained that he had only introduced the Amendment at this stage in order to raise a discussion on the point. Under these circumstances he thought the Amendment might be withdrawn. There was no doubt that the Commissioners would not buy eleven months' grazing land merely to resell it to the landlords except in a certain case which might arise. Supposing they put in a statutory prohibition on the resale of any such land and there was a poor landlord with his estate heavily mortgaged who would not sell unless he would get enough money to pay off his mortgage. By putting in a prohibition of this kind they might prevent the sale of such estates. Although he agreed with the object of the hon. and learned Member for Louth, he thought it would be a mistake to put in a rigid restriction. He felt sure the Commissioners would use their discretion to carry out the object which the hon. and learned Member had in view.

MR. T. M. HEALY, on the distinct understanding that the matter would be reconsidered, advised his hon. friend to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. TULLY said he did not want to have any particular honour or glory for it, and was quite willing to withdraw his Amendment and hand it over to the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 17, after the word 'adjacent to,' to insert 'or in the neighbourhood of.'" —
(*Mr. Herbert Robertson*).

Amendment agreed to.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said he would only formally move his Amendment, because he was convinced from the speech of the Chief Secretary that his proposal was in the wrong place, and would interfere with the power of the Commissioners to buy; his object was only to limit their discretion as to reselling. This might be a Connaught problem, but it was also an Irish problem. There were many cases all over Ireland where landlords had let large portions of their demesne as grazing land, and that was an evil which they would have to press upon the right hon. Gentleman. He formally proposed his Amendment in order to make his position clear. As a Connaught man he did not feel it his duty to prevent the Land Commission from buying. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would formally consider this question.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 17, after the word 'estate,' to insert the words 'provided that no part of said last-mentioned land has, during the five years prior to the passing of this Act, been let for the purposes of pasture or upon any agreement for agistment or temporary depasturage of same.'" —(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TULLY hoped it would be clearly understood that eleven months' lands would be outside the power of the landlords to repurchase. Like the hon. Member for the Scotland Division, he had put down his Amendment in the wrong place.

MR. DILLON suggested that the case might be met by giving the Commission power to resell the demesne and such portions of the other land as in their judgment was not necessary for the enlargement of the holding or the creation of new holdings. That, he submitted,

would meet the difficulty raised by the right hon. Gentleman, leaving absolute discretion to the Commission, and giving them an indication of what was the policy of the Government. He mentioned this by way of a suggestion which the right hon. Gentleman might consider between now and the Report stage. It would be a real catastrophe if owners of tens of thousands of acres of rich grazing land were able to buy the land back at a cheap rate under the Bill after selling it.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he cordially supported the suggestion of the hon. Member for East Mayo, and he had made a suggestion which was well worthy of the consideration of the Government.

MR. WYNDHAM said his view was that the matter might very well be left to the judgment and discretion of the Estates Commissioners. But he was prepared to consider whether on the Report stage—though he did not pledge himself to it—words might not be introduced such as “having in view the wants and circumstances of the neighbourhood.”

*SIR JOHN COLOMB hoped the Chief Secretary would remember the economic value of large grazing lands to small occupiers. This was a serious question affecting the farming industry. Therefore he asked his right hon. friend to be extremely careful in giving what was asked for by hon. Members opposite, and he entreated him to also look into the other side of the question connected with grazing lands. England, Scotland, and Wales got cattle largely from Ireland, and it did not suit these countries to get cattle under two years old. The small occupiers were mostly dairy farmers, and they could not keep the cattle they bred beyond a year. If anyone attended a fair in Kerry, or

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any of the congested districts, tenants would be seen driving to the fair their young cattle. Who were the buyers at those fairs? Why, the Irish graziers and big farmers, who kept the cattle until they were ready for the English and Scotch markets.

MR. WYNDHAM said he agreed with a great deal that had been said, but he did not think anything that had been said raised the large issue referred to by the hon. and gallant Member.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON moved—

“In page 3, line 19, at end, to insert the words ‘and the land so re-sold shall be subject to the same uses and trusts other than uses and trusts in favour of mortgagees and chargees and owners of superior and intervening interests as the land was subject to at the date of the sale to the Land Commission.’”—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment. It appeared to him that the object they had in view would be in a large measure defeated if the Amendment were adopted. He should not himself have asked the House to do what the Amendment proposed—namely to advance public money at 3½ per cent. in order to buy a man's property and then sell it back to him, thereby increasing the prospective speculative value of the property.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON thought this was a very important point. It seemed to him clear that the landlord could not put the proceeds of the sale of the demesne into his own pocket. What he

suggested was that in addition to the money coming into the settlement, as the Attorney-General had admitted it must do, the property acquired by re-purchase should be on behalf of the trust estate.

MR. T. M. HEALY said this seemed to him to be naturally a point to be dealt with by the House of Lords. The Irish Party wanted the Government to get this clause passed to-night. This was the House of Commons—the people's House.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. ASHTON moved an Amendment of which Mr. Channing had given notice to leave out Sub-section 2. He could not but think that English Members did not thoroughly recognise the extraordinary character of the sub-section. It proposed to allow the Land Commission to buy demesne land and then sell it back to the landowner, subject to repayments of the price by instalments extending over sixty-eight and a half years, at the end of which period he would become absolute owner. What would happen in the meantime? At the date of the purchase by the Land Commission the landowner would receive payment of the price. With that money the landowner would be able to make an investment at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and supposing that the price obtained was £20,000, he would pay £650 a year. But if he invested the money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as he would probably be able to do, he would receive £700 a year, and thereby make a profit of £50 a year at the expense of the British nation. If he could invest the money at 4 per cent., he would receive £800, representing a profit

of £150 a year, and at the end of 68½ years have the land as well as the capital. It seemed to him that that was a very remarkable proposal. He thought any British landowner would be very glad to deal with his land on the same terms. He could not see why Irish landowners should be treated on a different footing from English landowners. They were giving an absolutely needless bonus to the Irish landlords. It was said it was necessary to do this in order to free them from the mortgage debts. But there were English landowners who had mortgages on their estates, and if Irish landowners were to be freed, why should not English landowners be freed also?

Amendment proposed—

“In page 3, line 20, to leave out Sub-section (2).”

Question proposed, “That Sub-section (2) stand part of the clause.”

MR. JOHN REDMOND hoped the hon. Member, who was known to be a friend of Ireland, would not stand in the way of this clause passing as it stood. It was unanimously adopted in substance at the Conference in Dublin, and was regarded by the landlords as one of the most important portions of the Bill.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Nationalist Members had fought the landlords for a great number of years, and they wished them to get something out of the settlement. They wished them to live in peace on their demesne, and to become more Irish than the Irish themselves.

*MR. CHANNING said that while fully recognising the spirit of the hon. Member

which afforded some indication of hope for future peace in Ireland, he protested on the ordinary grounds of common-sense against the proposal in the clause. The Bill practically proposed to hand back to the landlords of Ireland the whole of the rents which the Land Courts had declared to be unjust, amounting to £30,000,000 or £40,000,000. In addition there was this preposterous clause, which enabled the Estates Commissioners under the Bill to still further endow the landlords by a process which no sane man would think of applying to embarrassed estates in this country. It was legislation gone mad, but in view of his position in the House, he believed it would be absolutely useless to press the Amendment to a division.

Amendment by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4.

MR. TULLY, who had an Amendment on the Paper, said Clause 4 was an important one, and he did not think they should proceed with the discussion to-night. They had got through a good deal of business, and he suggested that they should now report Progress.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, as his hon. friend desired to raise the point dealt with in his Amendment, it would be impossible to discuss it fully to-night.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

PATENT OFFICE EXTENSION BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) asked that some explanation of it should be given. What was the necessity for the *Mr. Channing.*

extension of the premises? What was to be the cost of the land and the buildings? And had plans been prepared?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. ELLIOT, Durham) said that owing to the increase of business the space at the disposal of the Patent Office had been found to be insufficient. It would be necessary to house something like 200 more people. He was informed that the land would cost about £70,000, and the buildings £40,000. No more was being done than was necessary to enable the greatly increased business to be overtaken.

Bill read a second time and committed to a Select Committee of five Members, three to be nominated by the House, and two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their counsel, or agents, be heard against the Bill, and counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, "That three be the quorum."
—(*Mr. Elliot.*)

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

As amended, considered; to be read the third time upon Friday.

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 25th June, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:— Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill ; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill. Examiner's Certificates of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee on Tuesday next.

Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [H.L.]. Committed.

Wirral Railway Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Hampton Court Gas Bill ; Lochnell Estate Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Middlesborough Corporation Bill. The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn. The orders made on Thursday and Tuesday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Gosport, Fareham, and Gosham Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. The King's consent signified ; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Great Central Railway Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 15th of May and the 15th of June last discharged ; and Bill committed.

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a ; agreed to ; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed ; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Ipswich Gas Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Birmingham District Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee with Amendments.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (No. 133) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (No. 134) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (No. 135) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (No. 136). Brought from the Commons ; Read 1^a ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners.

Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill ; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill ; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill ; Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation Bill ; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill. To be read 3^a tomorrow.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order) : The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made : Further Amendments made : Standing Committee negatived : Report of Amendments to be received on Monday next.

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Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (accord- to Order): Bill reported without Amend- ment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to Order): and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6.) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill. Amendment reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Rickmansworth Gas Bill [H.L.]; Harro- gate Water Bill [H.L.] Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amend- ments: The said Amendments con- sidered, and agreed to.

Coal Mines (Certificates) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amend- ment agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

PETITIONS.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.]

Petitions in favour of: of Roman Catholics in Bishopton; Bristol; Belling- ham, Northumberland; Malton and Norton; Everingham; Redcar; Yarm; Thirsk; Leyburn; Skipton; Scorton; South Bank; Richmond; Whitby; Wakefield and Ossett; Pickering; Ampleforth; Lartington; St. Wilfrid's, York; St. Mary's Parish, Hull; St. Charles' Parish, Hull; Kingston-on- Hull; Fulham Palace Road, Hammer- smith. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.]

Petitions against: of the Imperial Protestant Federation (2); read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

DYSENTERY.

Report of the Commission on the Nature, Pathology, Causation, and Pre- vention of Dysentery, and its relation- ship to enteric fever (appointed by the Secretary of State for War, August, 1900): Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC RECORDS (OFFICE OF LAND REVENUE RECORDS AND ENROL- MENTS).

Schedule containing a list and particu- lars of classes of documents from the Office of the Land Revenue Records and Enrolments which are now in the Public Record Office, but are not considered of sufficient value to justify their preserva- tion therein.

RAILWAYS CONSTRUCTION (FACILI- TIES ACT, 1864.

Report by the Board of Trade, on an application made during the year 1902, under the Railways Construction Facilities Act, 1864, and of the proceed- ings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto.

RAILWAY COMPANIES POWERS ACT, 1864.

Report by the Board of Trade, on applications made during the year 1902 under the Railway Companies Powers Act, 1864, and of the proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882-1890 (PROCEEDINGS).

Report by the Board of Trade, respect- ing the applications to and proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882-1890, during the past year.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

EDUCATION (BORROWING) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

FINANCE BILL.

Read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a to-morrow (The Lord President (*D. Devonshire*)); and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with. (No. 132.)

CONDITION OF HOLYROOD PALACE.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR): My Lords, I wish to make a personal statement with reference to the discussion about the condition of Holyrood Palace which took place on Monday last. Some misapprehension appears to exist as to what actually passed between the Lord High Commissioner and the Office of Works, owing to part of one letter only having been quoted in this House. On reconsideration of the matter, and in order to clear it up, I think it is right to lay the correspondence, and the Reports to which it refers, upon the Table.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: Will that include the note from Sir Schomberg M'Donnell?

LORD WINDSOR: It will include that letter.

CONTRACTS (INDIA OFFICE) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The EARL OF HARDWICKE): My Lords, by Section 5 of the Government of India Act, 1859—

“All contracts in writing entered into by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting may be expressed to be made by the Secretary of State in Council under that designation and if such as made between private persons would be by law required to be under seal may be made varied or discharged under the hands and seals of two members of the Council or if such as if made between private persons would be by law required to be signed by the parties to be charged therewith may be made varied or discharged under the hands of two members of the Council and the benefit and

liability of such contract shall pass to the Secretary of State in Council for the time being.”

Speaking generally the mode of contracting provided by this Section is strictly followed with regard to contracts made on behalf of the Secretary of State in Council. There are some contracts, especially those for the purchase of goods and for freight, in which the observance of the formalities laid down by the section would in a business sense be impossible. Tenders have to be invited and accepted and acted upon with a promptitude to which that procedure would be fatal. Contracts of this nature have accordingly been entered into under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State instead of in the manner mentioned in the section. Doubts have, however, arisen with regard to the legal validity of such contracts. The object of the present Bill is to remove those doubts.

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.
(*The Earl of Hardwicke.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL GREY: My Lords, I fully concur with those who hold it to be most desirable that a Bill on so important a subject as the Royal Declaration should be introduced by His Majesty's Government and not by a private Member. As, however, His Majesty's Government have given no evidence, since 1901, of the slightest intention or desire on their part to respond to the appeals which have been made to them by the Catholics of the Empire to repeal the Statute which requires the Sovereign to make an anti-Catholic Declaration on his accession, there is no option open to those private and independent Members who believe the abolition of the Declaration to be required in the interests of the Empire, but to press upon the acceptance of the House a Bill for the removal of an undoubted grievance which is really

felt by many millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects in various parts of the Empire. It will be within the recollection of the House that two years ago the character of the Declaration which was required by Statute from the Sovereign on his accession, and before he met his Parliament, came as a startling shock upon this House and the liberal sentiment of this country. A Committee, consisting practically of the two Front Benches, was appointed to consider the whole subject, with the result that the Prime Minister introduced a Bill which the Government hoped would reconcile the Catholics to the Declaration which they suggested the Sovereign should be required to make on his accession. In introducing the Bill Lord Salisbury pointed out that the Declaration now required from the Sovereign—

“Denounced in the most offensive form the religion to which the Roman Catholics were passionately attached,”

and that it was only—

“Natural that they should look upon it as a real grievance that language of a most violent and objectionable kind should be used against the Articles of their Faith at the most solemn moment of his reign by the Sovereign when ascending the Throne,”

and these statements naturally led to his conclusion that it was incumbent upon Parliament to deal with the Declaration in such a way as to purge from it those terms which were offensive and painful to the Roman Catholic subjects of the King.

The House will recollect that the amending Bill brought forward to give effect to the recommendations of the two Front Benches was not received with enthusiasm by any part of this House. It was recognised that the amended Declaration which, it was suggested, should take the place of the old, was practically tantamount to a new test, and was consequently open on that account to serious objection. There was a very strong feeling in some quarters of the House which, if it did not find public expression, was brought to my personal notice, that it might even be preferable to keep the old form untouched, notwithstanding the offensive terms in which it was couched, inasmuch as it might be regarded with

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a certain amount of philosophic indifference as an obsolete and archaic formula with no greater present significance than a bit of rusty armour, than to give in this twentieth century fresh Parliamentary sanction to a new Declaration, which selected out of all the creeds practised in the Empire the Articles of the Roman Catholic Faith alone for special repudiation by the Sovereign. However politely worded such a Declaration might be, it must be obvious that it could not fail to be offensive to the Catholics, by giving them cause to feel that they were the subjects, not of that equality of treatment which it is the boast of our Government that we accord to all our religions, but of treatment of which they had a very proper reason to complain. It was obvious that the Bill had not behind it that force of opinion required to drive it through the other House of Parliament, and the result was, the Bill was discreetly dropped. But the matter remains to-day just as urgent as it was when Lord Salisbury pointed out that we could not leave the Declaration where it stands, and we have a right to expect from His Majesty's Government a Bill of their own if they cannot accept mine.

The appeals to His Majesty's Government to which I propose briefly to refer from various parts of the Empire, will, I think, convince the House that if Parliament is in earnest in its desire to consolidate the Empire, the sooner we listen to the appeals from the colonies to amend the Declaration the better. But before I refer to these petitions I wish the House to consider whether the Declaration complained of is in any way essential to the Protestant succession or the maintenance of the Protestant character of the Crown. Your Lordships must be aware that apart from the Declaration, which is the subject of this Bill, the law elsewhere provides, by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement, that if the Sovereign holds communion with the Church or See of Rome, or professes the Popish religion, or marries a Papist, his Crown, *ipso facto*, passes from his head to that of the next Protestant heir, and his subjects are absolved from all allegiance to him. Further, the

Sovereign is required to swear at his coronation that he will, to the utmost of his power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law. I maintain that the law which uncrowns the King if he professes the Popish religion, or marries a Papist, coupled with the securities provided by the oath which he is obliged to take to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law, give us all the security that even the most cautious lawyer can desire to ensure the Protestant character of the Crown.

Now, if it be admitted that the making of this Declaration is wholly superfluous, and altogether unnecessary if our sole object is to maintain the Protestant character of the Crown, I would proceed to ask, Is it desirable to put into the mouth of the Sovereign, at the most solemn moment of his reign, a Declaration of a purely negative character, and couched in terms which a Buddhist or Mahomedan, or any infidel, could conscientiously subscribe to, when we know such Declaration cannot fail to wound the feelings and affront the sentiments of every Roman Catholic? For fear, my Lords, that my action in moving in the matter may be imputed to wrong motives, I wish to make it quite clear that I do not approach the consideration of this question from any theological standpoint. I am most reluctant to press my own beliefs upon the attention of the House, but I think it desirable to state that I do not believe there is any Member in your Lordships' House who in his beliefs is further removed than I am from the faiths which are dear to either Roman Catholics or to my noble relative, Lord Halifax; nor do I believe there is any Member of this House who is more seriously impressed than I am with the conviction that the principle of sacerdotalism is a highly dangerous principle, and if allowed to acquire a position of ascendancy is likely to prove fatal to that free growth of individual freedom of conscience, thought, and action which I regard as the very foundation of our national prosperity.

I approach the consideration of this question from a very different standpoint than that of sympathy with

Roman Catholic doctrines. I approach it from a feeling of justice to the Catholics which causes me to resent placing them in a position inferior to that of the Buddhist and Mahomedan subjects of the King, and also from a conviction that the interests of the Empire require us to remove, and without delay, a grievance which, if unremoved, may at some future time be made the excuse of disloyalty to the Crown. I wish to impress upon the House that we cannot continue to ignore the appeals which have been made to Parliament to remove the grievance complained of by the Catholic subjects of the King, without running risk of alienating their affection, or, at any rate, of diminishing their loyalty to the Crown. Remember that the King has 12,000,000 Catholic subjects—that 43 per cent. of the population of Canada are Catholics, and one-third of the Australian contingents that fought for the Crown in South Africa also belong to the Roman Catholic Church. I proceed to read the Resolution that was passed by the Canadian House of Commons at Ottawa in 1901 on the Motion of the Prime Minister, Sir W. Laurier:—

“Your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, beg leave most humbly to represent that as a token of civil and religious liberties, and of the equality of rights guaranteed to all subjects in the Canadian Confederation, as well as under the British Constitution, a British Sovereign shall not be called upon to make any declaration offensive to the religious belief of any subject of the British Crown.”

In speaking to this Resolution, Sir Wilfrid said:—

“I may be asked why should this declaration be removed from the law? Simply because it is offensive; simply because it is painful to Roman Catholic subjects who honour their King and are loyal subjects, who are ready to fight, and, if need be, to die for his crown; it is painful to them that he should take such an oath against doctrines which are dear and sacred to them. That is the reason, the only reason.”

He went on to point out that the pride and devotion which they all took in this great Empire, which was the first refuge of liberty, would be more enthusiastic if that legislation, the last remnant of persecuting ages, were to be blotted out for ever from the Statute, books of free England. In support of

this Resolution of the Canadian House of Commons a joint letter from the Archbishops and Bishops of British North America was addressed, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, to his late eminence, Cardinal Vaughan, thanking him for his protest against the declaration—

“which an iniquitous legislation still imposed on the Sovereign of England.”

In this letter they expressed the hope that the hour had come to efface from the Statutes of the Empire that evil reminder of former discord and hate, and that the beginning of the reign of Edward VII might be signalised by such a change in the wording of the Oath of Accession as would contribute powerfully to promote the unity of his people, and to increase in the hearts of Catholics the gratitude they have never failed to show for similar reforms. They further maintained that the Catholics, who had never been sparing of their loyalty to the Crown, had the right to claim in return that the Crown, in the person of the Sovereign, should respect their most sacred and cherished beliefs.

Sir Edmund Barton, the Federal Prime Minister of Australia, forwarded to His Majesty's Government a no less remarkable appeal from the Catholic Hierarchy of the Australian Commonwealth. In this appeal they recorded their solemn protest against the studied insult offered to the Catholic subjects of the Empire by the Declaration—which they regarded as in this twentieth century an outrage against common-sense, and an infringement of the religious equality to which they are entitled by the constitution of their Commonwealth, and which they cherished as their birthright. From this appeal, forwarded by the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, I read the following passage, which I am sure will not fall on unsympathetic ears—

“One-third of the Australian military contingents who are fighting for the honour and the interests of the Empire in South Africa are Catholics. With them religion and freedom and loyalty go hand in hand. It cannot be prudent or honourable or wise to repay their heroism and patriotism by wanton insult, and to brand their most sacred convictions with a stigma of infamy from which the beliefs of other subjects of the Empire, even of Buddhists and Hindus and Zulus, are exempt.”

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The same note of religious equality to which expression is given in the protests against the Declaration from Canada and Australia is to be found in the protests forwarded by the Roman Catholics of India against the Declaration made by the King before the British Imperial Parliament on February 14th, 1901. A few days before that date the Catholic people of Mangalore, South Canara, forming about 25 per cent. of the population, assembled in solemn meeting and swore allegiance to their King, Emperor Edward VII., all the more joyfully because the—

“Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 assured us all that we, her Indian subjects, should never be molested or disquieted by reason of our religious faith.”

They maintained that the Declaration was a violation of the promise contained in the Proclamation of 1858, the Charter of their liberties, and they expressed a hope that the opprobrium of a bygone illiberal age would be wiped out without delay, so that they might be enabled to join heart and soul in the rejoicings of the Coronation day.

Similar protests against the repetition of the Declaration of any future occasion were sent from Bombay and other parts of India; and in Ceylon, on the occasion of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, so deeply did the Catholic population, which was stated to be 265,000, feel on the subject, that they submitted to H.R.H. an Address expressing a hope that before he is called upon to ascend the throne of England “this outrageous law” will have disappeared from the Statutes of the Empire; and in the course of their address they gave expression to the profound sorrow which they felt that—

“Owing to the retention on the Statute-book of a law passed in less happy times, at the moment when all races and creeds throughout the Empire are hastening forward to tender their homage and dutiful service to their Sovereign, Catholics alone are rebuffed with wounding words directed against two of the most cherished tenets of their holy religion.”

I could submit to the House quotations from similar addresses from Mauritius, Malta and other Catholic Communities, but think it unnecessary to do so. I hope the evidence I have already supplied will have convinced the House that the retention in the Statute-book of the Declaration is a serious thorn in the flesh of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects,

and that it is important in the interests of the Empire that it should quickly be removed. The Preamble to the Bill shows that the Declaration is wholly unnecessary to secure the Protestant character of the Crown. It is evident that the Protestant character of the Crown is amply and abundantly secured by other provisions of the law which no one has any desire to touch. I say the Declaration is ineffective even for the purpose for which it is designed, because there is nothing to prevent a man who has made the Declaration from being converted by a perfectly honest change of mind to the adoption of beliefs he had previously denounced. I further maintain that the Declaration is not only ineffective for the purpose for which it was designed, and if it were effective, wholly unnecessary, but that it is purely mischievous, inasmuch as it tends to alienate those whom we desire to draw closer. It may be said it is desirable that some sort of Declaration should be made by the King on his accession to show that he is a Protestant. I may remind the House that the Constitution of the Empire of Germany does not prescribe any form of oath to be taken by the Emperor on his accession, and that under the Constitution of the United States no religious test is required as a qualification for the office of President. But I confess if the House is in favour of the King being called upon to make on his accession a Declaration of the same character as the Oath sworn by him at his Coronation, I am prepared with my friends to accept an Amendment which shall require the Sovereign at the time and place at which he or she would have been required to make the Declaration to take the oath which is by law prescribed to be taken at the Coronation. I have endeavoured to place before the House certain considerations which appear to me to be conclusive, in favour of our Parliament responding to the appeals which have been made to it by the Catholics of the Empire. I know no consideration which can possibly be urged against the Second Reading of the Bill except that which suggests that the present time is inopportune for the stirring of this subject. That argument, of course, is always available when no better argument is forthcoming. The

chief objection to the Bill is the fear that silly and ignorant people may mistake the action of Parliament in passing this Bill as a weakening of the securities in favour of the Protestant character of the Crown. I would respectfully ask you, my Lords, whether the unreasonable fears of these people are for one moment to be allowed to outweigh the very solid grievance which I have shown is naturally felt by 12,000,000 subjects of the King.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Earl Grey*.)

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN: My Lords, I think it highly probable that many of your Lordships, on observing that my noble friend was about to bring forward this Bill, felt that you would have been quite as well pleased if the matter had been left alone, on the principle of the old proverb, "Let sleeping dogs lie." But my noble friend might very well say, in answer to such an objection, that this question, if not dealt with now, is bound from time to time to reappear, and there are obvious advantages in discussing and dealing with it in the earlier stages of a reign rather than postponing it to an indefinite time. At any rate, the matter is before the House now and must be dealt with. There are three main views entertained in the country regarding this subject, and they are no doubt all represented in this House. There are, first, those who are in favour of a modification of the Declaration, though they may not be prepared, at least not yet, to advocate its abolition. Secondly, there are those—and they represent a considerable and important body of opinion—who strongly object to any change; and thirdly, there are those who like my noble friend wish to see the Declaration removed altogether. As we all know, an attempt has been made to revise the Declaration, but that attempt was not a success. It is extremely difficult to remodel and revise words of this kind. There are in the Book of Common Prayer certain formulæ regarded with less than love by a great many devout Churchmen. The occupants of the Episcopal Bench are only too well aware of the heart-searchings which have troubled

many Churchmen on that subject, but it appears to have been thought best to leave that matter untouched. With regard to this Declaration, I was a member of the Committee appointed to deal with it, but I cannot say that I look back to the proceedings of that Committee with any very great satisfaction. No doubt it was a record Committee from the point of view of rapidity of action. It is an open secret, I think, that the actual business of the Committee was conducted in an extraordinarily short space of time, the idea, I suppose, being that the least said was soonest mended. But it appears that another proverb would more appropriately apply, namely, "More hurry worse speed."

I speak with great respect of those who hold the opinion that there should be no interference with the Declaration, but I think their scruples are largely based on misapprehension—on the belief that this Declaration provides a guarantee for the Protestant succession. But, once admit the possibility of some reservation or subterfuge such as the Declaration is supposed to guard us against, and I do not see how it will be prevented by piling one phrase of disavowal upon another. The disavowal of any dispensation from the Pope for making the Declaration falsely is useless, for, if there, can be such a dispensation, what is to prevent a further dispensation for saying none has been received? I am afraid an idea has grown up that it does give security to the cause of Protestantism that this public Declaration against Roman Catholicism should be made by the Sovereign. I do not know what forms have to be followed in the Coronation, for instance, of the King of the Belgians; but suppose that the Sovereign of that country, in view of the fact that Catholicism is the recognised State religion there, was expected to utter some strongly condemnatory words regarding Protestantism; would not the Protestants not only of that country, but also of this, complain that that was a gratuitous affront to their religion? I would draw attention to the fact that this Bill does not propose that there should be no Declaration at all; it only provides that this particular Declaration should be done away with. I listened with great interest to what my noble friend hinted

as to the possibility of an Amendment to the Bill being introduced which should provide for the substitution, either of the Oath taken by the King at the time of the Coronation, or of some other simple utterance by the Sovereign, as to his or her adherence to the Protestant faith. I would direct attention to the signatures attached to the document inviting your Lordships to support this Bill. Most of the signatories have held high positions as representatives of the Sovereign in outlying portions of the Empire. These noble Lords have had a peculiar opportunity of taking a wide survey of the various questions surrounding this particular topic, and I think the fact that they support this Bill is not without its significance. I strongly demur to the idea that the proposal in this Bill is a mere yielding to sentiment. It is much more than that. It is a proposal to remove friction and irritation. It is a proposal to remove an ineffective test, and one which may be held by a Sovereign professing a non-Christian religion. Therefore I hope His Majesty's Government, even if they cannot endorse the proposal of the Bill, will give a favourable consideration to it as a possible mode of dealing with the question, seeing that it does not shut the door to some future substitute for the present Declaration which we have endeavoured to amend without success.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, your Lordships will naturally expect that something should be said as to the view taken by the occupants of the Episcopal Benches with regard to the constitutional change proposed in this Bill. After all that passed two years ago, there is, as my noble friend has shown, a widespread feeling, not only in this House and in the country but in the colonies, that this matter can hardly be allowed to remain indefinitely exactly where it stands now. However that may be, I should like to say a few words on the principle of the matter and on the specific proposal of my noble friend. Perhaps I may begin by restating the bare principles upon which, I suppose, the whole of the House and those interested in the matter outside are practically agreed with reference to subjects of this kind. We are happily living at a time when, and in a country where, not only

The Earl of Aberdeen.

the fullest liberty of individual opinion but the amplest liberty also for the outspoken expression of that opinion, is both tolerated and encouraged by all. But at the same time it may be said that most people are agreed that there are certain exceptions to that largely-stated principle both in the Church and in the State. Those who are accredited alike by Church and State to be religious teachers of a particular kind are expected to make some declaration respecting their belief at the outset of their public work, and either to adhere to that declaration or voluntarily, or if need be compulsorily, to retire or be retired from the office they hold on condition of having made such a specific declaration.

In addition to this, I suppose it is true that the nation has made up its mind, as the outcome of the historical events of 200 years ago, that a man or woman who holds the reins of sovereignty in this country should be subjected to a test as to the attitude which he or she takes in religious matters, should make a public and formal declaration to that effect, and should specially show that the sovereignty is not held by one who belongs to the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. No one, I imagine, disputes the fact that such is the nation's will or that every reasonable security ought to be provided for giving effect to that will. But after saying all this, I desire to affirm a further principle which no one would, I imagine, desire to dispute, that any declaration which is officially made should avoid giving needless pain or offence to those whose opinions are impugned and repudiated. So long as the oath or declaration is unambiguous in its terms and is effective for its purpose, every word ought to be avoided which could fairly cause a moment's pain to good men who entertain different opinions or who belong to the communion from which the Sovereign is debarred.

These principles are accepted, not only in the House but outside it; and the practical question is, does the Declaration which we heard the Sovereign make two-and-a-half years ago from that Throne violate those principles in any way? I unhesitatingly say that I think it does. I think that it gives in its present terms needless and avoidable pain to religious minds alike in this House, in the country,

and in the Empire at large. It does this by the epithets which it employs respecting a particular religious doctrine, a doctrine which those who hold it follow with a passionate devotion. Repudiating that doctrine, as I personally do with all my might, I yet feel that it is described in the Declaration in terms which are quite needlessly offensive—one can use no other word—to those who hold that doctrine with all their hearts. The terms are an anachronism to-day. They may have been necessary, they certainly were not unusual, in official documents at the time when they were first put into their present shape. But a great deal has happened as regards the use of language, at all events, during the last 200 years; and whatever may have been the fact with regard to such epithets at the end of the seventeenth century, they are both unsuitable and offensive to-day. So far I am glad to be able to agree fully with the noble Earl. But when, as a remedy for that difficulty or grievance, my noble friend proposes simply to abolish altogether the obligation of making such a declaration, then I find myself obliged to part company from him. My noble friend argued that the securities which would remain under the existing law, if this Declaration ceased to be required from the Sovereign, are amply sufficient to provide against the contingency which that Declaration is meant to secure us from. My noble friend relies mainly on the Coronation oath, but he relies also on the specific terms of the Bill of Rights and of the Act of Settlement.

With regard to the Coronation oath, the general purport of the words appears at first sight to be so obvious and indisputable that the result we desire seems to be attained without any question or doubt at all. We are not dealing with the general purport of the phrases used, however, but with something much more technical and requiring much more careful sifting and thought, unless the lessons which history has taught are to be altogether disregarded. We are dealing with words which in the past history of England have been shown to be liable to have an extraordinary strain placed upon them, and which have proved practically insufficient to bear the

strain. James II. took a Coronation oath which was not exactly in the terms in which the oath was taken by our gracious Sovereign. With the omission of certain words which, I think, do not affect the question, the terms in which that oath was administered were these:—

“Sir, Will you grant and keep and by your oath confirm to the people of England . . . the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeing to the prerogative of the Kings thereof and the ancient customs of the realm?”

Immense questionings immediately arose as to what was the effect of the King's having taken that oath. With a view of seeing how the matter was regarded by those who ought to look at it most fairly, at all events without any Protestant bias, I turned this afternoon to the account of the Roman Catholic historian Lingard, who says:—

Many looked with suspicion on the facility with which he had sworn without any qualification to keep and preserve the rights of the Church, and his enemies afterwards charged him with deliberate perjury, as if he had taken the oath with a fixed resolution of violating it afterwards. . . . More probably he had persuaded himself that no event would subsequently happen to bring the rights claimed by the Church into direct collision with those rights which he claimed for himself as rights indefeasibly inherent in the Crown.”

I mention that to show that those perfectly capable of forming an opinion may arrive at very different conclusions as to the exact meaning of the subscription of an oath on the character of which the noble Earl so strongly relies. King James, at his first Privy Council, said—

“I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by law established.”

That speech gave the intensest satisfaction, and the Bishops presented an address in which they said that that admirable declaration ought to be written down in letters of gold. I refer to this simply to show how what is felt at the time may be falsified after a little interval. We are not speaking, of course, of a personal or contemporary question. We are looking far ahead; and I venture to believe that the fact that anxieties on such a subject are impossible at this moment—are so alien from our minds as to make the whole thing appear to be

inappropriate—is not without its peril in considering what may be the result of such a Bill as this, which would abolish the declaration, and leave it practically unimpossible hereafter in circumstances which a hundred years hence may be very different from those which happily prevail to-day.

But, apart from that, does the Coronation Oath, even when we interpret it with the utmost strictness, necessarily bind the Sovereign to more than this, that he will protect and shield, and do his best to maintain the religion which is at the time established in the land? I can conceive those words subjected even now to a strain such as I have referred to. There might be in different parts of the Empire oaths or promises taken for maintaining what might not inconceivably be established forms of faith quite other than Christian; the Sovereign of the Empire might declare his readiness to maintain the Buddhist, the Hindoo, or the Mahomedan faith, which was held by his subjects in some part of the Empire. I do not say that that is a natural interpretation, but we have to consider what the words are capable of being strained to mean in exigencies of a very peculiar kind. Then I imagine that there is no legal obligation on the Sovereign to hold the Coronation at any very early date in his reign. I do not press that point; but I think it is worthy of note that if we relied on the Coronation oath by itself it would be necessary to take care that the oath was taken at the time of the accession to the Throne, or at the first opening of Parliament. The noble Earl relies also on the Act of Settlement and the corresponding Acts. That Act provides that any one who inherits the Crown and—

“Shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist shall be subject to such incapacities as in such case or cases”

are provided by the recited Act. That Act is most valuable as showing indisputably what was, and I believe what is, the mind of the English people; but I venture to think that in addition to that security from without we need some security from within that is binding *in foro conscientie* on the Sovereign.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

I hope the noble Earl will pardon me for saying that I think he was almost trifling when he argued that we had no right to impose a disability with regard to one form of religion and not to feel ourselves bound to impose it equally with regard to other forms. I think he mentioned Mahomedanism and Buddhism. But history cannot be disregarded in matters of this kind. It is simply impossible to look back along the last few centuries of English life and regard the parallel as a true one between the dangers which might conceivably arise in the future, as they have in the past, with regard to one particular form of faith, and the difficulties which might conceivably arise with regard to those creeds which have nothing to do with Christianity at all. It should be noted that the objection of my noble friend cuts against the whole Act of Settlement. My noble friend will have to go a great deal further than this Bill if he desires to remove altogether any difference of profession or security with regard to two forms of peril which might some day conceivably beset the English nation. I do not wish to say one word which could legitimately give pain to anyone; but is it possible for any man who reads the story of the Church and the nation towards the close of the 17th century, especially in the light of the documents which have recently been made public to a larger extent than they were in days gone by, without feeling that the peril then guarded against was a real one? And it is not, in the abstract, inconceivable that it might occur again. In my judgment, at least, we do require some kind of declaration, or promise, or undertaking to be given by the Sovereign personally as regards the position he holds in relation to great articles of the Christian Faith.

But if it be true, as I think it is, that some such Declaration is necessary, it surely does not follow that it need be couched in insulting words; and I do not think that it need, strictly speaking, denounce anything at all. It seems to me perfectly possible, at least it is not beyond the wit of man, to devise a Declaration which should be mainly positive rather than negative in character and form. Indeed, one of

your Lordships, being himself a member of the Roman Catholic Church (Lord Llandaff), did draw up a Declaration of a positive kind which was intended to meet that particular difficulty. But, be that as it may, I do not believe it is impossible to draw up a Declaration which should avoid not only anything offensive, but anything denunciatory, and which should be of such a positive kind as I have suggested. I believe such words can be found; but it will not be easy. It cannot be accomplished in a few minutes, or even in a few hours; and I think it would require the co-operation of even a larger body of those who have thought carefully over such subjects than the Committee which took it in hand two years ago. I venture to believe that the members of the Roman Catholic Church in this House would themselves be most helpful, perhaps among the most capable, coadjutors to draw up a declaration of that kind. I look forward not unhopelessly to such a result, provided it is taken in hand with the care it deserves, with an enlargement of the number of those who have to consider it as compared with what happened on a previous occasion, and with adequate time given to its consideration. I believe I am speaking in the name of every Bishop on these Benches when I say that it would be our earnest desire, if invited to do so, to co-operate to the utmost of our power in producing such a result and in removing from the phraseology of the Declaration anything which could possibly give pain to those from whom we are differing very strongly and decidedly, but as to whom nothing is further from our thoughts than a desire to give pain or offence in any way. But there it one thing quite certain, such a task can be properly taken in hand only by the Government of the day. Be that Government what it may, it is to the Government of the day that we are bound to look for a constitutional change of this kind. It is essentially a constitutional change, and one which might be of the highest gravity. I regret that it is impossible for me to give my vote in favour of the Bill; but I trust that the matter will not be allowed to rest and that, under the auspices of the Government, we may have the task of amending the form of Declaration taken in

hand with determination and vigour. For such an endeavour I can ensure co-operation on the part of the Bishops not only as a matter of duty but with a glad heart and a ready mind.

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I am sure your Lordships deeply regret the absence of my noble friend the Leader of the Opposition, and greatly sympathise with the cause of it. It is doubly unfortunate that my noble friends Lord Tweedmouth and Lord Crewe who, with Lord Spencer, served upon the Committee which was appointed in 1891, are also unavoidably absent, and it is with extreme diffidence that I ask your Lordships to allow me to address a few words to you on this important subject. I wish to ask the noble Duke the Leader of the House whether the Government are prepared to take up this question and legislate upon it, or are they prepared to leave it in the state of chaos in which it now is. As your Lordships will remember, a Committee was appointed in 1891 to deal with this subject. That Committee was composed of very distinguished personages, and I am given to understand that before they set about their task it was their opinion that all they had to do was to eliminate from the Declaration the particular words which gave pain to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. When, however, the Report of the Committee was presented to your Lordships, it became evident that what was considered to be necessary by Roman Catholic Peers and others was that all reference to the repudiation of any dogma whatever should be taken from the Declaration. There were many discussions in your Lordships' House on this question, and notwithstanding the opposition offered to the Bill the Government insisted upon its being passed by this House. It was passed and sent to the other House, and from that time to this we have heard nothing more about the question. What I want to ask the noble Duke is whether that is a position which the Government accepts, or whether they have any intention of dealing with this obviously important subject themselves. I endorse what the most rev. Primate said in the concluding words of his admirable speech, that this is a

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question which ought not to be dealt with by a private Member, however distinguished and capable he may be. It ought to be dealt with by the Government, and by the Government alone, and it is not a matter that ought to be allowed to wait. It is surely not right that the burden of taking such an odious declaration should be imposed on future monarchs. If the Government are not prepared to deal with this subject, if they are not prepared to frame a declaration such as that which the most rev. Primate referred to, it seems to me less disadvantageous to abolish the declaration altogether. If the Government are not prepared to say that they will deal with this subject, I, for my part, although I feel the greatest reluctance in voting for a Bill which is not authorised by the responsible Minister, shall feel very much inclined, as a protest against the inaction of the Government, to follow my noble friend into the lobby in support of the Second Reading of his Bill.

*VISCOUNT LLANDAFF: My Lords, I intrude with great reluctance in the debate on this subject, in which I naturally feel a strong personal interest. May I at the outset express our thanks to the noble Earl who has brought in this Bill. He has not only earned the gratitude of all the Roman Catholics in the Empire, but he has continued those illustrious traditions which are inseparably connected with the name he bears. I listened with the greatest attention and interest to what fell from the most rev. Primate. The prominent point, as it seemed to me, in his argument was that some security from within, as contrasted with securities from without, was necessary in order to secure the Protestant succession. It is not enough that adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, that communion with the Church of Rome, or that even marriage with a Papist, renders the Crown forfeitable, that is not security enough in the judgment of the most rev. Primate.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I should be very sorry to be supposed to have said that such enactments, if they could be enforced

with certainty, would be insufficient. What I endeavoured to point out was the difficulty of ascertaining, otherwise than by a declaration from within, whether or not the person in question is in fact "holding communion with" the Church of Rome.

***VISCOUNT LLANDAFF:** I confess I should have thought that when an Act of Parliament says that communion with the Church of Rome, or reconciliation to the Church of Rome, involves forfeiture of the Crown, and when that same Act goes on to say the Sovereign shall be in communion with the Church of England, I should have thought that that did not admit of any doubt. The added security of this Declaration avails only for the instant of the Sovereign's accession; from his accession to his death you have to depend upon the security of the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights. The opinions expressed by the Sovereign at the moment of his accession may change in the next year, but you have no security except the ample security of the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. I contend that, apart from the declaration, ample provision is made for the security of the Protestant succession by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. The sting of the declaration is not in the epithets, but in its blind, passionate intolerance. As long as you keep the condemnation of doctrines standing, the epithets are signified and implied, although they are not spoken. At this solemn moment—when all races and creeds are drawing round the throne, anxious to express their loyalty, Roman Catholics alone are rebuffed by words which outrage their most sacred convictions. It is a grievance that any doctrine lawfully held by us should be singled out for special condemnation by the Sovereign. The most rev. Primate entered at some length upon the history of this Declaration, but he omitted to remind your Lordships that it was not invented for the purpose of securing the Protestant succession. The authors of this Declaration framed it in order to exclude Catholics from the Houses of Parliament, and it had that effect for 150 years. The framers of the Bill of Rights, who felt that James II. might possibly return to

this country, or attempt to return, had this declaration inserted in the Bill of Rights as a special precaution. The danger against which the Bill of Rights was aimed has gone and is completely at an end. I should like to quote to your Lordships the legislation that has been introduced into India. In the Indian Penal Code I find this enactment—

"Whoever, with deliberate intention of wounding the religious feeling of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend for one year, or fine, or both."

Therefore the language of the Declaration, if used in India to worshippers of Juggernaut, would make the user guilty of a criminal offence. I am unable to reconcile the tenderness of the Indian Penal Code with the roughness shown to the oldest and most widely spread religious community in the world by this declaration. Parliament has relieved every subject of such a painful necessity and leaves the Sovereign alone subject to it, and obliges him—I am sure against his will—to utter a theological denunciation at the most solemn moment of his reign. The noble Lord opposite has asked His Majesty's Government whether they will give a pledge to deal with this subject. I do not expect they will; but I make an earnest appeal to the noble Duke not to make the opposition to this Bill a Government or a Party matter, but to leave his followers to vote as they think right on the subject. It is in no sense a Party question. The noble Duke not long ago delivered a most able and powerful argument in favour of open questions. I think this question, as well as that of Catholic Emancipation, should be treated as an open question, and I trust that it will not be voted upon as a Party matter in the way it was two years ago. I by no means wish to exclude the possibility of framing some form of declaration that may satisfy Protestant feeling and seem to give sufficient security for the Protestant character of the Sovereign, but I am bound to say that the fate of the Bill of two years ago does not give me great confidence that such a result can be arrived at.

LORD ROBERTSON: My Lords, I have listened with especial pleasure, to the noble and learned Lord, who has every right to claim our attention because he is largely responsible for the present state of this question. I daresay it will be in your Lordships' recollection that the question which was discussed with so much interest and animation on several occasions two years ago was entirely different from that which is being discussed to-day. At that time it came as a surprise to His Majesty's subjects that part of the ceremonial of His Majesty's succession consisted in a declaration containing the language which has been characterised by the most rev. Primate. I am certain that men of all creeds were shocked at this relic of former times, and every one was most anxious that means should be devised whereby the terms in that Declaration, which were regarded as offensive, might be got rid of. I think I am in your Lordships' recollection when I say that the question was merely as to the terms of the Declaration, and not as to the existence of the Declaration itself. The feeling which operated so strongly on the sympathy of His Majesty's subjects was that Roman Catholics, whose illustrious services in the present and preceding reign are fresh in our memory, should be forced to listen to doctrines most sacred to them being described in terms so strong and so excessive. I am quite sure that in every part of the House there was an honest determination to eliminate those terms which gave offence. But what happened? An amended Declaration was proposed. I was never a great admirer of the new Declaration—and objections to it arose. Then my noble and learned friend, on 5th August, 1901, declared that he preferred the retention of the offensive language and its rugged barbarity in the hope that wiser councils would prevail, rather than consent to a milder and less offensive form of Declaration, which was still objectionable and which it would be difficult to get rid of. The noble and learned Lord considered he had a vested interest in it as affording him a lever to get rid of the whole Declaration. Therefore my noble and learned friend is the author of the predicament in which

the House finds itself. Lord Aberdeen seemed to throw out the idea that we had better get rid of this Declaration, then patch up something which would be agreeable to all parties. I venture to hope the House will not proceed in that preposterous fashion. It is asked, "Why do you single out Roman Catholicism and omit Buddhism and Mahomedanism from the Declaration?" Because there never has been an attempt by a Mahomedan King of England to impose the Mahomedan religion upon the people of England, and because no Buddhist King, stimulated by Buddhist priests, has played false with the constitution of this country; and until historical illustrations of that kind can be given the talk about Buddhists and Mahomedans is very much out of the question. I am certain that there are great masses of the people of this country who are strongly of opinion that the Sovereign should on his accession, in the full blaze of publicity, repudiate the doctrines of the Church of Rome. It seems to me, therefore, that unless and until an effort is made to modify the terms of the Oath this question should be left alone. I decline to fall into the trap of parting with this Declaration in the hope or on the chance of getting something else. The course to adopt is to modify the Declaration.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: My Lords, I am quite sure that I am only expressing what every Roman Catholic feels when I say that it is most painful to us that the most sacred tenets of our religion should be singled out on his accession for repudiation by our beloved and revered Sovereign, to whom we are most devoted and loyal. Two years ago it was felt that this Declaration ought to be altered, and a Committee was appointed to bring up a new form of words. It was decided, rightly or wrongly, that no Roman Catholic Peer should be a member of that Committee. The Roman Catholic Peers desired to lay their views before that Committee, but, much to their surprise, they were given no opportunity whatever of doing so and no means were adopted to ascertain what it was we objected to. We did not move in the matter last year, because we felt that the year of the Coronation was not a very seemly occasion to bring up a question which

might raise angry disputes. But we have never shrunk from declaring that we regard the terms of the Declaration as a great grievance; and we feel that the honest and straightforward course would be to remove it altogether. I have heard no arguments to show that the Coronation Oath does not fully cover the ground. The Roman Catholics of this country fully accept the principle—though we cannot be held to agree with it—that the Sovereign should be a Protestant. We recognised the fact that the nation is Protestant. But we feel deeply that it is only the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church that are outraged in the most cruel way, and that that outrage is all the more wanton on account of the public manner in which it is done.

LORD STANMORE: My Lords, there is a historical point which I think it is most important that your Lordships should have well in your minds before dividing on this question. It has been alluded to by Lord Llandaff, and it is in the mind of everyone that this was not originally intended as an oath to ensure Protestant succession. It was an oath directed in the first instance to preventing Roman Catholics holding office or occupying seats in this House, and it was to prevent executive power being exercised in favour of the Roman Catholic religion. It was extended to the King for the reason that the King at that time had in his hands the whole exercise of executive power. There was no place under the Crown to which the King could not then, by his own personal will, appoint. He could give every commission in the Army; he could appoint justices of the peace, then much more important than now; and he could not only use that power, but he could abuse it. James II. did so abuse it; he used his executive power as King to help the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. He gave away commissions to Roman Catholics; he appointed Roman Catholic justices; he even went so far as to introduce Roman Catholics on to the Bench of Bishops; and the nation rightly saw that that executive power which it had already prevented from being exercised by Roman Catholics in humbler walks should not be exercised by the King. But now the executive power is no longer in the hands of the King, but is exercised

for him by his Ministers, who are responsible to Parliament. If we are to hold to the antiquated idea that these declarations and oaths are to be the means by which we are to ensure ourselves against the abuse of executive power, it is not the King, but the advisers of the King—it is those Members of the Privy Council who give him advice and who practically have all appointments in their hands—who ought to make the declaration. In its language the Declaration is an anachronism and an absurdity. The time for these Declarations has passed. The change of the national point of view is illustrated by the fact that a Roman Catholic Home Secretary, now a Member of your Lordships' House, was some years ago appointed without a word of popular protest, and he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of the country. It is quite clear that this unhappy Declaration cannot last much longer and must disappear in its present form.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (the Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, the noble Duke behind me made some complaint of the procedure of the Committee appointed two years ago. I was not a member of that Committee, and I do not think I was particularly concerned in the arrangements for its appointment; but I am under a strong impression, which I should be surprised to find is not correct, that an invitation was addressed to the Roman Catholic Members of this House to take part in the Committee, and that it was entirely owing to their unwillingness to serve that no Roman Catholic member was appointed. It strikes me that any reason the noble Duke may have for complaining of the manner in which the proceedings of that Committee were conducted, and any absence of communication he might have to complain of, would have been removed if the noble Duke had consented to assist the deliberations of that Committee.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: It was notified to us from the highest quarter, not connected with ourselves, that probably it would be better on the whole if we were not on the Committee. I was not objecting to our not being on the

Committee. What I objected to was that there was no sort of communication with us, and that we were not even asked what we expected the Committee could do.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: I think my statement is confirmed that it was perfectly open to the noble Duke, or to any other Roman Catholic Peer, to have sat upon the Committee; and I still adhere to my opinion that the best means of establishing any communication between the Committee and the Roman Catholic Members would have been for one or more of them to have been on the Committee. Before I attempt to reply to the Questions addressed to me, I cannot avoid making one or two observations as to the procedure which has been adopted in asking your Lordships to give a Second Reading to this Bill. It was introduced either in last week or in the previous week. As your Lordships know, the introduction of a Bill is a purely formal proceeding, and, as a matter of fact, the Bill itself was not in your Lordships' hands till last Tuesday, and on Thursday we are asked to give it a Second Reading.

EARL GREY: I handed in the Bill to be printed on the same night that I introduced it, and I was under the impression that it would be circulated with the Votes on the following day, or on Saturday at the latest.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: As a matter of fact the Bill was in your Lordships' hands on Tuesday, and on Thursday we were asked to give it a Second Reading. Not only so. I know that my noble friend was asked to defer the Second Reading, because it was absolutely impossible that the Lord Chancellor, who it might have been supposed ought to be present when such a Bill was to be considered, could be in his place to-day. Even this was refused by the noble Earl opposite in his haste to amend the Constitution and to remove—not to amend—the constitutional security to which the great part of the people of this country are supremely and deeply attached. The noble Earl must know that this is a question which touches the sincere and honest convictions—they may be mistaken, but they are sincere and honestly held convictions—of a very large

number of the subjects of His Majesty, than whom none could be more loyal, none more attached to the Constitution. It touches the convictions of a large number of men who would feel the greatest apprehension at what they would consider any weakening, much more the removal, of a Declaration which, in their opinion, is a most valuable security for the maintenance of the Protestant succession to the Throne of this country; and, notwithstanding that knowledge, which the noble Earl must possess, he asks your Lordships to pass this Bill, almost without notice, and at a time when not one in 1,000, not one I should think in 100,000 of the people of this country know that such a proposal has even been made.

My Lords, I think we have had a most interesting and most able discussion; but if we have, it has not been owing to any consideration on the part of the noble Earl which would enable Members of this House to take part in the discussion of so important a question; and I cannot help expressing my conviction that the course which has been adopted is one which certainly is not in the highest degree respectful either to the Members of this House, or to the country at large. Reference has already been made to the recent history of this question, and your Lordships will not fail to remember that His Majesty's Government have, in regard to this Declaration, a policy of their own which was laid before this House, and fully explained. That policy was, while retaining the Declaration in its substance and in its essential features, to eliminate from it all the words and expressions which were held, and I think justly held, to be of an offensive character or of a nature calculated to wound the feelings of a great many loyal subjects of His Majesty. A Committee was, in the first instance, appointed, and they examined this Declaration. They recommended another form of Declaration, and the proposal of the Committee, embodied in the form of a Bill, was laid before your Lordships' House. Owing to, and in consequence of, the attitude which was assumed by the Roman Catholic Members of the House, an attitude which I am bound to say they do not appear to have departed from in any degree, it was found useless to proceed any further with that measure. That was the policy of His Majesty's

The Duke of Norfolk.

Government two years ago, and that is the policy of His Majesty's Government now.

If there were any reason to suppose that the attitude of the Roman Catholic community, as represented by noble Lords who sit in this House, towards the proposed alteration of this Declaration, was in any degree modified, His Majesty's Government would be perfectly ready on a fitting opportunity to renew the proposals which they made two years ago—I do not know that they would be necessarily in exactly the same form. Your Lordships must also remember that while it was the policy of the Government to introduce what they considered necessary and desirable Amendments into the Declaration, it was equally their policy that a Declaration substantially to the same effect should remain a part of the law of the country. I see very little advantage, and I see a great many objections, to entering into the reasons which, in our judgment, as well as in the judgment of many noble Lords who sit opposite, make the retention of such a Declaration necessary. They have been stated with clearness and, at the same time, with admirable calmness and moderation in the debate this evening. Your Lordships cannot imagine that if this question were raised as one of practical consideration in the other House of Parliament and for discussion throughout the country, the same tone of moderation would prevail. His Majesty's Government are of opinion that to raise this question at a time when there is no probability of its leading to a settlement would be likely to revive religious controversy and to provoke controversial discussions far more likely to retard than to facilitate any possible settlement of the question. I think I have stated accurately what was the policy of His Majesty's Government two years ago; but, lest there should be any misapprehension whatever on the subject. I do not think I could do better than to read two very short extracts from the speeches of the late Prime Minister on this subject, which defined then, and still accurately define, the position of His Majesty's Government. On the Second Reading of the Bill which was before your Lordships' House two years ago Lord Salisbury said—

"The object of the Committee was that these offensive expressions should be withdrawn, and

that so much change as was necessary for the purpose should be made in the new Statutory Declaration. We never promised to go further than that. We do not desire to enter into the question, though we do not conceal our own opinion that a Declaration is necessary, or at all events highly expedient, for the maintenance of the Protestant succession. But that is not the point which we submit for the consideration of Parliament."

Again on the Third Reading, when the attitude of the Roman Catholic Peers had been fully declared, Lord Salisbury said—

"We now know that they do not wish these offensive words to be withdrawn unless at the same time there is withdrawn that Declaration for the security of the Protestant succession, which we never for a single moment indicated that we had any intention of dispensing with. . . . We know sufficient of the opinion of those whose voices are powerful in this matter to know that outside the Bill which we are now passing there is no alternative of change, and that what you are doing by rejecting the Bill is to lay down that the old Declaration shall remain in the same words such as it has been for more than two centuries past. I am sorry that it should be so, but do not let it be said that it is our doing that that Declaration is maintained. If the Roman Catholics had willed it, if they had been consenting parties, if they had not been active opponents, I think there was a very fair chance of removing what I admit to be a stain upon the Statute-book."

Now, my Lords, those were the opinions of His Majesty's Government two years ago, and I do not think that in any degree or in any detail we have seen any reason to modify those opinions. They were not only the opinions of the Government; they were substantially also the opinions which were held by other Members of this House occupying very responsible positions. In the course of those debates the noble Earl (Lord Rosebery) said—

"But that does not prove that the test should not be applied and that the Declaration should not be made. On the contrary, I hold that the Declaration is one of great importance as being made at a solemn moment, at the moment of accession and again renewed in another form at the moment of Coronation, and that therefore you cannot dispense with it. You cannot dispense with it for this reason. It is regarded by the great mass of the nation as a guarantee. You cannot get over that fact. You are not dealing entirely with exalted minds who see but little to bind in Declarations of this kind, but you are dealing with the great mass of the nation, deeply imbued with Protestantism, deeply suspicious of any departure from Protestantism, and determined, so far as it can, that in no essential particular, shall this Declaration be relaxed."

And I think that the last words that were uttered in the debate two years ago were by Lord Spencer, who said—

“I am convinced that the feeling in this country is so profound and so strong on the subject of the Protestant succession, and there are such exaggerated views of what the old Declaration means, that it would be perfectly futile even for His Majesty’s Government, with all their strength, to have proposed a material alteration in that Declaration.”

Now, my Lords, I maintain that in the face of these declarations, not only on the part of His Majesty’s Government but also on the part of responsible Statesmen on all sides of the House, it would be nothing less than trifling with the House to ask it, without substituting anything in the place of this Declaration, to sweep away a security to which such a degree of importance has been attributed by every responsible Member of the House who has spoken on the subject, and which, as I have said, is deeply valued by the great majority of the people of this nation.

My Lords, we are asked to do away with this Declaration solely, as far as I can see, on the ground that it would be a graceful and conciliatory act to our Roman Catholic fellow subjects. That is, I think, practically the only plea which has been put forward for sweeping away this Declaration. I cannot think it would be an act of conciliation to our Roman Catholic fellow subjects to provoke a controversy which every man in this House must know would be an acute and bitter controversy, throughout the length and breadth of this land, turning partly on historical, partly on constitutional, and to a large extent on theological questions. I cannot think that it is conciliation of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects to provoke such a discussion and controversy. I do not know that I need say more except to point out, merely as an illustration of the care, or the want of care, with which the noble Earl has introduced this great and important question to the consideration of your Lordships, that under this Bill, as it stands, it would be perfectly possible for a Roman Catholic to hold the Crown for one or two or several years before his Coronation without being called upon to make any declaration whatever.

The Duke of Devonshire.

The noble Earl relies on two securities; in the first place on the Coronation Oath, but, as has been pointed out, there is no necessity that that oath should be taken within a very considerable period after the accession of the Sovereign. He relies also on the provisions of the Bill of Rights, which provides that anyone professing, or being reconciled to, the Church of Rome shall *ipso facto* cease to be Sovereign of these Realms. But the noble Earl does not explain how, in the absence of any declaration, it is to be ascertained whether the Sovereign holds Roman Catholic tenets or not. The noble Earl has no doubt expressed his willingness to assent to certain Amendments which he thinks might be accepted by those who support this Bill. But I submit that it is for those who propose such a constitutional change, which would so deeply irritate the feelings of a vast number of the people of this country, to prepare a complete measure for the acceptance of Parliament, and not to ask us to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which sweeps away a Declaration on which many of us put the highest value without knowing in the least what it is proposed to put in its place. An appeal was made to me by the noble Viscount behind me that no pressure should be put by the Government upon its supporters in this matter. That is a suggestion to which, I regret to say, I am altogether unable to give my assent. I do not think the Government would be discharging the responsibility which rests upon them if they were to refrain from any means in their power to prevent a question of this kind being presented for the consideration of the country in a manner which we believe would certainly not tend to its ultimate settlement, but which would raise controversies, especially in the present state of public opinion on these matters, which would lead to no consequences, excepting evil consequences, and to the greatest mischief in the country.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: My Lords, I do not propose to intervene for more than a few minutes between your Lordships and the division, the more especially as I think I do not differ from anything which has fallen from the noble Duke

in the course of his weighty and eloquent speech. Perhaps his hand fell rather heavily on my noble friend behind me for the want of notice he had given to your Lordships for the purpose of preparation for this debate. All I can say on that matter, not knowing the facts, is that I do not think the debate has justified the rebuke of the noble Duke, because since I have been in this House I have never heard a debate which more amply sustained its traditions, in the tone and eloquence with which this subject has been treated. The noble Duke has almost spared me the trouble of making any remarks on this occasion, because he read so lengthily an excerpt from a former speech of my own, that I felt I was almost discharged from further function in the matter.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: Not too lengthily.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: It is very good of the noble Duke to say so. I am glad he took so much pleasure in reading it. I take a very deep and serious interest in this matter; and, though I consider that this debate has reached a very high line of argument and tone, I cannot but feel that we are sensibly further back from a solution of this question than we were two years ago. And I am sorry to say that I lay that chiefly at the door of the noble Viscount, Lord Llandaff, whom we always hear with so much pleasure, and whom we hear much too seldom in this House. He said to-night that he did not mind the offensiveness and the language of this Declaration, what he really cared about was the Declaration itself. If that be the attitude of the Roman Catholic Peers in this House, all I can say is that they render any settlement of this question impossible. The object of this House has been already defined, I think, by the speeches quoted of the late Prime Minister, in which he stated that it was impossible, for reasons which he gave and for others which will occur to your Lordships, to do away with this Declaration; we desire only to remove from the Declaration all that is unnecessary and offensive to our fellow-Christians who belong to another com-

munion. But if the noble Viscount claims to go beyond that, if he claims to remove all declaration as being superfluous, unnecessary, and offensive, I am sorry to say that I think we shall proceed no further in this matter.

***VISCOUNT LLANDAFF:** All that I have contended for is that the Declaration should not contain specific condemnation of specific doctrines. Let it assert the Protestant faith of the Sovereign as clearly and emphatically as the noble Earl may wish, but let it not go out of its way to condemn the faith of other people.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: I confess I was misled by what the noble Viscount said about language. But how is the Protestant faith—which, as its name denotes, is a protest against certain portions of the doctrines of the Roman Church—how is that to be satisfactorily defined, and defined in a sense to which the great mass of the people of this country are stoutly attached, without some such repudiation as that which the noble Viscount disclaims? That is the part of his speech which, I confess, disheartens me; for I believe, and I say it with regret, if it causes pain to him and those who agree with him, that no declaration can be made in the Protestant sense which does not contain some of that language of repudiation which he dislikes. I said that I agreed with all that fell from the noble Duke, but in one historical point, I confess, I was at variance with him. I think he gave too roseate an account of the transactions of the Government with regard to this matter two years ago. He said the Committee appointed by the Government had examined the Declaration and had made certain emendations in it. My information is that they did not examine the Declaration. I believe there is one witness behind me. I hardly like to touch on the point in the absence of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, with whom this matter was a very sensitive one, but I am inclined to think that there was no examination of the Declaration. The Committee's proceedings were somewhat summary, more summary than those of the noble Earl behind me, for dealing with this great question.

But let me say in a serious spirit that if you are to settle this question you must not embark on it again without some prospect of a settlement. I am very sorry that, whether for the reasons given by the noble Duke the Earl Marshal, or for others, the Roman Catholic Peers did not see fit to join in the deliberations of that Committee. I am still more sorry that, for reasons which have not been explained, the Committee did not invite from the Roman Catholic Peers some expressions of their opinions as to what might be done with regard to salving their feelings in this matter. Still more am I sorry that no Member of the right rev. Bench was invited to form part of that Committee, whose deliberations did seem to me to invite their co-operation in a most eminent degree. For your Lordships' Committee, in dealing with this subject, to sit for an hour, without the co-operation of the Roman Catholic peers, and without the co-operation of our own Bishops, is, it seems to me, to embark on an enterprise which is doomed to failure; for even with the best prognostics, even with every agreement which you can reach between these two great bodies, you still always have the House of Commons and the country to face in dealing with this matter. Therefore I hope that if the Government, and I think it is only the Government that can deal with such a matter as this, once more takes this matter in hand it will not be without careful consultation with and complete co-operation of both the Bishops and the Roman Catholic Peers.

LORD BRAYE: The present Declaration is no guarantee, even from a Protestant point of view, for a Protestant succession, because, although the Sovereign might embrace the Catholic religion immediately after the Coronation, he would never be called on to make a fresh Declaration.

EARL GREY: The noble Duke has thought fit to censure me for being guilty

of a want of respect in the way in which I have brought this Bill before the attention of the House. I have already explained my position with reference to the notice which I gave to the House of this Bill. It is no new Bill. It was discussed fully two years ago.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: Not this Bill.

EARL GREY: The question is not a new one, and therefore I think that I am entitled to be exempted from the censure of the noble Duke in having brought forward the Bill after a week's notice. I also wish to clear myself from the imputation that I have been lacking in respect to the noble and learned Lord who sits on the Woolstack. I was anxious to meet the wishes of the Lord Chancellor, but I had already pledged myself to the Duke of Norfolk to bring forward the Bill this afternoon. The noble Duke had telegraphed to his friends telling them that the Bill would be taken to-day, and therefore I felt myself unable, much to my regret, to meet the request of the Lord Chancellor. I greatly regret that the noble Duke the Leader of the House has not seen his way to accede to the suggestion made by the most reverend the Primate, that this question cannot be left where it is. I had hoped that an assurance would be given that a new Committee would be appointed to inquire fully into the suggestion made by the most reverend Primate, who himself seemed to be of opinion that it would be quite possible to draw up a declaration which would satisfy the Protestant sentiment of the country without selecting doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith for special repudiation by the Sovereign on his accession. The fact that such a suggestion was made from such a quarter is ample and complete justification of my action in having brought forward this Bill.

On Question, their Lordships divided. Contents, 62, Not-Contents, 109.

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Resolved in the negative.

THE RESERVATION OF THE COASTAL TRADE.

LORD MUSKERRY, who had given notice "To call attention to the recommendation of the Subsidies Committee and the Resolution adopted at the Con-

ference of Colonial Premiers regarding the reservation of the coastal trade of the British Empire, and to the fact that British shipowners are subjected to unfair competition owing to the coastal trade of practically all the foreign maritime powers being reserved to their own ships; and to move to resolve 'that

in the opinion of this House it is desirable that legislation on the terms of the recommendation of the Subsidies Committee and the Resolution adopted at the Conference of Colonial Premiers should be initiated by His Majesty's Government," said: My Lords, it is unnecessary for me to detain your Lordships at any great length in calling attention to the most important subject of the reservation of the coastal trade of the British Empire, especially when we have regard to the views which have been recently expounded by some of the leading members of His Majesty's Government in the way of the adoption of a system of preferential tariffs, which shall serve to still further consolidate the British Empire, and to draw closer the bonds of unity between the colonies and the mother country. I feel therefore that only a favourable answer can consistently be given to my advocacy of His Majesty's Government taking steps in reserving the great shipping trade, not only on our own coasts, but between this country and our colonies and *vice versa*, to British ships.

I think your Lordships cannot but agree that it is a grave scandal that, for instance, foreign ships should actually be permitted, and *do* trade in competition with British shipowners in the coastal trade between ports in the United Kingdom, and, to go farther afield, they may trade between this country and our own colonies at an advantage against British shipowners, owing to their not complying with what are called "restrictions" upon British shipowners—praise worthy "restrictions" I call them—for the ensuring of safety of life at sea. No doubt your Lordships would like to have some information as to what is the attitude adopted by other maritime Powers in regard to their shipping trade, and I may say that amongst those who will permit none but their own ships to carry on trade on their own coasts, or between their own ports and their colonies, are Belgium, France, Russia, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Brazil, United States, Egypt and others. As an instance I may explain that up till quite recently a very large trade was done by British ships bringing grain cargoes from Russian ports in the Black Sea through

the Mediterranean and round through the Baltic to St. Petersburg and other North Russian ports, which, as your Lordships know, is a voyage of some considerable duration. Russia is now, however, reserving to herself her coastal trade, and all this trade which has been carried on by British shipowners is lost to them. At the same time a Russian vessel is perfectly free to trade between British ports, and under more advantageous conditions, as I have previously explained, than British ships.

My hands are considerably strengthened by two recommendations which His Majesty's Government cannot possibly ignore. One is that of the Subsidies Committee, which has recently concluded its deliberations. On referring to their Report I find it stated that:—

"This class of restriction appears to be on the increase, so that the field for British trading throughout the world is becoming gradually but surely circumscribed. The United States extend the doctrine so as to declare a voyage from New York round Cape Horn to San Francisco, or from San Francisco to Honolulu, to be a coasting voyage, and as such they restrict it to vessels carrying the United States flag. Similarly, France refuses to allow any but French vessels to trade between French ports and Algeria; and Russia, in reserving its coasting trade to its own flag, includes in this restriction the navigation between Russian ports in the Baltic and the Black Sea, and between all Russian ports and Vladivostok in the far east of Siberia. Such restrictions have seriously affected British trade."

This will be no cause of surprise to your Lordships. Sir Robert Giffen, a very high authority, estimated that there would be a gain of 9 per cent. in trade by British vessels, and he stated that this was a considerable advantage. He did not fear reprisals, for, as foreigners already reserved their coasting trade, they would have no cause of complaint. The Committee say that Sir Robert Giffen's evidence as to the reservation of British Imperial coasting trade to British ships deserves very careful attention. The Committee desire specially to point out that as the coast-line of the British Empire is the greatest of any country in the world, Great Britain need have no serious fear of effective retaliation, even if most of them did not already do what is now suggested for Great Britain. The Committee think that the occasion has come when the question of the qualified reservation of British Imperial coasting

Lord Muskerry.

trade on the lines indicated should be considered by His Majesty's Government with a view to reserving the British and colonial coastwise trades and the Imperial coasting trade within the British Empire to British and colonial ships and vessels of those nations who throw open their coasting trade to British and colonial ships. The plain truths to which the Committee have drawn attention in this direction, and the very strong opinions they hold, make it imperative that your Lordships should not allow them to be relegated to the Parliamentary dust-heap where so many Blue-books bear testimony to futile labour and expense. I have the satisfaction of not only basing my remarks on this Motion upon the Report of the Subsidies Committee, but upon one of the most important Resolutions passed by the Conference of Colonial Premiers held in this country last year, which is destined to bring about a revolution of the principles upon which British trade has been carried on for many years. The question of preferential tariffs, which was also the subject of a Resolution by the Conference, is one in which His Majesty's Government are already moving, but, of course, this, as I understand His Majesty's Government to say, will require very deep thought and consideration to arrive at some practicable and workable scheme if the same appears advisable. Not so with the reservation of the coastal trade, for this has been thoroughly gone into by the Subsidies Committee, and valuable statistics are immediately at hand; therefore, so far as I can see, there is really no difficulty in the way of His Majesty's Government at once taking steps to carry out in practice the recommendations of the Subsidies Committee and the resolution of the Colonial Premiers, which is as follows—

"That it is desirable that the attention of the Governments of the colonies and the United Kingdom should be called to the present state of the navigation laws in the Empire, and in other countries, and to the advisability of refusing the privileges of coastwise trade, including trade between the mother country and its colonies and possessions and between one colony or possession and another, to countries in which the corresponding trade is confined to ships of their own nationality, and also to the laws affecting shipping, with a view of seeing whether any other steps should be taken to promote Imperial trade in British vessels."

As the noble Marquess the Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs has told your Lordships—

"Those distinguished colonial statesmen came here on purposes of business, and it is impossible having these Resolutions before us lightly to brush them on one side."

They, my Lords, evidently recognise the supreme importance of cohesion and the consolidation of the interests of the Empire. What can be more important than our shipping industry and the maintenance of our sea commerce? It is of the most vital interest to our Empire; it is the industry which has principally contributed to make the English power what it is; it is what binds the mother country to our colonies and possessions abroad, and the decline of this industry would inevitably lead to the decline of the Empire.

I take it that the first duty of the Royal Navy is the protection of the commerce of Great Britain. Rightly this Navy of which we are so proud is being augmented and kept in a high state of efficiency, but it is an extraordinary thing that practically nothing is done by the Government to keep up the efficiency and prosperity of the Mercantile Marine, which necessarily is our first reserve. The principal reason for maintaining such a large fleet of war vessels being the protection of our British merchant shipping, it seems to be a most serious neglect on the part of successive Governments of this country that no consideration should be extended to an industry which is the mainstay of the nation, but rather that every encouragement is extended to foreign vessels to compete against our own. And now, my Lords, I earnestly trust that you will support me in urging His Majesty's Government to take the necessary steps in carrying out a reform which will be of the greatest encouragement and assistance to British shipowners in the severe competition with which they now meet, and which is getting keener and keener as time goes on. In encouraging British shipowners you are also fortifying and nursing our splendid merchant service which performs a national duty, and which in reality is the very life-blood of our Empire. I will, in conclusion, read to your Lordships a letter I received two or three days ago which shows the existence of a very startling state of affairs:—

"I have been an officer in the mercantile service, and at present I am a Port Sanitary

Inspector on the River Thames. Like myself, the majority of my colleagues have in their time had command both in steam and sail. Each man of us, in the pursuit of our calling, inspect, on an average, about 3,000 ships per annum; it will thus be seen that for practical experience of the service ashore and afloat, in no other Port in the Kingdom can the same practical information on this phase of the question be had. I am not going to give my opinion on the matter, but I will try to put before you the unanimous opinion of my brother inspectors, all old shipmasters, all sanitary inspectors.

The first thing that we have noticed is that of late years nearly all the old clipper ships have been sold; a few only are left and the best school for training the young seamen is now a limited one. Most of these old iron ships are yet running with reduced crews under foreign flags—German and Norwegian, for the most part. The percentage of foreign bottoms using the port is increasing by leaps and bounds, one reason of this being that, within the last twenty years, factory after factory has had to shut up owing to being ruined by foreign competition—glass works, chinaware, hardware, bottle-making, toy-making, pianos, musical instruments, cabinet-making, seed-crushing, and many others. One of the last down here in East London to collapse . . . held out bravely, but they had to give in, and 1,600 men were thrown out of employment, and over £2,000 in wages lost to the district weekly.

"The reason that the loss of an industry down here means an increase in foreign ships using the port is that as soon as the foreigner has firmly started on a firm basis the trade we have lost, he always sends the goods by one of his own, or his own country's ships, because it is probably cheaper, and it is patriotic at the same time. So you see loss of manufactures means in the end loss of transport. If the foreigner can export in his own bottoms, and make it pay, so could we if we had protection. We do not know what is going on in Liverpool, but of recent years the number of foreign ships trading on our coast without a break is on the increase, and, so far as London is concerned, we have foreign ships, mostly German and Norwegian, all the year round carrying coal from Newcastle, stones from the Channel Islands, coal from South Wales, clay from Poole, grit from Brideport, stone from Portland, and only the other day a small German schooner brought up to London a cargo of cement from Rochester—free trade with a vengeance. Although I am unable to say what good this state of affairs is to the country, I can tell what the harm is. Thousands of pounds sterling per week for freight are leaving the country that might remain here, and thousands of our seamen are out of work, many in despair have become casual labourers, or joined the ranks of the chronic unemployed.

"Again, of late years, a large percentage of foreigners, mostly German, Norwegian, and Italian, have taken to trade entirely between London and our own colonies. They never go in any other trade; they load here of set purpose, because it pays them best. The obliging foreigner, not content with doing our own coasting trade, is thus gradually cutting into

our own colonial trade, and, as a matter of fact, any day a half dozen of these foreign ships, with not a single Britisher on board, may be seen loading in the South-West India Dock for the colonies. This state of affairs is gradually getting worse and worse all the time; the number of foreign boarding houses for foreigners is on the increase, the home people are being frozen out altogether, and bands of raw young German seamen are brought over here and touted and foisted upon any one that will have them. I constantly meet these young men on our own coasters, and of course the supposition is that before they get there a certain amount of blood-money changes hands. Not only is the English A.B. being ousted, but many British ships carry no English officers, save perhaps the Master. Indeed, only last week the 'Loch Broom' came here from the Continent without a single British officer, and what officers there were had no certificates. This is constantly recurring. The Board of Trade Regulations are a mere farce—something like the Regulations to Board of Trade Surveyors *re* crew quarters, never by any means carried out unless by accident.

"If this weakening of the service continues, in time it will mean that there will soon be a weakening of the Royal Naval Reserve; apart from that, in time of war the ships will require coal and stores and other transport. I take it this is a most important point. Of course, if the aliens who now man nearly half the mercantile navy will do the fighting, repair the wastage in the Navy, and do the transport and feed the people of England at the same time, then no more need be said; but Sir, the sea is our birthright for us and our boys, and if you can do anything to keep us from being ousted from our own ships and from our own trade with our brethren across the sea, you will have earned the gratitude of all British seamen."

I have taken the trouble to inquire whether the facts stated in this letter are true, and I find that they are. Surely, therefore, it cannot be denied that they indicate a serious state of affairs which cannot be allowed to continue.

Moved to resolve, That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that legislation on the terms of the recommendation of the Subsidies Committee and the resolution adopted at the Conference of Colonial Premiers should be initiated by His Majesty's Government.—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: My Lords, as I understand the matter, it is not so much the coasting trade, in the narrower sense of the term, of the United Kingdom, and of the various colonies and dependencies, as the trade between the

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different parts of the Empire that has to be borne in mind. The total tonnage of vessels entered and cleared annually in the trade between different parts of the British Empire — that is between the United Kingdom and the various colonies and possessions, and between the colonies and possessions (counting the Australian States as separate colonies, but not including any of the colonial coasting trade strictly so called) — is 36,814,000 tons, of which 32,310,000 tons are British and 4,504,000 foreign. Thus the percentage of British is 88 and of foreign 12. So far as the United Kingdom alone is concerned, 94 per cent. of the tonnage engaged in the coasting trade appears to be British. Such colonial figures as are available show a proportion of 96 per cent. British and 4 foreign. Of these small percentages of British coasting trade and trade between different parts of the Empire only a small fraction would be affected by the Resolution of Colonial Premiers, or the recommendation of the Committee. It should be borne in mind that, although France reserves the trade between the Atlantic and Mediterranean seaboard, and also the trade between France and Algeria, the carrying trade between France and her oversea colonies is open to foreign vessels on equal terms with French vessels. Also that, with certain relatively unimportant exceptions, five out of the seven principal foreign countries with oversea possessions — France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal — throw open the carrying trade between the mother country and those possessions; but in the case of Germany the preference she gives by subsidies must be taken into account. Russia and the United States alone reserve the whole or the greater part of their trade between their distant coasts and with oversea possessions to national ships. Therefore the question, as limited by the Resolution of the Colonial Premiers, practically affects Russia and the United States alone, and the immediate consequence of giving effect to the Resolution would consequently be small. But the principle involved is important, and is so closely connected with the question of Fiscal Policy now under consideration that the Government must decline to make any separate pronouncement upon it at the present time. With

regard to the Report of the Subsidies Committee generally, I may say that the President of the Board of Trade was recently asked in the House of Commons how far the legislation applying at present to British shipping trading to ports in the United Kingdom could be extended to vessels belonging to foreign owners, and in reply Mr. Gerald Balfour suggested that the most convenient course would be for a Member of the House of Commons to introduce a Bill embodying the views of the shipowners, and that the Government would be prepared to give favourable consideration to such a Bill on the understanding that, if read a second time, it should go to a Select Committee. I conclude that the noble Duke would adopt a similar course in the event of a Bill being introduced in this House. I trust that my noble friend will not press his Motion.

LORD MUSKERRY: May I take it that the question will not be lost sight of by the Government?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): As this important question is connected with the larger question of the Fiscal Policy which the Government has now before it, the noble Lord may take it that neither one nor the other will be lost sight of. *

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

MOTOR TRAFFIC REGULATION.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I beg to ask His Majesty's Government when it is proposed to introduce the Bill dealing with the regulation of motor traffic.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): I regret the delay that has taken place. It has been inevitable. I am now able to assure the noble Earl that it is the intention of the Government to proceed with the Bill and to express the hope, I think well-founded, that I may be able to present it in the course of next week.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock,
till To-morrow, half-past Ten
o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 25th June, 1903.

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The House met at Two of the Clock.

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THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

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UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

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PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.: Poole and District Electric Traction Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision (No. 2) in the following Bill the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz.: Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill that they have power to make provision therein accordingly.

Scottish-American Mortgage Company, Limited, Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill;

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill. Read the third time and passed.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Barnsley Corporation (Water) Bill. Order [2nd March] that the Bill be committed, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.—(Mr. Caldwell.)

Gateshead Corporation Bill. Reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill. Reported with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

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PETITIONS.

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CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petition from Beverley, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL.

Petition from Sleaford, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Sleaford, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Falkirk, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petition from Barming, against; to lie upon the Table.

PATENT OFFICE EXTENSION BILL.

Petition of the Prudential Assurance Company, Limited, against (praying to be heard by Counsel); referred to the Select Committee on the Bill.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**ARMY (COMMISSION ON DYSENTERY).**

Copy presented, of Report of the Commission on the nature, pathology, causation, and prevention of Dysentery, and its relationship to Enteric Fever, appointed by the Secretary of State for War, August, 1900 [by Command]; to upon the Table.

RAILWAYS.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade on applications made during 1902 under The Railway Companies' Powers Act, 1864, and of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 223.]

RAILWAYS CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES ACT, 1864.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade on an Application made during the year 1902 under the Act, and of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade with respect thereto [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 224.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACTS, 1882 TO 1890 (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade respecting the Applications to and Proceedings of the Board of Trade under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 to 1890, during the past year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 225.]

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.

PUBLIC RECORDS (OFFICE OF LAND REVENUE RECORDS AND ENROLMENTS).

Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents from the Office of Land Revenue Records and Enrolments which are now in the Public Record Office, but are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [by Act].

PATENT OFFICE EXTENSION (EXPENSES).

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of all Expenses

incurred by the Commissioners of Works under any Act of the present Session for the acquisition of land for the further extension of the Patent Office, and for purposes connected therewith (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—*(Mr. Elliot.)*

HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).

Ordered, that the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed in the last Session of Parliament to inquire into the ventilation of the House be referred to the Select Committee on House of Commons (Ventilation), and be printed.—*(Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.)*

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.****Indian Native States—Administrative Control.**

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE (Bethnal Green, S.W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can state how many of the Native States of India, the territory of which exceeds 100 square miles, are or were up to the end of last year under the administrative control of political agents on account of the infancy or incapacity of the chiefs of such States; and what has been the increase in their number during the last five years.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) The materials at my disposal do not enable me to give the information asked for by my hon. friend. I will request the Government of India to furnish lists showing the number of States in question, now as compared with five years ago.

Position of Naval Schoolmasters.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether the Lords of the Admiralty have arrived at any conclusion with regard to the position, pay, and pension of naval schoolmasters, principal or assistant, or both; and if he can announce the prospect of an improvement for members of this branch of the service.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) As I informed the hon. Member for Portsmouth on the 11th March† naval schoolmasters, as chief petty officers, participate in the benefits of the improved scale of pension recently granted to chief petty officer ratings. As regards the questions of position and pay I am unable at present to add anything to my replies to the hon. Member's Questions of the 23rd March and the 2nd April.‡

New Ordnance Maps.

MR. KENNEDY (Westmeath, N.): To ask the hon. Member for North Hunts, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that on the new issue of the inch Ordnance maps the old boundaries of parishes and baronies are omitted, and the boundaries of urban and rural districts have not been put on; and whether, seeing that the omission of those boundaries renders those maps almost useless for the purposes of local authorities in Ireland, he will take steps to have the boundaries of the new rural and urban district councils and county electoral divisions marked in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The boundaries of parishes and baronies were omitted from the new issue of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map in order to avoid confusion with other and more important details, but, on the other hand, a special edition of the map is now issued for the local government purposes, on which the boundaries of rural and urban districts, and also those of counties, district electoral divisions, and county boroughs are shown in red. I shall be glad to send a specimen sheet to the hon. Member. Any question which may arise as to the old boundaries of parishes and baronies could always be settled on reference to the copies of maps of the old edition which are retained by the Ordnance Survey.

Education Act, 1902, Section 23 (4)—Issue of Regulations.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the President of the Local Government Board, when the

Local Government Board will issue the regulation required by Section 23 (4) of the Education Act, 1902.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The regulations have been prepared and I have been in communication with the Board of Education respecting them. I think it may be desirable that some representatives of the local authorities concerned should see the regulations before they are finally settled, but I hope they may be issued shortly.

Condition of the Royal Canal, Ireland.

MR. KENNEDY: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that, in September 1894, Major-General C. S. Hutchinson, R.E., reported on the condition of the Royal Canal, Ireland, and corroborated the complaints of the boat-owners and traders which led to that inquiry; and whether, seeing that similar complaints are now made, he will direct an official inspection of the Royal Canal, to investigate those complaints, and to report whether the recommendations contained in Major Hutchinson's Report have been carried into effect.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) Yes, Sir, it is the case that in 1894 General Hutchinson reported on the condition of this canal to the effect stated. In the following year a further inspection was made by the late Sir Francis Marindin, who also reported to a similar effect. Inspections have since been made by the Irish Board of Works. The Board of Trade have received no recent complaints of the condition of the canal, but if such complaints were addressed to the Department the Board would be prepared to consult with the Irish Office on the question of a further inspection.

Discharge of British Seamen at Continental Ports.

MR. HEYWOOD JOHNSTON (Sussex, Horsham): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can now see his way to act upon the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by him, as President of the Board of Trade in 1896, to consider the question of the engagement and discharge of British

† See (4) *Debates*, cxix., 375.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxix., 1442, and cxx., 899.

seamen at Continental ports within the home trade limits, by adopting their recommendation that fees charged for remittances under the money order and transmission systems should be abolished.

(*Answered by Mr. Ritchie.*) The advisability of acting on the recommendation alluded to by the hon. Member has been more than once considered. Having regard to the results that might be expected if it were adopted, and also to the fact that the larger part of the expenses in connection with remittances is already met out of the Votes, I do not feel justified in incurring the extra expenditure that would be occasioned.

Raffles at Church Bazaars.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Lord Advocate whether, in view of the fact that on 6th February last a subscription sale and prize drawing at Perth, in aid of a minister and widow women respectively, was suppressed, he will state on what grounds raffling and prize drawings were permitted in connection with Wallacetown Parish Church, Dundee, on the 20th and 21st March last.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The hon. Member's information is not quite accurate. There was a prize drawing in aid of a widow in Perth to which, presumably, the hon. Member refers, which, in the special circumstances, was not suppressed. The lottery in aid of the minister referred to was for the purpose of raising money to enable him to carry on a litigation against his colleague. It was accordingly in an entirely different category from the prize drawings in Dundee, which were for a purely charitable object.

Completion of Public Buildings in London.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): To ask the hon. Member for North Derbyshire, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, what are the dates fixed by contract for the completion of the various public buildings in Whitehall, Parliament Street, and South Kensington; and is such progress being made with the respective contracts as to ensure their readiness for the public service by the specified dates

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) In answer to the first part of the Question, the dates for the completion of the contracts for the fabrics of the respective buildings are as follows:—New War Office 26th June, 1906; New Public Offices in Parliament Street, 1st June, 1907; Royal College of Science, 1st June, 1905; Victoria and Albert Museum, 23rd February, 1907; Admiralty (Block III.) (say) 30th June, 1906. (Contract about to be made for superstructure.) With regard to the second query, I have to say that such progress is being made with the above works as to justify an assumption that they will be completed by the specified dates. In some cases it is possible that the fittings will not all be finished, but every effort will be made to avoid delay.

Creditors of Persons confined in Lunatic Asylums.

SIR JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, in view of the fact that Edmund B. Lester, a lunatic confined in the County Antrim Asylum at Belfast under an order of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and who formerly carried on business as a grocer in Belfast, has creditors to the extent of £350, while there are funds standing to the credit of the lunacy master amounting to £373 1s. 3d., as appears by the certificate of the Accountant-General, out of which and the income thereof the sum of £26 is paid by the Registrar in Lunacy to the asylum authorities for the maintenance of said lunatic, and that the Registrar in Lunacy has refused to apply this sum, or any part thereof, in liquidation of the debts due to the several creditors of the lunatic, he will explain why this person is not maintained in said asylum out of the rates as an ordinary pauper lunatic would be.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) No application has been made to the Lord Chancellor regarding debts, and so long as there are funds in Court the maintenance of the lunatic is the first charge on them. It is not the province of the Registrar in Lunacy to make orders regarding the application of funds in Court.

Telegraph Operators—Maximum Salary.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that for a

number of years after the issue of the Fawcett Revision the Civil Service Commissioners issued a paper to entrants to the telegraph service promising them a prospect of £190 per annum, he will state whether the maximum salary attainable by an operator of the general body in London is now only £160 per annum.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) Entrants into the class of telegraphists in London, which is the only class referred to in the notice in question, have still, as they always had, the prospect of attaining to a salary of £190 a year, if they obtain promotion to the class of overseers and senior telegraphists. The scale of pay of that class is £160, increasing by increments of £8 to £190; and promotion to it depends, as it always has done, on the occurrence of vacancies. The maximum salary attainable on the class of telegraphists is £160 a year, as it was prior to the Tweedmouth Revision, the Tweedmouth Committee having expressed the opinion that that salary offered adequate remuneration for the work to be performed.

26th June as a Public Holiday.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General, if the 26th June is to be treated in all respects as a bank holiday throughout the United Kingdom; and will the employees of his Department be paid specially for all time worked on that day.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The answer to both parts of the hon. Member's Question is in the negative.

Telegraph Department—Concessions to Operators and the Public.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Postmaster General, whether he will state the amount of money expended each year since and including 1897 upon concessions given to operating telegraphists during that period; and whether he will also state the value of concessions given to the public at the cost of the Telegraph Department during the same period.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) It would not be possible to furnish such a statement except at a cost which,

having regard to the result produced, I should not be justified in incurring.

Elementary Education—Pupil Teachers.

MR. MORRELL (Oxfordshire, Woodstock): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that boys and girls of twelve holding labour certificates, but not technically recognised either by the Board of Education or His Majesty's Inspector, are employed as teachers in public elementary schools; and, if so, whether he will consider the advisability of so modifying the Provisional Code, 1903, as to prevent such young persons being employed as teachers, except under the provisions of Article 33, and as probationers approved by the inspector.

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) The boys and girls referred to are generally employed as temporary monitors. In some cases, more especially in small rural schools, they are employed as permanent monitors. The Inspector will be instructed to discourage this latter arrangement; the desired effect will be produced without any specific instruction in the Code.

Disturbance at Broadway Presbyterian Church, Belfast.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to an attack made on Broadway Presbyterian Church, Belfast, on the 19th instant; and whether, in view of the stone-throwing that existed, can he say how many arrests were made.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I am informed that seven panes of glass were broken in the church on the occasion referred to. No arrests were made; but the police are pursuing their inquiries with a view to the identification of the offenders.

Price of Bread in Europe and America.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will collect from His Majesty's representatives abroad a statement of the present price of bread

in the capitals and chief cities of Europe and America as compared with that now prevailing in the United Kingdom.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) The answer is in the affirmative.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Rifle Practice.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the value of shooting from the saddle displayed on various occasions during the late war, he can see his way to take steps to encourage its practice.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. ELLIOT, Durham, for Mr. BRODRICK): The question will be carefully considered in connection with the regulations for the training of mounted troops which are now under revision.

Trade Disputes.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, out of which Vote the expenses of the Royal Commission on Trade Disputes will be paid; and whether it is intended to give the House an early opportunity of discussing the composition of, and terms of reference to, the Commission.

MR. ELLIOT: The expenses this year of the Trade Disputes Commission will be charged to Sub-head K. of the Temporary Commissions Vote, "Commissions not specifically provided for." The Vote has already been under discussion this session and is on the Paper for to-night.

New Naval Base.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the arrangements for acquisition of land for the new Naval base at St. Margaret's Hope are completed; whether he can now state the extent of land acquired, and the rental and cost thereof; and when he expects to introduce the Naval Works Bill.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The arrangements for the acquisition of land at Rosyth referred to in the first paragraph of the hon. Member's Question are not yet finally completed, and the particulars asked for in the second paragraph cannot therefore yet be furnished. In reply to the third paragraph, it is hoped to introduce the Naval Works Bill at an early date.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) asked as to the possibility of enlarging the existing Forth and Clyde canal.

MR. PRETYMAN: That hardly arises out of the Question.

Keyham Dockyard—Wages.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that several men employed as unskilled workmen in the Engineer Students College at Keyham are in receipt of wages of less than 16s. per week as against the minimum of 20s. per week; and can he explain why they are not paid on the latter scale.

MR. PRETYMAN: Yes, sir; the attention of the Board has recently been called to the fact that there are unskilled labourers employed at the Royal Naval Engineering College on a lower scale of pay than that in force in the dockyards, and steps are being taken with a view to the removal of this anomaly.

Moorings in Queenstown Harbour.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will explain why, upon the yacht "Bona" (which recently arrived at Queenstown to sail for the King's Cup) proceeding to take up her moorings at one of the Admiralty buoys, a message was at once despatched from the Guardship ordering her off, in view of the fact that there are at present some ten vacant Admiralty buoys in Cork Harbour; and whether he will give the matter his consideration, and take steps to afford the yacht "Bona," and the other competing yachts visiting

Queenstown, the facilities which are granted under similar circumstances in all home waters.

MR. PRETYMAN: The yacht "Bona" arrived at Queenstown without her owner, and probably through ignorance of the Admiralty Regulations on the subject, which are the same for Queenstown as for other Dockyard ports, she took a special buoy which is not available for private vessels except with written permission. The "Bona" was subsequently given another buoy, and there is no ground for the suggestion that the facilities granted to yachts at other Dockyard ports are being withheld at Queenstown.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this yacht won the King's Cup yesterday?

[No answer was returned.]

Education of Coastguard Children.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether Kilnoughtin National School, Tarbet, County Kerry, is entitled to an annual grant from the Admiralty, owing to scholars being principally the children of coastguards; and, if so, can he state when, and to whom, the amount is paid.

MR. PRETYMAN: No Report appears to have been received as to the attendance of coastguard children at this particular school, and therefore the school has not hitherto been considered for a grant from the Admiralty.

Australia.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the South Australian Government have agreed to the view stated in his recent dispatch, that on matters relating to foreign Governments His Majesty's Government should deal with the Government of the Commonwealth, and not with the State Governments.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E., for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): I beg to read my hon. friend's answer as follows—

I have not yet received any further communication from the Government of South Australia on this subject.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I will put the Question down again this day fortnight.

Mail Service to and from Australia.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, with a view to removing the friction which has arisen between the Governments of this country and Australia, and which has led to a rupture of postal relations, he will suggest to the parties concerned that in future the owners of vessels carrying the mails should be required to pay the same rates of wages to coolies and other coloured seamen as would be paid to white men engaged in doing the same class of work.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): No, Sir, I am not prepared to make such a suggestion.

Malta.

*MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state how many of the elected members of the Council in Malta were returned at the last election in opposition to the retention of the Italian language; and whether an opportunity will be given to the people of Malta of testing the question at a general election before the suspension of the constitution takes place.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): No opposition was offered to the return of any of the elected members at the last election. I believe they are all in favour of the compulsory use of the Italian language, and opposed to the free choice given by the present system. In my opinion, the views of the people on this question are much better shown by their individual replies to the question which is put to every parent, than by elections, in which only a small minority have votes, and very few of this minority ever exercise their privilege.

MR. BOLAND: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Council was

adjourned last week and that this question might therefore be submitted to a general election; and, further, may I ask whether it is customary to suspend the Constitution of a colony, without allowing this House the opportunity of discussing the matter.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the Question.

Cancer in India.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India have yet arranged to have cases of cancer recorded separately in dispensary and hospital Returns; and, if not, will he say when a decision on the subject is likely to be arrived at.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): The form of these Returns is still under revision, but it is probable that cases of cancer will be shown separately.

Motor-Cars for the Highlands.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate, having regard to the difficulty experienced in securing the construction of light railways in the Highlandcrofting counties, and the success attending the use of motor-cars for the conveyance of His Majesty's mails, will he have some inquiry made respecting weight-carrying motor-cars, with a view to the placing of a motor-car on the road between Carlaway and Stornoway, and between Ullapool and Garve, for the purpose of assisting the fishing and other industries, as authorised under Section 4, Sub-section (e), of The Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgeton): Any applications from the localities interested in the sense suggested by the hon. Member will receive careful investigation, but the suggestion is not a new one, and from the discussion which has already taken place in regard to it, the Secretary for Scotland does not expect it to find favour in the locality.

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Russia and China.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any knowledge of an agreement come to between Russia and China in reference to Manchuria and Niuchwang; and if he is in a position to state what the terms of the agreement are.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord CRANBORNE, Rochester): As far as His Majesty's Government are aware, no agreement has yet been come to between Russia and China with reference to Manchuria or Niuchwang; but some days ago His Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking was informed by the Chinese Government that an arrangement was being negotiated which would preserve Manchuria for China without loss of sovereign rights. He was also given assurances as to the Treaty rights of other Powers being respected.

North Sea Fisheries.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in view of the proposals contained in the Report of the International Conference on Scientific Investigations in the North Sea, will the question of securing communication with the Faroe Islands and Iceland by wireless telegraphy be considered.

LORD CRANBORNE: The point raised by the hon. Gentleman's Question enters into a larger question of the use of wireless telegraphy, as to which no decision has been taken. The hon. Gentleman's suggestion will no doubt be considered.

Irish Historical MSS.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state when the Manuscripts of the Irish Franciscans will be published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

MR. ELLIOT: I have been in communication with the Historical Manuscripts Commission and learn that the Transcript will be completed, it is hoped,

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by 1st December at furthest, and that every effort will be made to press forward its publication.

Claremorris Union Valuation.

MR. O'KELLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he has received a copy of the Return of Area, Valuation, etc., of Claremorris Union; and if he will now be willing to give a Return on the same lines for every union in Connaught.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The hon. Member has sent me a copy of the Return referred to. The information in that Return was, it appears, procured locally by the board of guardians. There are no materials available, and no official sources of information at the disposal of Government, that would enable it to verify this Return; and for the reasons already explained by me to the hon. Member the Government is unable to consent to it.

In reply to a further question [MR. ATKINSON pointed out that the information could be obtained from the board of guardians, but as the Local Government Board had no means of checking its accuracy they could not give it its imprimatur.

Irish Prisons.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the names of His Majesty's prisons in Ireland where the floors of the cells are still flagged; and whether, if there are any prisons where this condition of things exists, he will advise the General Prisons Board to put in a boarded flooring instead.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): There are four prisons in Ireland in which the cells, or some of them, have stone floors. They are at Belfast, Cork, Londonderry and Tullamore. Boarded cell-floors are no longer laid down in any new work either in Ireland or England. They are held to be objectionable from several

points of view. I am informed there are at least sixteen English prisons with flagged cells.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne): Has the right hon. Gentleman ever been in gaol?

[No answer was returned.]

Tullamore Gaol.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the ventilators in His Majesty's prison in Tullamore are placed within a few inches of the floor in all the cells; that, owing to their construction, they cannot be closed so as to keep out the wind from the cells; and, if so, whether the General Prisons Board will make an order to have the ventilators placed at the top instead of the bottom of the cells, as they are in other prisons.

MR. WYNDHAM: The ventilators are placed near the floor with sliding panels which are controlled from inside the cells by the occupants. There are also outlets near the ceiling. This system of ventilation is reported to be perfectly efficient.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: Well, I tried it every day for three months and it would not work.

Gordon-Bennett Motor Race.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is now in a position to say on whom will fall the cost of the extra police necessary for the protection of the public during the race for the Gordon-Bennett Cup?

MR. WYNDHAM: The Irish Government has been in correspondence with the Treasury on this subject. The Treasury is of opinion that there is no justification in principle for imposing such a charge on the general taxpayer, and that it should be paid by the "applicants" referred to in Section 2 of the Light Locomotives (Ireland) Act, 1903. The Treasury recognises, however,

that the circumstances of the Gordon-Bennett race are so exceptional as to justify a departure, in some measure, from this principle, and is prepared to allow a portion, not exceeding £1,000, of the extra cost of the police to fall on the Constabulary Vote, provided that guarantees are received that the whole of the remainder of the extra expenditure for extra police will be borne by the promoters, or by the County Councils concerned.

MR. LEAMY: The County Council has declined to bear any further expense.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am sorry to hear it.

Irish Land Purchase Problem.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the case where the owner of an estate is a lunatic and the estate is in Chancery, will the Lord Chancellor have power to sell such an estate to the tenants or to the Land Commission; and, if such power does not already exist under the Land Bill, will he make such arrangements as will enable tenants on such estates to purchase.

MR. WYNDHAM: Under Section 63 of the Lunacy (Ireland) Act, 1871, and Section 62 of the Settled Land Act of 1882, the Lord Chancellor has power to consent to the sale of the land of lunatics so found by inquisition in certain instances. The question of amending the law to some extent, having regard to the provisions of the Land Bill, is under consideration.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) asked what would be the course of business next week.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington): The Irish Land Bill will be taken on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Thursday Irish Estimates will be taken; but I am not yet in a position to say what business will be taken on Friday.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

Reported, with Amendments, from the Select Committee, with Minutes of evidence.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 226.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 226.]

Bill, as amended, recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 257.]

STATUTE LAW REVISION (SCOTLAND) BILL [LORDS.]

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 258.]

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said that if it were in order to move a reduction in respect of omission to legislate on matters suggested by the Home Office Vote, this certainly would be done, but as they could only deal with administration, his reduction was rather intended to keep the debate together than to express an unusual measure of dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the Home Office during the year. It was, he believed, the intention of his hon. friend the Member for the Clitheroe Division to deal on the Amendment with the administration of the cotton cloth factories clauses, and it was possible that

he might make a case which would force them to a division. If so, he should support him. For some time past the first and principal topic dealt with annually on the Vote had been the use of raw lead in potting, with its admitted dangers. The arbitration, under the old law, on the Home Office draft rules had been postponed by Lord James for a prolonged period in order that the employers might, as he put it, set their house in order. In November, 1901, in adjourning the inquiry which was to be resumed next week, Lord James said—

“I appeal to the employers, first in their own interest, because they must look forward to the dealing with the rule in eighteen months time, to do their best to lessen the evil. I would also appeal from a higher motive and would ask them to do the best to make the world around them a better world, and the condition of the operatives a better one than it has been.”

Last year there was a great reduction in the figures of lead poisoning, but he had to show, from the medical inspector's report, that the reduction was in the processes affected by the reforms upon which they had successfully insisted in the past; those in which fans removed dust in the dry processes. Suffering still remained from wet glaze, and the consideration of the rules dealing with the wet processes had been, and was still, postponed. This fact is additionally illustrated by the figures and by the new Report. The medical inspector, at page 249 of the Annual Report showed that while—

“Only one case was reported from the four-teen factories using glaze of solubility less than 5 per cent.” . . . “the bulk of the cases are due to raw lead;”

and at page 248 he told them that, while the number of reported cases on the whole showed diminution, as regarded women, the reduction was one of only two cases. There was no improvement in earthenware, and more that twice as many women engaged in ware cleaning had been suspended as compared with the previous year. In other words, the unsatisfactory feature of the Returns was that they had not made a serious inroad on the suffering in connection with the wet processes, and that the lessened incidence of suffering was on the men, not on the women; while suspension fell entirely on the women. The total number of permanent suspensions had

not declined at all. The number of attacks of lead poisoning, occurring for the first time in 1902, was exactly the same for women this year as last. Under the present conditions the liability of women to lead poisoning had reached an reducible minimum.

The great resource of the opponents of the restriction of the percentage of lead was suspension; the one resource urged in the circular of the employers to the House of Commons, in which they told hon. Members that if the certifying surgeons would only suspend a sufficient number of persons, that was women, all would be well. But that solution was an unfortunate one, for suspension meant starvation. The suspensions ought to have begun to decline; but, while they slightly decreased in 1901, the improvement was not maintained in 1902, and in some figures which had been brought up to date in the present year, by the kindness of the Medical Department, he found that there were fifteen suspensions from January to April, as compared with ten for the similar four months of 1902. The same figures, which were those which had been prepared for the arbitration, show that while last year there was a gratifying diminution in the severity of the cases, in the first four months of the present year this diminution had entirely disappeared, and for the first time on record the severe and moderate cases of poisoning, taken together, enormously outnumbered the slight cases. The employers pointed to their compensation scheme; but only ninety employers, in the Staffordshire potteries alone, out of 364 had joined the scheme, four firms being otherwise insured; and while there was a majority of persons employed there in the processes in question who were insured, there were almost as many not insured. The employers' scheme was not retrospective. It was unsatisfactory to the workers, who were discontented with it. They had no representation. The compensation was computed on the earnings of thirteen weeks instead of on a full week's earnings, so that in slack seasons the compensation was very small. There was no compensation unless there had been employment for thirteen weeks by firms under the scheme, though they knew how frightfully sudden cases of lead poisoning sometimes were among women. The workers complained that

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persons were discharged to prevent their coming under the scheme, and the total number actually compensated was only a small proportion of those who were admitted to have suffered. They had asked for the actual numbers, publicly and privately, and had not received them. His own private application was only answered by a question for what purpose he wanted them, and, when he explained, the figures were not sent.

There was one reform, for which they had pressed year after year, which was still withheld from them—the appointment of a woman inspector in the potteries. The peculiar incidence of the suffering which was among women, and was emphasised by the figures of the last and the present year, made this essential. The suspensions, which pressed wholly upon women, enforced that view; and he asked for an assurance that before the Estimates for next year were framed this inspection of this most dangerous women's trade should be provided. It was, however, needful that there should be a general increase in the staff of women inspectors. The Report opened with the statement that the inspecting forces, which were on paper increased (page 144) by one additional appointment, had in effect been no more than they were in 1900. The consequence of the shortness of staff was that complaints had necessarily to be neglected; a considerable number being left over in each year. Now this was, of course, disheartening to the organisations and to the individuals whose assistance to the Department was admittedly most valuable. The clergy and the ladies and other active members, for example, of the Christian Social Union were forced to send the same complaints of absence of warming in the winter months until, the coldest weather having passed, the complaints grew to be out of date; and those of the informants of the Department who were themselves workers, and who in the case of the women inspectors were seldom animated by the spirit of mischief or malice (as they were in the case of some of the men inspectors, as they saw by the Report), were also disappointed by their complaints not receiving prompt attention. He pressed, then, not only for a woman inspector in the potteries, but for a gradual and steady increase, by carefully thought-out appointments of

women as to whose suitability there could be no reasonable doubt, of the overworked staff of the Department which had been so extraordinary a success.

A matter which they had continually brought before the House, and in which there was not much improvement as yet manifested, though he had no doubt of the evident desire of the Department to act upon the promise of the late Home Secretary, made to him on the Standing Committee when the Consolidated Act was passed. The matter was one of which both the Christian Social Union and the women inspectors had complained bitterly in the past. At page 5 in the Report of the chief inspector there was a terrible story, to which it was necessary to call the attention of the House. A Report of the Special Committee of the Research Committee of the Christian Social Union was the subject of heated controversy in 1900 and 1901, and he and his hon. friend the Member for Battersea had some trouble with some local authorities upon the subject of what were called their charges. Now nothing that they said was so strong as that which was to be found on page 5, in the account of Great Yarmouth, given by a special inspector working under the most moderate control of the superintending inspector for the southern division. The total lack of sanitary accommodation in connection with fish-curing yards was disgraceful. At Great Yarmouth last autumn the inspector told them that—

“It is where the gutting is done that things are worst. No sanitary conveniences are provided. A few loads of stones would make all the difference to those who have to work in such abominable places.”

In the case of the South Denes, where ninety of the plots belonged to the corporation,

“Gutting troughs stand on the ground, round which the women work in slush and filth, a disgusting state of affairs which might be remedied were the ground round and underneath the gutting troughs concreted and drained. On these plots I found 210 males and 1,100 females working. Not a single sanitary convenience for either sex; the nearest is the fish wharf, a mile away.”

This disgraceful state of things was described by hon. Members in 1900 and in 1901, and apparently nothing had yet been done. In the Scottish Report the same state of things was described

in more general terms, and without reference by name to special cases. Now there was a power to enforce sanitation where the local authority neglected its duty; and he had to ask whether, both in the case reported by one of the sub-inspectors at Edinburgh and in the Great Yarmouth case, Home Office action had been taken. There was a most damaging statement made by the special inspector sent to Yarmouth—that as regarded the kippering houses (page 6)—

"In nearly every place illegal hours were worked."

But they were not told what followed in the way of prosecution.

Another subject which they had brought forward year by year was not dealt with so fully in the Report. It was another trade in which, as in fish curing, young women in great numbers worked under unfortunate conditions as to wet and dirt. It was almost a pity that Miss Paterson, at page 161, had not told them where was the place which she described. There had been a curious proof of their longstanding contention that fruit preserving was not now a season trade, and did not now deserve the exceptional treatment which was given to it by the law, in the enormous seizure of bad fruit intended for jam-making at Liverpool in the month of January. He hoped that the fact that women inspectors had not reported fully on jam this year did not mean that they had been too busy with other subjects to attend to it, but that there had been a real improvement. But he should be glad to know how the new rules were being carried out.

He had again to comment on the slowness with which the Particulars section was extended to the trades that needed it. In some cases books giving particulars of the rates of wages were supplied to the workers voluntarily, though the workers were charged for them. But in a vast number of instances where that check upon fraud and on misunderstanding was specially needed by women, there was no check at all, and prices varied from week to week for work which from week to week was exactly the same. The particulars had at last been extended to outworkers in the wholesale tailoring

trade; but the need was just as great in the handkerchief, apron, and blouse trade. There were an immense number of London piecework trades which had now been carefully investigated, and which needed particulars, brush-making, mantle-making, corset-making, cap-making, the manufacture of paper bags, and other trades paid at low rates; while, in addition to these London trades, particulars were greatly needed in the small hardware trades of Birmingham, such as button-making, and also in the pin trade. The Report of Miss Squire on the wholesale tailoring trade, in the middle of page 189, applied to most piecework trades. She said that the real need for outworkers to have a written statement of the price was abundantly proved, and that without it—

"The door is open for fraud,"

while,

"Outworkers need particulars even more than the workers inside the factory."

The most important new departure which was made, and made very much against his wish, in the last Factory Act concerned the handing over to local authorities of duties which were so connected with those of the factory inspectors that he feared for the result. He was struck throughout the Report of the Chief Inspector by the confirmation given to his views. Many of the local authorities were admirable. Nothing could be better than the London County Council and some of the Borough Councils of London, and many of the great provincial cities. But, on the whole, the local authorities seemed to expect the law to be transposed in practice, and that the Home Office should report to them sanitary defects affecting workshops and outworkers. Now, there was a certain clashing between the Home Office and the Local Government Board. There were a great number of inspectors now, appointed by local authorities, who did work which partly came within the business of each of those Departments. The Returns moved for some years ago, some of them by his hon. friend the Member for Battersea, some of them by Mr. Provand, and some by himself, ought to be brought up to date, and, if possible, consolidated into one Return.

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They not only concerned those two Departments in England; but they also concerned the Scotch Office and Dublin Castle. Several circulars were needed to obtain them, and he wished to suggest that the Committee which was now considering the functions of the Local Government Board in connection with those of the Home Office should consider this matter, and that they should also have the promise from the Home Office of a joint circular to authorities and a joint Return. Among other matters which they required were a complete Return of sanitary inspectors or inspectors of nuisances, particularly women inspectors, appointed by local authorities, but doing Home Office work. For example, in connection with the Factory Inspectors in workshops and the homes of the outworkers; in shop hours, under Provand's Acts; in seats for shop assistants under the Shops Seats Act, and so forth. Now, even the Local Government Board only knew of those women inspectors of nuisances, doing work under the Factories and Workshops Act, who were "appointed with the Board's sanction." He pressed, then, for the consideration of this matter by the Departmental Committee and the preparation of a common Return by the Departments concerned which will give later and full information to the House. He would move his Amendment, but, as far as he was concerned, he did not wish this year to make any special complaint against the Home Office, and the question whether the Committee would be asked to divide or not would depend on the case which would be submitted by his hon. friend.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said it was exceedingly inconvenient that there should have been a discussion that day on a subject which would be arbitrated on next Tuesday. The arbitration was held eighteen months ago by Lord James, who adjourned it for eighteen months; and his decision was announced for Tuesday next. He was, therefore,

surprised that the question should be re-opened now. Where was the necessity? The Home Office brought forward a case which completely broke down; and now it was to be re-opened. He did not wish to blame the Home Office in any way except in regard to this particular question of lead. This discussion was altogether premature. The Report for 1902 stated that the full effect of the rules could not yet be ascertained, as they were still in an experimental stage with reference to many points. Under those circumstances he did not see that any useful purpose would be served by having another discussion this afternoon. The right hon. Baronet had said that the figures were inconsistent, and that this improvement that was shown in the Report was not shown in his figures. But they were told that a new moistening process was being prepared, and therefore it would be better to defer the discussion to some future time. Everybody would admit that the figures showed there had been a most decided improvement in late years, and that lead poisoning had greatly decreased. They could not expect that it would decrease much lower. Between 47,000 and 50,000 persons were employed in the potteries, and whilst in 1901 there were 106 cases of lead poisoning, last year there were only 87. That was a most gratifying decrease, and the comparison of the first five months of last year with the first five months of this showed that that improvement was steadily increasing, and that there was no reason whatever to complain. There were many other dangerous trades in which lead poisoning occurred, and it certainly seemed to him rather hard that the potteries should always be singled out for the purpose of attacking the Home Office. One great complaint with regard to the arbitration before Lord James of Hereford, being resumed next week, was that the Home Office, by the rules of 1902, for the first time had attempted to dictate to the manufacturers as to the materials they were to use. That was a great departure from the rules of the Home Office, but the manufacturers would agree if Dr. Thorpe could give them a formula which in his view they might accept. But though they had asked for such a

formula they had not succeeded in getting it, because it was not yet discovered.

The manufacturers had done their best to meet the Home Office; they had spent thousands of pounds in the endeavour to discover a leadless glaze, and in trying fritted lead, and yet they had failed to discover any glaze to suit the Home Office. If any success was to be achieved in getting rid of lead poisoning it must be by the co-operation of the workers themselves. A great deal depended on the habits of those who worked among the lead. Those who were intemperate or dirty in their personal habits, and who neglected to wash their hands before eating, were more liable to lead-poisoning than those who were clean and temperate in their habits. They could legislate for the worker so long as he was within the walls of a factory, but they could not carry out legislation over him in his own home. It all depended on the workers themselves. He did not think the manufacturers had received sufficient recognition for what they had done. They had made great efforts, but it must be remembered that they carried on their business not for philanthropic purposes, but for commercial purposes, and if they were handicapped in this way it would be impossible for them to carry on their trade. If the result of the arbitration was adverse to the manufacturers, and the right hon. Gentleman insisted upon their using the minimum of lead suggested by the Home Office experts, they would close their works, because they could not carry on their trade under such impossible conditions. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman did not intend to follow out the policy of his predecessor, which would only have the effect of playing into the hands of Germany, but if he did, in the coming general election the people of Staffordshire would do their best to remove from office a Government which had sought to cripple and destroy and to drive out of this country one of the finest and most useful and interesting of our great national industries.

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said the matter to which
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he desired to call attention was of a technical character, and required some explanation. It was the operation of the cotton cloths law under the Factories Acts. As a result of a strong agitation at Blackburn, an Act was passed in 1889 for the proper ventilation of the cotton cloth steaming sheds, but the workpeople were not satisfied, and a strong effort was made by them to abolish the entire system. They wished to act in a manner which would least injure trade, and least harass the employers, and a meeting was held in London between employers and employees, the result of which was a suggestion on the part of the employers that an inquiry should be made by the Home Office into the working of the Steaming Act, as it was called, and its effect on the health of the operatives. That inquiry took place. After considering the evidence the Committee made certain recommendations, including the suggestion of a limit of 9 volumes of carbon dioxide in every 10,000 volumes of air, this would secure an amount of ventilation corresponding to about 2,000 cubic feet of fresh air per head per hour, and they expressed the belief that such a requirement would bring about a material improvement in the health and comfort of the workers, without imposing any serious burden upon the trade, or asking for more than was already voluntarily done in well-regulated sheds. As the legal limit was only 600 cubic feet, it could not be denied that the operatives had good ground for complaining that it was considerably under the proper standard from a health point of view. In 1897 an Act was passed empowering the Home Secretary to embody the recommendations of the Committee in the form of an Order, and in 1898 that was done. Knowing that the Order would involve considerable alterations in many of the sheds, and being naturally anxious not to cause disturbance, the operatives' representatives gave time for these changes to be carried out. For more than two years they said little or nothing about the matter, but in 1900 they thought the time had come when a determined effort should be made to bring about the alterations, and they communicated

with the Home Office. The employers at once waited upon Sir Kenelm Digby, asking that the Order should be so far varied as to allow the carbon dioxide admitted into the sheds to be five over the outside air. The operatives' representatives, having considered the matter, also visited the Home Office, and, while asking for the Order to be carried out, accepted this modification, which they found could be allowed without serious risk to the operatives. It was hoped that after all these delays something would be done. He admitted that something had been done, but the Order had not been enforced in the manner they had a right to expect. The laxity of the administration was evidenced by the fact that during 1900, the number of inspectors specially appointed to deal with this matter was reduced from three to one, and, according to the Inspector's Report—

"The Inspectors in charge of the district were, for the first time since the passing of the original Act of 1889, called upon to assist in the enforcement of the enactment."

The only way in which the general inspector could assist was in checking the entries of the employers on a particular day; he had no practical knowledge of the subject from a scientific point of view; he took no tests, and did nothing in the way of a scientific examination of the conditions of the place. The number of factories and so forth under supervision had increased from 600 to 1,597, in addition to which there were a number of rooms in flax mills subject to inspection. He held, therefore, that if it took three men to do the work connected with the smaller number of mills, it certainly required more than one man to see that the Act was faithfully carried out in the larger number. Another of the provisions of the Act was all in favour of the employers. By Section 95 of the Factories and Workshops Act, 1901, it was laid down that no prosecution could follow an offence unless a second offence was committed within twelve months. As these 1,597 places were spread all over the country, it was extremely difficult to detect an employer in a second offence, and it would have been thought that when such detection was made a prosecution would follow. But what were the facts?

In February last, in reply to a Question, the Home Secretary stated that in 1902 there were sixty-two cases reported in which employers had exceeded the standard, but that the excess in many cases was in only one part of the shed. The law, however, made no exemption in such cases, but declared that an excess in any part of the shed constituted an offence. As to the suggestion that the law should be altered in that respect, he would only say that when such alteration is proposed the operatives' representatives will offer it their strongest opposition, being convinced that if the average of the shed was permitted to be taken it would entail serious consequences in many weaving sheds. He knew scores of places in which one part of the shed would be fairly healthy and agreeable, while another part was absolutely intolerable. In reply to a subsequent Question, the right hon. Gentleman stated that in sixteen of the cases the employers had been warned in the course of the preceding twelve months. Why were prosecutions not instituted in those sixteen cases? There ought not to be the slightest hesitation in instituting prosecutions on the part of a Department having charge of a matter so seriously affecting the life and comfort of the operatives. He held that the Home Office had neglected its duty. Why had there been no prosecutions for more than eighteen months? Had instructions been given to the inspectors not to prosecute? Was there any understanding in the Department that this Act should not be enforced? Why were the employers in this of all the departments of the cotton trade permitted to please themselves? The patience of the operatives was almost exhausted. They had never yet agreed to this Act, the only Resolution they had passed having been in favour of the total abolition of the system, and he assured the right hon. Gentleman that, unless the Act was enforced in a straightforward manner it would be very difficult to induce the people to give the measure a fair trial. After all the concessions they had made, he thought they were entitled to expect the earnest assistance of the Home Office. He should be glad to hear from the Home Secretary that this Act would be given a

proper and a fair chance. He could not conceive why these prosecutions had not taken place. The cases he had mentioned had been tried before magistrates who were employers and had a direct interest in this matter, but if the Act which had been carried through the House of Commons was to be set at naught by the magistrates he did not know what position the workers would have to take up. They had their own remedy, and that was to refuse to work under those conditions. The only other alternative was that the Act should be put in force and made to do the work it was intended to do.

* MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said as a rule the case of the potters was put before the House by his hon. friend the Member for Stoke, who, though he had made his usual speech, seemed to have omitted to tell them upon this occasion that the more lead they used in the trade the better. By that omission he had deprived him, he was almost going to say defrauded him, of one of his best arguments. His hon. friend had stated that it came as a surprise to him and his friends that Lord James was about to continue the arbitration upon this question. Why should he be surprised, for it had been repeatedly said that the inquiry had only been adjourned. The inquiry was adjourned simply to see how the rules worked and how the operatives were affected. Surely that was not an unreasonable course to adopt. The hon. Member went on to say that this was a premature discussion of this subject. Personally, he should have been better pleased if this discussion had taken place a week after instead of a week before the arbitration. But that was not his fault. The hon. Member for Stoke had also said that the wet processes were thoroughly innocuous.

MR. COGHILL: I said they were less dangerous than the dusty and dry processes.

* MR. TENNANT said that was common ground. The rules had to be very stringent in the dry processes, but it had been shown that injurious results were produced from the sludge of wet lead running through the troughs. The hon. Member for Stoke went on to say that

this was the first occasion when the Home Office had attempted to dictate to manufacturers what materials they should use. He believed that the year 1901 was the first occasion when Parliament decided to impose special regulations upon manufacturers as to the use of certain articles. He thought the Home Secretary would confirm that statement. The hon. Member went on to say that when the manufacturers applied for a formula from which a glaze might be made which would be innocuous the Home Office said they could not give it. That was not in accordance with his information or recollection. It was some time since the Report of Dr. Oliver and Dr. Thorpe was issued, but his recollection was that there was in the appendix to that Report a formula given by those two scientists derived from information from a great Swedish manufacturer who had employed lead in his glaze in sufficiently large quantities to make it a commercial success with almost complete harmlessness to the operatives engaged.

MR. COGHILL said that the manufacturers in his constituency had not found it possible to use such a glaze to advantage commercially. If the hon. Member knew of such a formula he should be pleased to know what it was.

* MR. TENNANT said he could not give him the formula, but he would look through the Report and see if it existed there. The hon. Member for Stoke said that manufacturers had not found it possible to use such a glaze with commercial advantage. Manufacturers had got the chance of making a glaze without lead. Would the hon. Member state that that was impossible? The other day at a meeting in connection with a hospital with which he was connected they were discussing the purchase of earthenware materials, and he suggested that they should be of leadless glaze, and the Committee at once asked the question: "Can you get them as cheap as the other sort?" He obtained prices for them, and later on to his astonishment the Secretary to the hospital informed him that he had bought the articles cheaper in leadless glaze. That showed that the example set by the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the

public Departments had been a good one, and had resulted in this remarkable circumstance, that in the open market they were able to purchase leadless glaze cheaper than lead glazed goods. He had himself a dessert service made with leadless glaze, and both for cheapness and quality it was as good as those made with the use of lead. The hon. Member for Stoke said that they were always going to Germany for information. With the prospect of dearer food and dearer raw materials before them the bowels of his compassion yearned towards the manufacturers not only of pottery but of everything else, and if he felt that these rules were likely to prevent them carrying on successfully their industry at a profit, and would have the effect of closing up their works, he should not have another word to say upon the subject. They ought not to sacrifice the supremacy of their commerce, but at the same time they must not wholly ignore the safety of the worker. He did not think he needed to say anything more about the potters. He desired to congratulate the Home Secretary upon the most admirable Report which he had placed before the House. He had a good many questions to ask which he was afraid were rather technical. He wished to refer to two matters which related more to the future, and were really not so germane to this discussion, namely, reporting of accidents and ventilation. On both these subjects the right hon. Gentleman had received Reports from Departmental Committees. He asked what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do in regard to these matters. He would content himself by remarking how deplorable it would be if he were to accept the invitation which was made in the Report of the Departmental Committee on ventilation and take a retrograde step.

An important matter mentioned in the Report at page 29 related to small laundries. This question had been brought before the notice of the Home Secretary in the past as often as they got the opportunity of doing so. On this matter, Mr. Edward, Southampton, said—

"In all the twenty-two cases where hand laundries have been crossed off the register it has been because the occupiers have reduced

their outside hands to two so as to be outside the provisions of the Act."

This was the only trade in the country which was exempted from the Factory Acts owing to its dimensions. It was most ridiculous, and really iniquitous, that by dismissing all employees except two the people who kept these small laundries should be able to compete against the other laundries where the restrictions imposed by the Acts were complied with. Was it not as necessary to protect the two workers as twenty or thirty? Another matter which he would mention in passing was that relating to precautions against fire. He could not go into that question because it involved legislation, but he wished to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the following observations by Mr. Younger at page 23 of the Report—

"The chief difficulty at present is the treatment of dangerous factories and workshops in which fewer than forty hands are employed. In some cases the number of hands is deliberately kept just below forty as an alternative to the provision of a second exit; this practice involves the absurd assumption that a building which is dangerous for the employment of forty persons is safe for thirty-nine."

He sincerely hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give attention to that point. At the inquest which took place after the fire at Stockport Cotton Mills Sir Charles Firth, of the Fire Brigades Association, said—

"He had no hesitation in saying that one-half of the mills in the country were worse off than the Vernon mills were in respect of fire equipment."

That was a very strong statement, and one which ought really to sink deep into the minds of those responsible for the safety and welfare of persons employed in factories and workshops. These were matters on which he could not enter very minutely.

He would now turn to other questions with which he was personally acquainted. They were technical, but they were subjects into which the Committee, over which he presided, were directed to inquire in 1895. In regard to dry cleaning, Mr. Rogers, Derby, stated in his Report, which appeared at page 61 of the Blue-book—

"One fire occurred at a dry cleaning works in the daytime. A woman was lifting a metal vessel containing garments

soaked with benzine from the floor, when, from some unknown cause, flames appeared underneath the vessel, and, rapidly spreading, the fire burned out the interior of the room before it could be extinguished by the excellent local arrangements of the factory. A notable point in this case is that two vessels of benzine, simply covered with loose lids, were in the room, and though they were enveloped in flame for several minutes the spirit did not take fire. This shows the advisability of providing lids for machines and vessels containing benzine, as recommended by the Dangerous Trades Committee some years ago."

The Committee reported on that subject in 1897 and 1898, and, so far as he was informed, nothing had been done beyond making inquiry in regard to the dangerous trades with which he was dealing. He admitted there had been inquiry, but that was not sufficient. Something should be done beyond mere inquiry. He called attention to the following passage in Mr. Hilditch's Report in regard to basic slag—

"There is still a tendency to improvement in the matter of allaying the dust at basic slag works, and it is gratifying to report that, although excellent results have been obtained compared with the old order of things, the firm is still giving the matter attention. It is encouraged in this by the great saving of valuable dust which was at one time dissipated through the air."

He must say that it did strike him as an extraordinary thing that here where the Home Office had practically an invitation from the firms engaged to issue regulations, nothing had yet been done. He called attention to the enormous number of accidents resulting from the use of locomotives in factories. It would be seen from the statements made at page 82 of the Report that—

"Twelve out of forty-nine inquests attended by one inspector during the past year were in connection with deaths of persons caused by moving locomotives or trucks on private rails."

The inspector for the Midland Division said at page 63 of the Report—

"Year by year the observance of the Special Rules becomes more noticeable and the difficulties of administration diminish. Employers and employed alike have begun to recognise the justice and necessity of their enactment and the benefits to be derived from compliance."

Though inspectors and employers said these things the only people who took no action, so far as he understood, were the Home Office authorities. He had the pleasing duty of being able to congratulate the Home Secretary on the

appointment of a new electrical inspector. Six years ago the Committee to which he had alluded made a Report on electrical generating stations. The gentleman appointed by the Home Office reported that last year there had been ten fatal accidents and 126 non-fatal accidents in electrical generating stations. Ten fatal accidents seemed to him a very considerable number, the Inspector added—

"The notices of accidents received during the year in respect of electrical stations do not, I have reason to believe, represent by any means all the cases which should have been reported, managers of some stations having expressed their ignorance of this requirement of the Act."

Therefore ten might not represent the whole of the accidents that resulted fatally, and in all probability 126 did not represent anything like the number of non-fatal accidents. He drew attention to the following paradox brought out in the Report—

"The greater number of the accidents happened to persons when working on 'live' switchboards or conductors, mostly at low pressure, short circuits occurring and resulting in severe burns, in one case terminating fatally."

He would now pass to what the Inspector said about transformer stations. He remembered being asked in this House by the hon. Member for North Louth why they wanted to claim certain powers during the passing of the Factories Bill dealing with transformer stations. He informed the hon. Member at that time that it was because they were extraordinarily dangerous places. They had it stated in the Report that they were almost more dangerous than the larger generating stations. That entirely bore out his old contention that the transforming stations were as dangerous as, if not more dangerous, than the generating stations. The Inspector said that—

"The larger number of the electrical accidents were of a preventable nature, and, in some cases, gross negligence was evident in that totally unskilled and ignorant persons were put to work upon or amongst 'live' conductors, whilst in other cases obvious and elementary precautions were neglected."

He had always maintained that nearly all these cases of accident could be prevented if the Home Office would only enforce the powers at their disposal. Nearly all these points had been brought before the Committee over which he presided six

years ago, but nothing had been done. Might he read one other statement, in regard to electrical works? The Inspector said that—

“The space behind switchboards is also in some instances so broken up and obstructed by cables, resistance frames, etc., as to render the application of sand, in the event of fire, almost impossible, whilst in others it offers a dangerous trap in case of accident necessitating a hurried exit.”

One thing on which the Committee laid stress in their Report was that there should be more space behind these switchboards, and they drew up a draft regulation to that effect. He would read a final extract from this Electrical Inspector's Report—

“Two fatalities have recently occurred from shock ‘to earth’ on a 250 volt two-phase system, in one of which the victim was proved to have been quite sound, and was killed when accidentally touching a charged conductor with the little finger of his left hand.”

He would earnestly suggest that where they were dealing with electrical force of such extraordinary danger, which worked silently, suddenly and relentlessly, there was a corresponding duty lying on those whose prerogative it was to protect the workers of the country to employ every means in their power to discharge that duty efficiently.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said they all admired the many qualities of the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, and sympathised with them in their efforts to improve the condition of the workers of the country; but he thought there was no necessity for the attacks which had been made on the Home Office for not putting their regulations into force. The Home Office, it should be remembered, might, in trying to improve the condition of the workers in certain trades, improve these trades out of existence altogether. He should like to look at the position of trades in this country, and to consider whether or not certain of them were not inspected enough; whether, at any rate, the interference of the Home Office would not carry away the very slight margin that was left to them of profit. He wished the right hon. Gentleman in making his statement had given par-

ticulars. His meaning was that in the application of certain rules and regulations, however admirable, to certain trades, there was a danger of carrying them to such an extent that they became unworkable and ridiculous.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that he alluded to the smaller hardware trades, especially to the manufacture of pins and buttons.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said that if people would only spend a few days at Birmingham they would see that the inspectors did their duty, as far as possible, to such trades as had been mentioned. The criticisms made showed that regulations which were good in themselves as applied to certain trades, were worthless when applied to other trades. He did not understand what his right hon. friend meant when he spoke about sanitation of small domestic workshops. Did he mean that the sanitation of Birmingham, which was the home of these small industries, was defective? In passing, he might remark that these small industries were most valuable. They formed, he would not say a middle class, but a lower middle class of people who were their own masters, which was a great thing for those who were working on their own account; and although their condition and gains were not altogether what he would like, yet to destroy that class would be regarded as an infinite injury. There was a great desire on the part of a large section of persons to shut up all small workshops, and by means of rules and regulations to force the workers into the large factories. If ever that came about it would, in his opinion, be a great misfortune. As he understood the right hon. Gentleman, he wanted to have the sanitary matters of these small workshops—these domestic houses where work was carried on—placed under factory inspectors.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he did not go into any question of legislation, for that would be outside this discussion. He said that the great municipalities were doing their work well; and so far as Birmingham was concerned he had no cause of complaint. But some of the

smaller municipalities were apt to wait for the Home Office to call their attention to sanitary defects.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he was bound to say that he was surprised to hear the frequency of the expressions of distrust of the local authorities. They must either be trusted, or an inspector should be sent down from the central authority.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that what he had stated was that in many cases both the factory inspector and the local sanitary inspector were already sent.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS thought that that was an error, if ever it did exist. He was not aware that under the present regulations a factory inspector could go and do the work of a local sanitary inspector. If so, it was a great mistake, in his opinion. The right hon. Gentleman said very truly that in Committee on the Estimates they were confined to criticism of the administration of the existing law. He wished that all the factory inspectors, particularly the women, would confine their work to the administration of the existing law. He had complained for years past, he complained now, that a good portion of their time and energy was taken up in dealing with matters which were outside the administration of the existing law, and that there was inadequate time left for their regular work, while demands were made for more inspectors. We should soon be becoming the most heavily inspected nation in the world. He was bound to say, on reading these Reports, that they appeared to him, though nominally addressed to the Home Office, to be really addressed to the public outside. There was a good deal of sensational matter in them; many of the statements were greatly exaggerated; isolated cases were given leaving the impression that that was the general state of things; and altogether they formed an *ex parte* statement. He found that the brush trade was now being attacked. And here he might remark that in this last Report there was a minute, technical account of the manufacture of brushes in Germany which was very interesting, but he did not think that

a factory inspector need have given that information in carrying out the administration of the law. It was outside his province. Brushmaking as a home industry was outside the supervision of the inspectors at present, and yet it was mentioned in this Report that the inspectors had visited some hundreds of homes where these brushes were made. Why did they want to interfere with the homes of the people who were trying to get an honest living? And why should they introduce in their Reports these remarks to get some restrictions placed upon them? Then there was an extract from Mr. Sidney Webb's book, very interesting, but quite outside, in his opinion, the province of inspectors who were paid to discharge certain definite duties. There were also statements with reference to brushmaking which, he was afraid, was carried on under very bad conditions in Germany, and in a manner which had squeezed out of existence all the lower forms of brushmaking in this country. He did not see that that was a very good argument in favour of preferential tariffs. He was not advancing the argument himself—he was only quoting; but that trade, which could only be carried on with the utmost care and application, and with hardly a living margin in this country, was now to be interfered with. In his opinion the Report should be presented to the Home Secretary as a private document; and the inspectors would be better advised to confine their zeal to the work entrusted to them.

The right hon. Gentleman alluded to laundries, and said that small laundries which only employed two persons, apart from members of the family, should be protected. That meant that such laundries should be brought under the Workshops Act, and that would mean that every one of those small home industries—almost the only home industry that was left—would be squeezed out of existence. They should look at the question, not from the point of view of everything that might be ideal, but in connection with the poverty of the people who were trying to get their living, under circumstances and conditions which the House of Commons would like to see improved, but which it would be cruelty to deprive them of altogether. He was aware that the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean and his

Sir Charles Dilke.

friends had set their minds on bringing those small laundries under protection, which would amount to ending their existence. The women inspectors of the Home Office had made up their minds to the same effect. The right hon. Baronet and his friends had great influence with the Home Office. He had heard them described collectively as an outside branch of the Factory Department of the Home Office. Their aim was to close every one of those small laundries, and it was supported, in his opinion, in the Report in a manner which was unfair. There was a long quotation about a small laundry carried on by some Italians, who had evaded the law by employing persons under the pretence that they were members of the family. Probably that was true; but he had tried to get the addresses of some of those terrible cases, and he had not been able to obtain them.

*MR. TENNANT said he would give the right hon. Gentleman one.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he should like to get the addresses from those who wrote the Report. He did not say the cases were incorrect, but he said that they were isolated and rare, and to found general legislation on exceptional cases was always a mistake. Then it was said in the Report in regard to these domestic laundries—

“It is difficult not to be struck by the discomfort and wretchedness of these homes when turned into unregulated workshops.”

They were considering the cases of tens and hundreds of thousands of women who were really not laundresses at all, but washerwomen who at the present time got a humble living. In every part of the country they would find that the one successful, though humble, home industry was carried on by women who took in washing. That was what right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen opposite wanted to destroy. It was the merest quibble to say that they did not want to destroy them, when they proposed to bring them under the Workshops Act. There were steam laundries now within reach of almost every village in the country, and if the home industry was extinguished the work would be sent to the steam laundries. When the Factories and Workshops Bill was before

the House, there was an attempt to bring those small industries within its scope, and he received scores of letters from clergymen and others, praying that they should not be interfered with. Again he would say it was unfair to quote exceptional cases, and then suggest that, in order to rectify them, all the thousands of the poorer industrial classes should be interfered with. He hoped there would be an improvement in future Reports as far as sensational statements were concerned, and that the inspectors would report only on the work entrusted to them, and not on missionary work which should be left to those to whom it properly belonged. It was very interesting and very clever, but its proper place was not in the Report. He hoped the Home Office would bear in mind that, after all, it was a poor result to improve the conditions of trade, if, at the same time, it meant squeezing trades on which poor people were engaged out of existence. If they looked round they would see at the bottom of the social system of the country a condition of poverty that some of them did not perhaps fully realise. If they found people struggling to get a living, let them not adopt means which might be good if applied where they could be applied, but which would take away the means of earning a living from those people. He particularly referred to laundries, and to the hundreds of thousands of people who earned a humble living by them at the present time. That industry, if the Workshops Act regulations were applied, would no longer be able to continue.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said he was at one moment afraid that his right hon. friend who had just sat down was going to succumb to the influences so prevalent in the atmosphere just now, which seemed to lure every speaker, whatever might be ostensibly the subject of debate, in the direction of preferential tariffs.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS dissented.

MR. ASQUITH said his right hon. friend had seemed to be on the verge, at any rate, of succumbing to that temptation, and, warned by his example, he

would endeavour to give a clear berth to that particular topic. His right hon. friend took an interest in the welfare of these small industries. He entirely shared with him the view that it was most undesirable, either by legislation or administration, to do anything to curtail the sphere or diminish the prosperity of those industries. But his right hon. friend's imagination in these matters was, if not exclusively occupied, dominated by the figure of the poor woman who took in washing. After all, no one wanted to put any unreasonable obstacles in her way, but there were a number of these small industries in regard to which investigation had shown there were ample reasons why the persons engaged in them should be protected against vital danger as regarded sanitary condition, hours of labour, and the general terms of their employment. Allusion had been made to brush-making, and there seemed to be an impression that an unwarrantable intrusion had been made into that trade. But what was the reason for that intrusion? It was because it was in relation to this trade that the terrible disease of anthrax became more and more prevalent and dangerous, particularly where the work was carried on by out-workers. Could anyone say that was not a matter for investigation? When his right hon. friend compared our brush industry with that of Germany, and stated that one of the effects of this legislation was that in some of the lower branches of the brush industry it enabled German manufacturers to successfully compete with the British manufacturers, was the right hon. Gentleman aware that in Germany these very processes were safeguarded by stringent rules with regard to disinfection such as did not exist in this country? He thought we might legitimately take a leaf out of Germany's book in this matter.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he had no objection to inquiry into brush-making or anything else—into any other industry; but let that inquiry be conducted under the authority of the Home Office under proper instructions. What he objected to was that inspectors who complained that they had not time to do their administrative work, went of their own

accord into a trade, making inquiries and publishing a Report. It was not their business to do so unless they had instructions to do so.

MR. ASQUITH said he did not feel much wiser after the right hon. Gentleman's explanation than he did when he resumed his seat. Who would be more qualified to make inquiries than the inspectors who existed for that purpose. The inspectors of the Home Office were well qualified to make inquiries, and there could be no reasonable objection to the result of those inquiries being embodied in a Report to the Department. The principles of factory legislation were now practically settled, and there was continuity of administration. This, of course, made the annual debate turn more and more upon matters of detail, and it was useful as indicating directions in which settled rules should be extended in application. He was strongly of opinion that whenever it was shown, after due inquiry, that the conditions of particular trades were insanitary or dangerous, whether carried on in factories or outside, and that there was a risk of workers losing their proper measure of remuneration, it was not only the right, but the duty of the State, in compliance with uniform tradition, to take effectual means to safeguard the workers. There was nothing dangerously socialistic in that principle—there was abundant evidence for it in the policy which had been carried on by this country for many years. He was not one of those who believed that British industries were handicapped in their struggle for existence by extension of the regulations. It was a position, however, which though not often enunciated in this House was often put forward outside, and he challenged evidence in support of it. The more matters were investigated—if they were to form part of the comprehensive inquiry into things in general—the more it would be shown that British trade had been emancipated and improved; and the fact, that workers who fifty or sixty years ago owing to insanitary conditions carried on their work with shortened lives and impaired energies, now, by wise legislation and careful administration, were safeguarded and carried on their occupations under healthy conditions

Mr. Asquith,

which they had not previously enjoyed, would form a great commercial asset for Great Britain in the struggle with other nations. His hon. friend the Member for Berwick had alluded, not for the first time by many, to the fact that the Report of the Committee on Dangerous Trades had in some points not been acted upon by the Home Office; he knew from experience the difficulty of framing special rules for particular industries, but he impressed on his right hon. friend the urgency of dealing with trades where avoidable dangers to life and health existed. He was not at all satisfied with the progress that had been made in this matter, and he hoped an assurance would be given by his right hon. friend that further steps would be taken. For many years the hon. Member for Stoke had taken part in the debates on lead poisoning with credit and versatility, shifting his ground with admirable perception of the line it would be in the interest of his clients to take. He did not, however, understand the line the hon. Member had taken on this occasion. Some years ago the late Home Secretary promulgated a movement which resulted in an arbitration, conducted by Lord James of Hereford, who adjourned the hearing for eighteen months. That period had elapsed, and the hon. Member was surprised that proceedings should be resumed; he thought, perhaps, that proceedings which were adjourned for eighteen months were postponed *sine die* or to the Greek Kalends! Why did he think the inquiry was adjourned?

MR. COGHILL: To let the Home Office off as lightly as possible.

MR. ASQUITH said this was ingenious, but not complimentary from a supporter of the Government. He gave Lord James credit for a large intention. He thought he adjourned the inquiry to allow those concerned the opportunity of reaching a state of things in which special rules or legislation would not be required, and it was reasonable that, a sufficient time having elapsed, Lord James should desire to know what had been done. He would make one other remark. Ten years experience of the experiment of appointing women inspec-

tors for trades where women and young persons were employed justified an extension of the practice. The communications between the women operatives and these inspectors had been much more free than they would have been if these women inspectors had not been appointed, and the result had been a much better administration of the law. He desired to see the women inspectorate still further extended. It had been productive of incalculable benefit to a large class of operatives in the country, and he did not in the least share the view expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division that women inspectors had gone out of their way to publish to the world *ex parte* and sensational statements in reference to certain trades.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I did not say that.

MR. ASQUITH said the right hon. Gentleman certainly suggested it, otherwise he could not understand the purport of his remarks. At any rate, he declared that they had gone beyond the duties of their office, and devoted to the preparation of Reports time which might have been more usefully employed in the routine work of the Department. He did not at all agree with the right hon. Gentleman. It was one of the duties, as it had been the practice, of inspectors, no matter with what Department they were connected, not to confine themselves to the mere routine of their daily work, but, as intelligent observers, to send to their official chief, in the form of Reports, such observations as they might be able to make with regard to the condition of the particular form of activity with which they were charged, whether social, educational, or industrial, adding suggestions for the improvement or removal of such evils as were brought to their notice. He would be sorry for it to be suggested that inspectors were going beyond their proper sphere in reporting to their chief, and through him to the Secretary of State, the existence of evils, their magnitude, and suggestions for their remedy. By making such Reports they were performing a most useful function, and he earnestly hoped the Home Secretary would not give any countenance to the discouraging remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for the Bordesley Division. On the whole he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the progress of the Department and the excellent work it had done, and he hoped he would be able to reassure the Committee on the special points of detail to which reference had been made.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) was understood to say that the greatest credit was due to the women inspectors for the excellent work they had done, especially when it was remembered that some of them received remuneration which hardly came within the description of a "living wage." He entirely disagreed with the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division on the question of the inspection of laundries. It was unreasonable to suggest that small laundries would be squeezed out of existence if they were compelled to conduct their industry in a proper and sanitary manner. All small laundries would be, or ought to be, glad to comply with the reasonable requirements of the Home Office.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: They cannot afford it.

*MR. TALBOT believed they could afford it. If they could not, they ought to be closed, as no industry ought to be conducted at the expense of the health of the community. On the larger question of the inspection of laundries generally, the Committee would remember a remarkable scene which occurred two years ago on the last stage of the Factories and Workshops Regulation Bill, when the Home Office surrendered the position they had taken up, and declared that they could not carry the measure if they insisted on the inspection of laundries. The then Home Secretary practically promised to deal with the question in a very short time, but that promise had not yet been redeemed. He therefore desired to ask the Home Secretary whether he was prepared, and if so when, to deal with this question. It was a matter of considerable difficulty, and one which raised serious considerations in the minds of those connected with certain charitable institutions. It was only right to say, however, that recent revelations as to what had happened in another country had given rise to some alarm lest there

Mr. Asquith.

should be in this country, unknown to the public, scandals of a similar nature, and it would tend to relieve the public mind if the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance that the subject would be dealt with within a reasonable time. The fact that it presented difficulties was no reason why the subject should be neglected, especially when it affected the welfare of a specially helpless part of the community. With reference to the fruit preserving industry, he thought the law was hardly sufficiently stringent for the protection of the health of the youngest class of workers. That, however, was a matter for legislation, and could not be discussed on the Estimates. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Reports he had received led him to the conclusion that the existing law was really carried out. He believed that in some places there existed a condition of things which ought never to be tolerated—fruit preserving being carried on under insanitary conditions not only prejudicial to the health of the workers, but causing a danger to the preserved fruit which might be described as disgusting. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give this matter his attention.

MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) desired to refer to the remarkable but reasonable complaint of the hon. Member for the Clitheroe Division with reference to the cotton steaming mills. The hon. Member had approached the matter from the workers' point of view; he (the speaker) could look at the matter from the opposite point of view, because, although not actually an employer of cotton labour, he had been part holder, and had had under his control the management of factory sheds of the kind described by the hon. Member. The ground of complaint was that the Home Office had not been sufficiently active in enforcing the regulations, and that the inspectors had not done all they might and ought to have done. There were two very good reasons, and in giving those reasons, he might be able to make some useful suggestions to the right hon. Gentleman. Many Members were probably not familiar with the object of steaming cotton. The fact was that it was necessary to put a large quantity of steam into these sheds while the goods were

being produced in order to help the weaving and the laying down of the fibre, and at the same time to get a certain amount of moisture into the cloth, that being extremely valuable to the manufacturer. It was much better for the manufacturer if the goods could be turned out in a damp condition than if they were turned out dry. Under those circumstances, when a man had a direct interest in keeping the place moist, it was difficult to keep him on the right line. It was exceedingly difficult to detect what the inspectors were expected to discover. Hon. Members knew that the small fractions of impurity which were said to exist in the sheds were exceedingly difficult to arrive at. The hon. Member for Clitheroe had been asking for a more efficient inspection and a more careful consideration of the conditions under which the cotton industry was now carried on. Unless the punishment was very severe manufacturers would continue to ignore the law. He knew some of the difficulties with which owners had to contend, because many of the alterations were difficult to carry out and very expensive, but he was quite convinced that there was no reason whatever to consider that the regulations laid down in regard to steaming in cotton sheds were unreasonable, and there was no reason why the Home Office should not use more energy in having the Act carried out.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University disputed that these regulations would squeeze the small laundries out of existence. Take the case of a widow with a couple of daughters calling in two or three outside assistants to carry on washerwomen's work. She would probably occupy premises of a humble nature, and perhaps carry on the washing business in an old coach-house. If they applied factory regulations in this case, as to sanitation and other matters, they would squeeze her business out of existence, because she probably would have no money to carry out the alterations required. The cost would fall upon the owner of the property, and the result would be that owners would bar washerwomen from occu-

pying their premises. He agreed with his right hon. friend the Member for Bordesley with regard to what he said about the extinction of these independent workers. He desired to thank the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean for kindly giving him notice of his intention to bring the subject of fish-curing at Yarmouth before the Committee. He regretted that, owing to his public duties calling him elsewhere, he was unable to be present and listen to the right hon. Baronet's remarks upon the Inspector's Report. There were peculiar circumstances connected with the industry at Great Yarmouth which rendered it very difficult to meet the points which had been brought forward. In the first place, it had to be remembered that fish-curing was not pleasant work under any circumstances. The fish had to be cleaned and gutted, and that was not agreeable work in any sense of the word. He would not dispute the fact that, although the work might be disagreeable, everything reasonable should be done in the direction, not of making it less disagreeable, but of making it as sanitary in its operation as possible. The Report said that a large number of women were carrying on the work under disgusting circumstances, and it went on to speak of mud, filth, rain, storms, and of the work being carried on in the open air. No Home Office could control rain or wind, but what could the Home Office do to mitigate the unpleasant results referred to in the Memorandum? He did not think they could do very much in this instance. In the first place, the area of the ground upon which this work must be carried on at Yarmouth was very, very restricted. What was described as the South Denes where the work was carried on in the open air, was but a very few acres. It could not be carried on at a very great distance from the landing-place because of the additional cost that would be added to the curing by the carriage. The congestion, consequently, must be nearest to the river. The ground could not be extended. They could not limit the number of fish to be treated, nor could they delay the process. However willing the private owners and the Corporation might be, they were met

with the greatest possible difficulty, and he did not think the case admitted of very much remedy. If his right hon. friend suggested that the work should be done under sheds, he would point out that that might inflict considerable outlay by a number of people concerned. In pointing out that women worked in mud and slush, and in storms of wind and rain, the inspector mentioned that a few loads of stones might mitigate the evil. Knowing the operations of fish-curing, and the conditions under which they had to be carried on, he doubted very much whether the inspector was right. It would not do to put down rough stones, because the women would cut their feet, and they would interfere with the work of cleaning, because the stones would have to be constantly removed and fresh stones substituted.

The inspector was actuated by the best intentions, and was a very able man. He was, doubtless, extremely anxious to see some mitigation of the evil, but he did not think a remedy would be found in putting down rough stones which must in course of time become insanitary, and could not be changed while pressure of work was on. He could not help thinking that if this inspector had a more varied experience of the fish-curing process, and went up and down the coast, he would not have expressed himself so strongly. It was useless to use strong words without suggesting a remedy for the evil. The fish-curing was different from every other industry, and he would again ask the Home Secretary to consider whether it would not be desirable to employ one inspector to look after it and to travel after the fish. Such an official would understand the different conditions at different places and would accumulate experience that would prove most useful. The Home Secretary had not seen his way in the past to act upon this suggestion, but it might be possible that little things could be done by an inspector with experience of other districts. Without in the least wishing to quarrel with the inspector or to controvert his statements, he repeated that he differed from him as to the possibilities of the remedies that were suggested in the report. Wherever there was a likelihood of danger to the community it was right to make regulations to obviate it, but he contended no

plea could be put forward by anybody that the fish-curing process carried on at Yarmouth was insanitary, or that it had an ill effect upon the health of anyone engaged in it. It was a most agreeable sight to see the arrival of a corridor train from Scotland crowded with young women who by their appearance, dress and conduct gave an impression of a very high type of civilisation. Their respectability and moral conduct was beyond all doubt, and yet they went to Yarmouth to work under the conditions which the inspector so condemned. Those girls and the people of Yarmouth were most healthy, and surely, therefore, there could be no plea raised for precipitate interference by the Home Secretary. He made those remarks because the inspector's Report would lead to a wrong impression if it were not met by observations from one possessed of local knowledge upon the subject. It was quite recognised in Yarmouth, both by private owners and the Corporation, that it would be greatly to the advantage of everyone concerned if, without interfering with or hampering the industry, some method could be found for its amelioration or improvement. But it had to be remembered that the fishery was a very precarious business, and permanent arrangements could not be made for it, although the people concerned always did their best. He hoped the Committee would understand that he was only doing what he considered his duty in endeavouring to put before it the facts as they concerned Great Yarmouth.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said the right hon. Gentleman opposite had made a slight allusion to the question of convent laundries. That question raised a good deal of feeling some time ago, and that feeling was largely due to a want of appreciation of the facts. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the Home Secretary had exercised a wise discretion in exempting these laundries from the ordinary inspection provided for by the Act. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to some scandals that had recently been published in connection with convents in France. If he followed the right hon. Gentleman, he meant to suggest the possibility of such scandals in the establishments in England, Ireland, and Scotland. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman

that, if he believed there was such a possibility he would join in any measure to prevent such scandals. But he did not believe in that possibility, and he would confirm what he had to say in regard to laundries in conventual institutions by one or two extracts from the Blue-book now before the Committee. It contained four Reports, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dublin, and they all agreed in stating that these institutions were extremely well conducted from a sanitary point of view. Mr. Bellhouse (Dublin) stated in his Report:—

“I have had an opportunity during the year of visiting a good many of these places by invitation, and I have been enormously impressed by the excellent arrangements that are made in all of them for the workers. In no case have I found any instance of excessive hours, the regulations as to holidays are fully met by the observance of all the Church holidays; the only point in which there is not absolute compliance in this respect being in connection with the compulsory Easter holiday. This is never observed, but the want of it is more than counterbalanced by the extra number of other days which are observed instead. I have always found the rooms to be exceedingly well ventilated, high, lofty, bright, and airy; the wash-house floors are admirably laid and drained. In those places where machinery is used I have been surprised to see how well it has been guarded, and how well the ventilating fans have been arranged. Much of the opposition to the Factory Act on the part of these institutions has been due to ignorance of what the law might mean to them. They have been afraid that we might interfere with their religious ceremonies by binding them to certain definite and unalterable hours, but I have always carefully explained matters and pointed out that they were, as a matter of fact, already complying to the fullest extent with all the provisions of the Act, and that its application to them could make no possible difference in their arrangements. I do not believe that there is any opposition to or feeling against visits by an Inspector, male or female. In this district they are already well accustomed to such visits, for there is nearly always attached to the convent either an industrial, national or technical school, to which visits are paid by Government officials, or the convent is under the control of the Congested Districts Board, and subject to visits by officials from them. My experience is that a very hearty welcome is always offered by the Reverend Mother and the Nuns, who seem only too anxious to show everything about the premises.”

He thought that would satisfy the right hon. Gentleman that there was no ground for the apprehension that any scandals such as had been alleged in regard to institutions in other countries

were possible in the conventual establishments of this country. He might say that the opposition to the intrusion of inspectors into these convent laundries in the ordinary way was on account of the fear which was entertained by the authorities that much inspection in the case of persons of ill-balanced minds might have an injurious effect, and lead them to desire liberation and to return to their old ways. That was the basis of their opposition. So far as inspection of convents in relation to machinery and hours of labour was concerned, the report of Mr. Bellhouse showed that there was no objection on the part of these establishments to inspection.

Some time ago, when the Factories Act was before the House, they succeeded in getting Section 104 introduced, the result being to make the Act apply to dockers and practically to all forms of employment on ships and in docks. And in addition they got it applied to dockers as men engaged in a dangerous trade. Further, it was provided that a wharf, quay, warehouse, and all machinery and plant used in loading or unloading any ship were included in the word “factory”; and, finally, by the second sub-section the expression “plant” was interpreted as including any gangway or ladder used by any person to load or unload or coal a ship. That was the legislation on which the House agreed. The trade of dockers was one of the most dangerous in the country, and the statistics which were submitted on that point constituted the reason why the then Home Secretary assisted in getting this section introduced into the Factories Act. He was sure that the present Home Secretary did not fall behind his predecessor in his anxiety to see the Act carried into operation. What he wanted to know was how far the right hon. Gentleman had been able to see that the proposals of the Act were given effect to. The narrow point with which he was most concerned at present was the ladder one. A ladder was really one of the most important parts of the machinery in the docking industry, and also in shipbuilding yards, and it was a matter which required the serious attention of the Home Office. He would confine his remarks to the case of the dockers. What happened? In large ships holds

were 35 to 40 feet deep, and in some cases the ladders did not reach to the full depth. He had seen ships in which it required something like an acrobatic performance to reach from the deck to the first rung of the ladder. The result was that the docker would miss the first rung of the ladder and fall forty or fifty feet into the hold, and if not instantaneously killed, he would be grievously injured. That was a disgraceful state of things. Furthermore, the ladders had frequently the rungs very widely apart, or broken; in fact, they constituted death-traps to these dockers. He understood that the Home Office had a set of rules in regard to this matter under consideration, but which had not yet been issued, and he was sure that the right hon. the Home Secretary would do everything in his power to make these regulations effective. The right hon. Gentleman had been courteous enough to give him an invitation to go to the Home Office and inspect an improved ladder. He declined to do so, because he did not consider it the business of any Member of Parliament to recommend any particular form of ladder. That was a matter on which the Home Office should exercise their own judgment. What he wanted was that the Home Office should see that the best kind of ladder was adopted. When inquiry was being made, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his inspectors had put themselves in communication with the representatives of the dockers themselves. It would be highly desirable that that should be done, because the inspectors had no practical experience in these matters, while the leaders of the dockers, who had been themselves dockers, and had gone through all their trials and bore in their own persons the marks of the wounds which they had received in the exercise of their calling, had that practical experience. There was also the danger of open hatches, which led to many accidents, both in the docks and in shipbuilding yards, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see that the regulations as to these were modified and improved.

SIR J. L. STIRLING-MAXWELL (Glasgow, College) said he hoped his right hon. friend would take this opportunity of making an explicit statement

Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

as to what the Government were going to do in regard to the question of the inspection of laundries. The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool had said that the Catholic institutions were willing to come under general regulations, but he was not at all sure of that. All the evidence that he had was that these institutions were not of a very satisfactory nature. There was no doubt that the case for dealing with laundries had been more than made out. In the House of Lords two years ago, Lord James of Hereford, in the course of a debate on an Amendment to the Factories Acts, said—

“My noble friend, Lord Windsor, was perfectly correct in saying that the Home Secretary had declared that the state of the law with regard to laundries was most unsatisfactory. My right hon. friend still entertains that view, and he has pledged himself to do his utmost to bring about an amendment of the law.”

And a little later Lord James said—

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I would remind the hon. Baronet that matters dealing with fresh legislation cannot be discussed in Committee of Supply.

SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL said he would then leave that point alone. He however, insisted that the laundries were not in a very satisfactory state. In reference to what the hon. Member for Bordesley had stated, he did not think that anyone wished to see this industry so regulated that the small laundries were squeezed out of existence. The laundries, however, must be made sanitary, and they should be so regulated that they should not be prejudicial to the health of their patrons or the community.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said that the significant feature of the debate on the Home Office Vote was that only three hon. Members had spoken adversely of the Reports of the Inspectors of Factories, of the method of their doing their work, and of the general administration of the Factories and Workshops Acts. Curiously enough in these three instances the speakers represented the view of local trades, and might fairly be charged with taking the narrow view of their trade constituents rather than following the broad

principle which ought to weigh with a Member of the House of Commons. He ventured to say that on that point, the trades' constituents were not always the best guides, philosophers, and friends in regard to industrial legislation. It was significant that these three adverse speakers had always, for constituent reasons, been urging the Home Office to be cautious and slow in the administration of the factory laws, but above all, to remember that foreign competition was walking with giant and irresistible strides. There was a converse view to that position. This House contained many captains of industry and princes of commerce, men who had succeeded well in various branches of industry; and the three speeches to which he had referred had been received by them with great coolness. These speeches had influenced in no sense the audience to which they were addressed. But there was one of these speeches which no one could help noticing—viz., that of the hon. Member for Bordesley. That speech was in keeping with the low-water-mark of industrial organisation which distinguished the right hon. Gentleman, both in and out of office. The speech was an obvious rider to the hon. Member for Stoke and another hon. Member, who were under the impression that the Home Office were inclined to go further than they ought. That speech proved that the Home Office was not a revolutionary office and that the atmosphere of the Home Office did not provoke its occupants "to scorn delights and live laborious days," and to press for further legislation for the improvement of the condition of the workers of the country. It proved that if the Home Office had erred at all it was on the side of caution and slowness, and that they did not pioneer reforms until long experiment justified them in doing so. It threw a side-light on the tardy way in which the right hon. Gentleman gave concessions to reforms in the years that were gone; and a very interesting side-light on the difficulties which some hon. Members had to encounter in securing reforms from the right hon. Gentleman in many dangerous trades.

The right hon. Gentleman urged one argument which ought to weigh

with one or two hon. Members. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Home Office had something else to protect than the workers; that they must not by these restrictions and regulations improve certain trades altogether out of existence; that the margin of profit in these trades was so small that he was not sure that over-inspection would not destroy that margin. He thought that that theory had been discussed when the first Factory Act was passed; and that it had then been discredited. It was opposed to existing facts; and he would suggest to the right hon. Member for Bordesley that if the trade of Birmingham was suffering—as it might be—that might be due to the fact that in the small trades of Birmingham the garret-master still prevailed, and that in that environment there was a lack of that sub-division of labour and precision which alone could be secured in large factories. Birmingham had not followed the example of Manchester and other large manufacturing centres in the North of England where, by that sub-division of labour and precision of method, their trade had improved in proportion as they had abandoned the old garret-master methods. There they had instituted large workshops, employed foremen technically trained, and worked out the specialisation of industry. He would suggest to the right hon. Member for Bordesley that instead of devoting attention to preferential tariffs, his constituents should spend more money on the education of their artisans; and that instead of going round the world in search of Imperial fireworks they should send over the workmen of Birmingham to Germany to study the organisation of labour. If Birmingham was suffering from German competition it was due to the fact that Birmingham had not got such splendid technical schools and colleges as Charlottenburg and other cities of Germany. The right hon. Gentleman should remember the old adage—which was also the law of the life of nations—that the large fish lived on the little fish and that the little fish ate mud. That, too, was the law of the life of industry. The small garret-masters would have to go, and Birmingham would have to follow the example of other cities which had got over that stage of industry.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division talked about small laundries. He had great sympathy with washerwomen, and withall, especially women, who were obliged to work under bad conditions; but it was no kindness to them that they should be allowed to work under insanitary and noisome conditions. On the contrary, the more the standard of industry was raised, the more the people engaged therein were elevated. If hon. Members only knew the places where small laundry workers did their work, out of sheer sympathy they would improve the standard of work. When the right hon. Gentleman talked about over-regulation and over-inspection, he had only to look at the Report to find that, as regarded laundries in France, that country was abreast of this country in many respects, and excelled it in others; and as regarded brush-making, Germany was far ahead of this country from the point of view of health, sanitation, and hygiene. He did not believe, and never would believe, that expansion of Empire was to be had by the ill-health of the citizens of that Empire. On the contrary, he believed that insanitary conditions of work, low wages and long hours, constituted a reactionary condition of things from which the country in which it existed was certain to suffer. Such a condition of affairs would not be improved by walking about like Jeremiah, bemoaning the fate of England or crying "stinking fish." This country would not hold the commerce it had by following the reactionary course suggested by the right hon. Member for the Bordesley Division. The hon. Member for Stoke-on-Trent deserved great credit for the manner in which he persistently stuck, not with the best of aims, to the question of lead poisoning. He had little to say to the hon. Member after the proper criticism he had already received. For five or six years the hon. Member had delivered similar speeches to that which he delivered to-day; but his speeches were not now so strong as they were two or three years ago. What was the reason? Five or six years ago the hon. Member said that all this inspection in connection with lead poisoning was not necessary. The Home Secretary, however, following the late Home Secretary, who deserved great credit for what he did in this particular industry as in many other

industries, insisted that regulations should be carried out, that control should be exercised, and that inspection should be extended. What had been the result of the action of the Home Office? In 1899 there were 249 cases of lead poisoning, when the control of the Home Office was being introduced. In 1900 the cases dropped to 200; and after three years they had fallen to 106. The hon. Member should remember that that was done in the teeth of his annual cry that the industry was going to be ruined.

MR. COGHILL said that he never objected to the [Home Office regulations in this matter.

MR. JOHN BURNS said he believed that if the Home Secretary had a free hand and more vigorously enforced the regulations, the 106 cases would be reduced very soon to forty or fifty cases. That should encourage the Home Office to pursue its policy more vigorously in the future than in the past. He could not congratulate the hon. Member on the way in which he had been a snag in the stream of industrial reform; and he thought that the hon. Member was almost as reactionary as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division. The last point he wished to refer to was that of underground bakehouses. The Home Office was the authority for the inspection of bakehouses, both above and under ground. In certain circumstances the Home Office deserved credit for its part in carrying out the reforms inaugurated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife nine or ten years ago. He had been very frequently criticised for his condemnation of underground bakehouses, but he was glad to say that, like Othello, his occupation in that direction was gone, because underground bakehouses were disappearing, and in a year or two very few would be left. But he would ask the Home Secretary to remember the fact that many of the places which were condemned by his own inspectors as bakehouses, and which could not, therefore, be used as bakehouses, were now being used for making confectionery, a branch of industry which certainly required just as much protection as that of bread-making. It was

Mr. John Burns.

a remarkable condition of things that they could not have underground bakehouses for the baking of bread, but could have them for the preparing and making of pastry, and the hundred and one toothsome morsels with which people regaled themselves. He thought the Home Office ought to construe underground bakehouses or kitchens, where they were used for the cooking of food other than bread, as a place where no edible article ought to be made or prepared. The Medical Officer of Health for the City of London, in his Report on underground bakehouses in 1902, stated that in many cases the w.-c. accommodation was in a very defective condition. Twenty-six lavatories either opened or were ventilated into the kitchens, and in one case the lobby of the lavatory was used for the storage of meat. Those were the places where City merchants most did congregate. The medical officer said that there were cases in which kitchens were badly ventilated, walls dirty, floors defective, w.-c.'s without ventilation or light, and used by both sexes, cisterns not covered, and cisterns needing to be cleansed. That revealed a condition of affairs which was simply disgraceful and scandalous, and one on which the Home Office inspectors should be turned as soon as possible. The master bakers' organ said that the persons who denounced underground bakeries ought to see underground kitchens within a few hundred yards of Charing Cross; and the *St. James's Gazette* also described them unfavourably. He could quote instance after instance in which the condition of underground restaurant kitchens was really disgraceful. This House had perhaps the best kitchen in the world, but when they walked through that kitchen they were struck by the pallid appearance of those who carried on their work there, even under the best conditions. What, then, must the condition be of those who worked in the insanitary underground kitchens to which he referred. His view was that law and administration should deal with these places in precisely the same way as with underground bakehouses, and that they should henceforth be placed, not at the bottom, but at the top of buildings. In conclusion, he congratulated the Home Secretary and the officials of the Department on the continuous improvement in the Report.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's), who was very indistinctly heard in the gallery, was understood to say he would be hard to please if he had any fault to find with the tone of the debate. Although faults had been found, which he would endeavour to put right, the debate on the whole had been one of congratulation. Speaking, in the first place, of the date at which the Estimates were brought on, he pointed out that the Estimates which were taken first were those in which the greatest interest was taken, and they were taken when they were at the suggestion of right hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite. He referred to the undesirability of taking this Vote extremely late, and said he did not think that the Report in connection with Lord James's inquiry would be available in so short a time as a fortnight or three weeks. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife had mentioned a fact at which the Committee would rejoice—namely, that nowadays the question of administering these Acts was no longer to be considered one of Party politics. Continuity of spirit, policy, and administration was maintained by successive Secretaries of State. He thought that was a matter for congratulation which tended to better work being done by the inspectors and the Department. With regard to lead poisoning, he thought there was, generally speaking, reason to be satisfied with the steady decline in the number of cases. In 1899 there were in all 1,258 cases; in 1900 1,058; in 1901, 863; in 1902, 629. The diminution in the Potteries was even more remarkable. The effect of the special rules (first established some ten years ago) had been, he ventured to think, most marked, especially since the revision of 1898. This subject could hardly be thoroughly discussed just now, as the arbitration of Lord James was not yet concluded, but would be resumed next week, and the case was, so to speak, *sub judice*. He admitted that the position could not yet be considered to be entirely satisfactory, but there was certainly much satisfaction to be found in the figures quoted. He really thought that even the hon. Member for Stoke, with all his gloomy anticipation as to the effect of the restrictions on trade in this country, would agree that the improved state of affairs was

worth some sacrifice. Further progress must be made, further precautions were necessary, and it would be necessary to frame further rules to secure them. Something was being done with regard to insurance, and he had reason to think that the number of those who were insured would increase year by year. He assured the Committee that he would spare no effort to combat the evil of lead poisoning.

As regarded fisheries, he was bound to say that the conditions of the premises used for pickling herrings at Great Yarmouth were not very satisfactory, and in some cases there was an absence of sanitary convenience. The matter had been brought to the notice of the sanitary authority, and he had every reason to be satisfied with the way in which they had received the suggestions and demands made by the Department with regard to putting their house in order. At Lowestoft, though the conditions shown in the Report were better than at Yarmouth, there were still unsatisfactory points; pressure was being brought to bear to secure the necessary improvement, and for the enforcing of the law. As regards fruit-preserving it had been suggested that very slow progress was being made, but it should be remembered that the rules were only made in June last, and he had little doubt that the next Report would show a more satisfactory result. The instances quoted by Miss Paterson certainly showed a striking disregard of hygienic considerations, and inquiries would be made. The new conditions under which fruit-preserving was now carried on seemed to require further consideration. If it were the fact that the factories were practically working all through the year it was possible that the special exemptions ought to be cut down or removed. That was a matter for consideration, and a *prima facie* case for further inquiry had perhaps been made out. The extension of the "Particulars" principle to various trades must proceed gradually as need was shown. The complexity in the conditions of many trades made careful inquiry essential. Since the Act of 1901 was passed, which made extension to out workers possible, several branches of trade had been under consideration; extensions had been made

in four trades, and he hoped when the subject came up again for discussion, progress would be found to have been made towards meeting the wishes of the right hon. Baronet. Of course, many trades were acting voluntarily in the matter. As to the inspectorate, there was always room for the increase of inspectors of both sexes, and recent years showed a continuous increase in appointments. The appointment of a permanent lady inspector for the potteries had been considered by his predecessors who had not seen their way to place a lady inspector there permanently. In that view he concurred, believing that the staff of lady inspectors could be best turned to account by sending members of it where their services were most needed from time to time. Under that system the potteries had received their fair share of attention. In reference to the preparation of certain Returns, there was certainly some overlapping of authority between the Home Office and the Local Government Board; but he anticipated a removal of this objection from the report of the Committee which had been appointed under Lord Jersey to inquire into the distribution of work among the Departments.

The hon. Member for Clitheroe, in a most moderate speech, had brought under notice the condition of the cotton cloth or steaming factories and the question of ventilation. He had also received useful suggestions privately from the hon. Gentleman on this subject some time ago. An inquiry was going on and he fully appreciated the points the hon. Member had raised. The absence of prosecutions was no indication of neglect. There were difficulties in the way often which made success doubtful, and the Department had preferred to rely on warnings rather than on prosecution, with probability of failure to obtain conviction. The question of ventilation had careful attention, and he ventured to think that the fears of the hon. Member with regard to a detrimental lowering of the standard were groundless. With regard to the subjects referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire, they had been proceeding to a certain extent on the lines suggested

by the Committee over which he had presided. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife had also pressed the matter on his attention, and he could assure him that he would not forget the suggestions made. He might say the same with regard to the suggestions made by the hon. Member for the Scotland division of Liverpool. They had not only considered the question of safety in docks but had prepared rules dealing with the subject. He should be glad of any suggestions which the hon. Member might make to him. With regard to the question of laundries, he had been asked why they had not proceeded with legislation, and whether he was prepared with any announcement on the subject? He had gone carefully into the matter three or four times with the full determination to deal with it. He was glad to think that the voluntary inspection of many of the exempted laundries had been attended with considerable success. They had found that the public inspection had not the terrors which were anticipated, and this had greatly improved the feeling on the matter. Although there were still many difficulties, it was a subject which would have really to be taken up, and he hoped that would be soon. He sympathised to a certain extent with one point which had been raised by the right hon. Member for Bordesley, but he thought they would be agreed that they could not allow even the smaller laundries to remain without their being put into a sanitary condition.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: By local action.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: Well, the local authorities could be stirred up. Although he had no desire that these small laundries should be cut out of existence, he thought it was not too much to demand that sanitary conditions should be enforced. The only other question which he recollected was one raised by his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Great Yarmouth with reference to the appointment of a peripatetic inspector of fisheries. He had had a correspondence with his friend on this subject, and he could only repeat that he believed that to have a wandering inspector would greatly interfere with the inspectory system of the country. The hon. Member for Battersea raised the question of underground bake-

houses, and he had complained that these underground places, which had been condemned as bakeries, were now used for the making of confectionery and as kitchens. This was a matter which rested with the local authority, but the instructive Report on the matter which the hon. Member had quoted would no doubt form ground for enquiry.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked: Did he understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he was not satisfied with local inspection of the small laundries as regarded sanitary arrangements, and was he in some way or other going to put them under the Workshops Act?

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: No. What he had said was that he agreed with his right hon. friend in a desire to keep them going, but that he hoped they would be brought into a sanitary condition. He did not know whether, after the assurances he had given, the hon. Member for Clitheroe would deem it necessary to go to a division. They were all anxious to proceed in the direction the hon. Member had indicated, and he assured him that the matter would be thoroughly inquired into.

*MR. SHACKLETON said he did hesitate about pressing this matter to a division. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the courteous way he had received him upon previous occasions. The right hon. Gentleman had not said anything about the inspectors, and he would like a few words from him upon that subject. Previously there were three inspectors, and a general inspector was appointed to assist. These inspectors, as a rule, had no knowledge of the work. The number of mills worked upon this system had considerably increased, and it was absolutely necessary that more men, with a practical knowledge of the work, who understood how to take samples and check them, and make returns upon them, should be appointed. The right hon. Gentleman's reply in regard to the failure to prosecute offenders under the Act was not satisfactory. He was afraid that the courts of justice in Lancashire were not sufficiently independent to apply the Act in an honest and fearless way.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said that a large number of magistrates were, on account of being connected with particular trades, disqualified from acting in these matters.

*MR. SHACKLETON said he understood the right hon. Gentleman's explanation. It was also said that the prosecutions having failed in previous cases they did not desire to bring up other cases and fail again. He knew that it was difficult to get the law administered in the Courts in Lancashire, but that fact gave no satisfaction to those who felt aggrieved. No assurances were given. The fact that an inquiry was going on had nothing whatever to do with the present Act. An inquiry was held some years ago and, a definite agreement having been come to, the agreement was embodied in the Act to which he had referred.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) directed the attention of the Home Secretary to one point which had been raised in the debate. In regard to most of the subjects raised the right hon. Gentleman had given assurances or pledges, but on the question of the inspection of laundries connected with conventual institutions he had given no promise at all. It had been suggested that, owing to the difficulties in the way, there was no possibility of legislation being brought in this session or next session, and he supposed they would have to look to another Government for it. In any case the question was a burning one, not only so far as the Ulster representatives were concerned, but this country also. The argument advanced against the inspection of conventual institutions was that there were good and holy people in them. All the more reason why they should be inspected—for if good and holy people were in these places there was nothing to hide. The argument of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool was that there was at present sufficient inspection, and in support of that contention had read the report of an inspector who gave credit to the authorities of the institutions visited for having equipped them with all the necessary accommodation and improvements. He desired to point out to the

House that the report was given by the individual who had been specially invited to see the institution, and the places would consequently be in the good order of a house when a friend was invited to tea. Inspection by invitation ought not to be considered sufficient to justify exemption from the ordinary inspection. The feeling was very intense on this matter, inasmuch as within the past twelve months great scandals had taken place in an institution known as the "Good Shepherd," and in connection with which an attempt to get a Question on the Paper of the House had been ruled out of order. He took that opportunity of entering his protest against such a proceeding and of asking the Home Secretary whether he could not, in the interests of the Protestant community of the United Kingdom, see his way to put Catholic laundries on a level with other laundries, and have them worked under the Factories and Workshops Act. A great Land Bill was now before Parliament. Suppose they exempted Roman Catholics from that Bill, what a hullabaloo there would be—and rightly so—from the Benches opposite! Why, if they were putting inspectors into the workshops—

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green) asked whether the hon. Member was in order in dealing with a question of future legislation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I was just going to interrupt the hon. Member. I understand that this is a matter which can only be dealt with by fresh legislation, and, therefore, it would be out of order to discuss it on this Vote.

MR. SLOAN submitted to the Chairman's ruling, though he quite felt that when the Home Secretary referred to the fact that he could not under the present circumstances promise legislation, he might be in order in entering his protest against that decision. He would not pursue the subject further than to say that, as representing an Ulster constituency, it would not conduce to the best interests of the people of this country, nor to the good feeling which

ought to subsist amongst all religious denominations, that one party should be exempt and another put under the rule. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to use some means, or enter into some understanding, whereby these difficulties might be removed and all institutions inspected under the Act.

MR. NANNETTI said he desired to call attention to the grievance of a class of people in Ireland, who were not able to defend themselves, namely, the female workers. He had on several occasions brought under the notice of the House the inadequacy of female inspectors with regard to Ireland. He was told by the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor that the complaints would be looked into, but he was sorry to say that anything done so far to redeem that promise had not been satisfactory. In Ireland, so far as female workers were concerned, the Factories Act was a dead-letter. He was hopeful that the present Home Secretary would look into the matter, and that, if he could not appoint inspectors exclusively for Ireland, he would at least appoint additional inspectors in England, so that more assistance might be given in Ireland by visiting inspectors in order that a stop might be put to sweating, overcrowding, and long hours. Overtime was not only worked by adults but by young girls who were apprentices in several establishments throughout the country. He claimed that Ireland should be treated in a more generous manner than at present with regard to female inspectors. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to state the number of visits made to Ireland by female inspectors, and the amount of time they had spent in the country. It was only last week that a meeting was held in a town in Ireland to protest against the present condition of things. The meeting was presided over by a Roman Catholic curate and he was supported by a clergyman of another denomination. The reverend gentleman who presided stated the grievance felt by the female workers through the failure of the authorities to enforce the Act. The outcome of the meeting was that the poor girls immediately formed a trade union for the purpose of protecting themselves. What was going on in that

town was typical of what was happening all over Ireland. He urged that a permanent female inspector was required in Ireland, and he hoped the Home Secretary would give this matter more generous consideration than his predecessor had done. At their recent Conference in Derry the Irish 'Trades' Congress passed a special resolution on the subject, a copy of which was sent to the right hon. the Home Secretary. The same conditions existed in the country places as well as in large cities like Dublin and Belfast. He submitted that the right hon. Gentleman should give the people of Ireland that protection which the law provided for them, and which they did not get, simply because inspectors were not sent to that country.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he had listened very carefully to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman as to the appointment of a female inspector in Ireland. He could not give any definite promise at that moment, but he could assure the hon. Gentleman that he would make it his business to fully inquire into the facts, and to give the most careful attention to the matter.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he agreed with all that his hon. friend had said in regard to the necessity of inspection in Ireland. He begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said it was rather inconvenient for hon. Members to discuss the Mines Report unless they had it in their hands at an earlier period of the session. The right hon. the Home Secretary would remember that the hon. Member for Mid Durham and himself had the honour of introducing to him a deputation of colliery winding enginemmen, who put before him two resolutions. The first referred to sanitation. There were some colliery engine-houses where there was absolutely no sanitary convenience about the place. The other point to which the right hon. Gentleman's

attention had been directed was the necessity of two men being in an engine-house when men were ascending or descending the shaft. That was a very important question, because an engineman might be overcome when alone, and a fearful accident take place. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he had, as he promised the deputation, consulted the inspectors on these matters, and whether any progress had been made in drafting regulations in regard to them.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said he agreed that the hon. Gentleman had some reason for saying that it was very desirable that the reports of the inspectors of mines should be in the hands of Members before the Home Office Vote was discussed. He would make inquiries, and, if it could be done, it should be done in the future. As to the other points raised by the hon. Member for Wansbeck, he had not before him the final reports from the inspectors whom he had asked to inquire into the grievances. When he had come to a conclusion in the matter he would communicate with the hon. Member.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said that while acknowledging the courteous reply of the Home Secretary in regard to the earlier presentation of Reports, he wished to strongly endorse all that had been said by his hon. friend. There was no reason whatever why not only the Home Office Reports but those of all other Departments should not be in the hands of Members before the last day of April. The Committee could not discuss the administration of the Reports without having these Reports in their hands. He wished to draw attention to quite another matter—viz., the administration of what was known as the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1876. A great agitation took place twenty-five years ago, and public opinion was very much excited by disclosures as to the terrible pain and suffering inflicted on many animals for the purpose of scientific investigation. A Royal Commission was appointed, which obtained useful information on the subject. The

Mr. Fenwick.

Report of the men of great eminence who sat on that Commission was very far-reaching, and Lord Cross, then Mr. Cross, Home Secretary in the Government of that day, than whom no man had ever filled that position better, founded on that Report a very good Bill, which went through the House of Commons. But when the Bill reached the House of Lords, the scientific "interest" raised such an opposition to it, that Mr. Cross, very much against his own judgment, consented to a considerable mutilation on Clause 3 in order to get the Bill through at the end of the Session in 1876. The hon. Member for Peckham some time ago introduced a Bill which would restore the Act of 1876 very much into the condition in which the Bill left the House of Commons, and, speaking broadly and generally, he would support that Bill. Section 3 of the Act placed the whole control of vivisection in the Home Office. There were some people who said that no painful experiment on a living animal should be made under any condition whatever. That was not his view. It was established before the Royal Commission of 1876 that it might be expedient to treat a living animal with a certain amount of pain under certain conditions for scientific investigation, but that the operation should be strictly guarded. There was always an inclination on the part of scientists to try and make out that they were alone the judges in this matter; that the scientific mind should be supreme; that pain on the part of animals should not be regarded in comparison with the pursuit of knowledge; and that, therefore, they should be free from all restrictions. They resented the provisions of the Act, and he did not say they tried to elude them, but they were in a constant state of dissatisfaction with them. He remembered that when the Act was being discussed in 1876, Mr. Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Lowe, moved an Amendment that any graduate of a university should be permitted to obtain a licence for making experiments on living animals whensoever he desired. But that Amendment was lost by a vast majority, and the House decided that the lay mind should be predominant. The right hon.

Gentleman the Home Secretary was a layman and single-minded, whereas most of his predecessors in office had been professional men.

And, it being half-past seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— EVENING SITTING. —

SUPPLY [14TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1904, for the salaries and expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

MR. JOHN ELLIS said he believed that the right to inflict pain by way of experiment upon living animals ought to be very carefully restricted and guarded. Regulations should be imposed by the State. The Act of 1876 laid down that a person should not perform on living animals any experiment calculated to give pain, except subject to the restrictions of that Act. The State therefore recognised that experiments on living animals were illegal and must be stopped except when performed under certain regulations. The Act of 1876 was satisfactory in his opinion. The conditions and principles which underlaid the matter of painful experiments on living animals might be taken to be three in number. In the

first place, the experiment must not be made except for a definite object or purpose. That was perfectly clear on the terms of the Act itself. Subsection 4 of Section 3 showed that the experiment must be performed with a view to the advancement or new discovery of physiological knowledge, or that it was useful for prolonging life, or for alleviating suffering. Those words governed the whole thing. Anything outside the clause was *ipso facto* illegal.

Then, in the next place, it must be done by a duly certified and qualified person. No one at large could perform these experiments. In the third place, it must be done on licensed premises. It could not be carried on anywhere and everywhere. The whole thing was governed by inspection, and it was rather as regarded inspection that he wanted to address himself more specifically to the Home Secretary. That right hon. Gentleman was the head of a great Department and had under him two inspectors—one for England, and one for Scotland, each of whom had certain geographical functions. But the most important thing to be considered was the character of the men, and some years ago that was not a very satisfactory matter. It was the duty of some hon. Members at that time to point out that the inspector then employed had been a declared admirer of the system of vivisection, and might even be ranked as an adherent to the system. He did not think a man could properly fulfil the functions of an inspector—he would not go so far as to say that the inspector should be a declared anti-vivisectionist—but he could not do justice to his post unless he were a reasonable man with a fairly balanced mind, and did not enter upon his duties with any very strong or conceived opinions either for or against vivisection. He should be able to investigate matters with a calm and even judgment. That was all he asked, and if the right hon. Gentleman could assure the Committee on that point he would be perfectly satisfied. In years gone by the position was very different, but time must have dispossessed the person who was then holding office. He had

no personal knowledge of the present inspectors, and he made no complaint with regard to the method of inspection. The Home Secretary had a perfect army of inspectors for mines and factories, and it was to be hoped that with regard to this matter of painful experiments on living animals the right hon. Gentleman would see that justice was done. His inspectors should investigate the matters under their jurisdiction with judicial calm, and report upon them in the same spirit. That was the attitude which he ventured to think the inspectors under this Act should adopt. He would further suggest, without desiring to cast any reflections upon anyone, that surprise visits should be adopted. That could be done without throwing any slur on the character of anyone, and he hoped that the gentleman who had to deal with painful experiments on living animals would be thin-skinned.

His last point was as to the personal attitude of the Home Secretary. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman was slack or indifferent in this matter, but he hoped that he would give due regard to the character of his inspectors, and to the way in which they performed their functions, and that he would see that the Act was carried out thoroughly and well. It was absolutely necessary that the Act passed in 1876 should be thoroughly carried out. He hoped that the Home Secretary would assure the Committee that he agreed with the three cardinal principles he had laid down, and that they would be able to close this discussion with the feeling that they had the right hon. Gentleman's sympathy with them, and that he would see that the Act was not a dead letter.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) said he had listened with satisfaction to the extremely moderate speech of the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division. They might be sure that the Home Secretary did not regard this question in any way from a prejudiced point of view, but rather from a layman's point of view. What was the question they were putting to the right hon. Gentleman? At present there was a certain Act of Parliament which was passed in

the year 1876. That Act had been modified, as some of them thought, in the wrong direction. He believed there was a very strong feeling in the country among moderate people that the alteration made in the Act was a wrong alteration, and that some steps should be taken to restore the Act to the position in which it formerly stood. He did not suppose that any Member of that House—and certainly no Member on the opposite side—would regard him in any kind of way as a sentimental person, or as one likely to be actuated by sentimental motives. How was the Act, as it stood now, administered? His hon. friend had stated that in coal mines and other industries the word of the mine-owner, however respectable he might be, was not taken conclusively as law, but steps were taken by independent people to see that the Act was obeyed. Licences were granted to certain people to make certain experiments, and there was very little, if any, provision made to see that these experiments were carried out in the spirit in which he was sure the Home Secretary granted the licences. The Reports made on those experiments were to a great extent prepared by the gentlemen who were licensed to carry them out. He was not one of those who thought that under no circumstances should vivisection be practised, but he did desire to see safeguards put on the practice, and that the experiments should only be carried on with a certain object in view—i.e., with a desire to achieve something which would throw light on certain unknown subjects for the benefit of mankind, and not merely to show us what was already well-known, or merely to illustrate lectures in order to give students an opportunity of succeeding in their studies. He did not want to cast blame on any person who was desirous of advancing science, but they all knew that people were likely to be carried away from their better feelings when pursuing an interesting subject, and they must not pay too much attention to statements made by people who were personally interested. He believed he was right in thinking that the Home Secretary would approach this subject with a certain amount of consideration, and that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to take steps to more efficiently

safeguard the law as it at present existed. He hoped further that the right hon. Gentleman would say with what favour he regarded legislation which had for its object an improvement of the existing law. The hon. Gentleman opposite had alluded to a Bill that he (Sir F. Banbury) hoped to soon introduce to the House, although the right hon. Gentleman could not approve that Bill.

*THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member is out of order in discussing proposed legislation on this subject.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY accepted the Chairman's ruling. He only wished to point out that the hon. Gentleman opposite had alluded to a Bill standing in his name, and he thought it might be in order to ask the Home Secretary what steps he proposed to take to stop what was recognised by a great number of people in this country to be a growing evil. Was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to take steps to see that for the future no licences would be given unless proper safeguards were observed, and to ensure that when a licence was given it was carried out in the manner in which it was intended to be carried out when given?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) was sure that no one would be more anxious to protect the rights and privileges of animals than the Home Secretary. It had been his fortune, or misfortune, to have known the right hon. Gentleman for thirty years. His earliest recollection of him was that he was always accompanied by a dog, and that he was always a good master of dogs and cats. First of all they had to elicit the sympathies of the right hon. Gentleman on the side of preventing, as far as possible, cruelties being perpetrated in the name of scientific research upon those humble sentient creatures who were more or less placed in our care and under our charge. It reflected well on the House of Commons that it could give a few minutes to the consideration of the rights and privileges of creatures that had no voices to be heard on the subject of preferential tariffs, and did not even understand the difference between Chamberlainism and Ritchieism. The Committee were very

fortunate in having this discussion at the present time of the year. The Report was very interesting reading. He wished with all earnestness that the English public could realise the Act of 1876—a Vivisection Act which was supposed to protect the rights of animals, but which had done exactly the reverse. It had safeguarded excessive vivisection; it had protected on paper cruelty, and it had protected on paper scientific research, which was not scientific research but cruelty. The Report was not a judicial document, but an *apologia* for increased protection of vivisection. They could not dissociate themselves from the idea that these men, holding licences for experimenting upon living animals, were members, and honoured members, of the surgical profession; that they were bound by professional feeling not to go against their own class; and that that tone, feeling, idea, and aspect had been engendered for years and years in their minds. It could not be otherwise but that the sight of suffering, which at first moved one so strongly, should afterwards become less keen as one became more hardened. When it was contended that vivisection was useful and necessary, it was utterly impossible for those gentlemen to approach it in a spirit to ascertain whether it was cruel or not. With that environment of mind those gentlemen were not competent to deal with the question. The names of the institutions which were licensed for vivisection occupied forty-three pages of the Report; but there was only one inspector and an assistant-inspector to inspect them all. The institutions were scattered all over the country; but the travelling expenses of the two inspectors were limited to £100 a year. If they visited all the institutions, and if they made surprise visits, clearly their travelling expenses would be far more. The Chief Inspector received £315 a year, and his assistant £210. Those salaries were paid, not for the inspection of the institutions licensed for vivisection, but in order to lull the public conscience as to what went on. The £525 which was paid for inspection was so much moral morphia to deaden the public conscience. He would recommend his right hon. friend not to attend a vivisection operation with a revolver in his hand; he himself would not be responsible for the consequences.

The Report stated that during the year the usual inspections had been made, and that the animals were found everywhere to be suitably lodged and well-cared for. An earlier Report stated, however, that the best experiments had been carried out in connection with food, which of course meant that the animals were being starved. Then, as if to save their faces, the inspectors mentioned a case in which a man who had been licensed to vivisect dogs and cats, extended his prerogative to guinea-pigs. If the right hon. Gentleman would ask his mentors at the Home Office for information he would find that since the Act of 1876 was passed not one vivisector had ever been fined a penny or imprisoned for an hour, or deprived of his certificate, though sometimes the certificate was suspended. He was, therefore, right in stating that all this was a mere matter of administration, and that the animals were worse off after the Act of 1876 than they were before. The Act had operated as an anodyne to the public mind. Persons who objected to vivisection were called faddists; and he himself was very proud that he was a faddist in that connection. He found that during the last year there had been sixty-two aspirants to diplomas as vivisectionists; and there were no fewer than 3,261 more experiments in 1902 than in 1901. He would ask hon. Members who would not see a dog or a cat, or the humblest sentient being, injured to consider that.

Further, it should not be imagined that each experiment only meant one operation on one animal. An operation was a series of scientific researches on various animals, and was oftentimes conducted by very unskilful hands, and by men who knew no more about the physiology of a sentient being than a child who broke up a watch did of its mechanism. It would have been thought, from the Report, that the animals were rather the better for the operations performed on them. He wondered how the gentleman who wrote that Report would feel if he burnt his finger with a cigar. The experiments involved the removal of important organs, and even parts of the brain. The vivisectionists watched the various results just as persons look at the retort in a chemical experiment.

Mr. Swift MacNeill.

They even seemed to think that it did more good than harm to have part of an animal's brain removed; and they were the gentlemen who were the protectors of animals, and who would not allow them to be cruelly treated. His hon. friend had spoken hotly of the mutilation of animals for the pleasure of medical students; and another hon. Gentleman stated that he did not think animals were vivisected in the lecture room. But in the Report it was stated that no less than 171 experiments had been conducted in lecture rooms. Was that right or proper? Dr. Houghton, who was one of the Senior Fellows of Trinity College and a great scientific and medical man, opposed the practice of vivisection altogether, because he did not wish, as he said, to make the medical students under his care young devils. The 171 experiments did not mean only 171 animals; it meant a whole series of scientific research; and the statement in the Report was part of the deception, no doubt unconscious, which it presented. Was there ever a more amusing claim for humanity made, except perhaps the claim of the old woman who, when remonstrated with for skinning live eels, said: "Oh, Sir, they are accustomed to it, and don't mind it at all." He would like to send the Report to Mr. W. S. Gilbert for his next comic opera. The experiments which were performed with an anæsthetic numbered nearly 12,000, and were mainly inoculations; and they were defending it on the ground that they were not painful. But the innoculations were conducted to convey fever, diphtheria, and every other disease that human flesh was heir to. According to the Report those experiments lasted during the whole period from the administration of the drug, or the injection, until the animal recovered from its effect, which possibly meant a period of several days. The animal was, he believed under an anæsthetic for the most serious inoculations; and it was admitted in the Report that the passing of a particular disease might lead to a fatal termination. In the event of pain as a result of inoculation, and in no case in which an inoculation was effectual did pain not ensue, a condition attached to the licence required that the

animal should be placed under an anæsthetic until the main result of the experiment was attained. Who was to be the judge of the maintenance of the experiment? Was it the man who performed it? Such a system was simply intolerable. One effect of the system of vivisection was a tendency to transfer itself to the human frame; and that was why the poor had such a terror of going into hospitals and submitting themselves to the unsympathetic and cruel hands of the experimentalists.

There was no remedy for the disease of cancer; yet what could be thought of a man who, merely as an experiment, transferred that disease to a sentient being? What had the Home Secretary, as a feeling man, to say to that; the right hon. Gentleman himself would give his life ten times over to prevent others suffering. Was he not bound to pay attention to such a matter as that? If he would presume to put himself in the position of such an exalted man as the Home Secretary, he would cross-examine the inspectors with as little sympathy as an Irish Member cross-examined the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He would ask the inspectors if they visited vivisection dens when everything was swept and garnished; and if they told the doctors that it was merely a formal visit; and that a proper certificate would be given. What he wished to impress upon the British public was, that the Act of 1876 was a sham and was not properly administered. There were two papers in London which did not reflect his views completely, but they had rendered enormous service in this matter; one was the *Daily News* and the other the *Morning Leader*. It was obvious that the two inspectors did not discharge the duties they were expected to discharge. He would like to know why there had been no enlargement of the staff of inspectors; why the number of vivisection licences and vivisection dens and operations had increased. He should also like to know what care had been taken to put animals which had been operated on out of pain. One of the impostures in the Report was that it was stated year after year that the experiments were painless. He admitted that

the operations themselves were painless, but the after results were not. The waking-up after an anæsthetic was anything but painless. They ought not to do to poor dumb creatures what they would not do to themselves; and, as far as he was concerned, he would never lose an opportunity of protesting against the present system. He admitted he had no power; but if he had he would abolish vivisection altogether in every shape and form. He did not believe it was useful for scientific research, or for any other reason. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman in the matter; and he was sure he would get a sympathetic answer. Let the right hon. Gentleman take the matter into his own hands; and let him recollect the dog which he owned, and which he himself was acquainted with at Oxford, and remember what efforts he would make to prevent that dog being ill-treated.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said he had listened to the speech of the hon. Member with great interest, and as far as he could make out its main point was the necessity for proper inspection. He, therefore, hoped to have the support of the hon. Gentleman when he referred to the question of laundries.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL said he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman that it might be more convenient for the proper order of debate that the matter to which he referred should be first disposed of.

*THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said that was not a point of order, but merely a matter of the convenience of the Committee.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said he wished to draw attention to a Report which dealt with allegations in connection with charitable laundries. In Ireland there were three Protestant Institutions and twenty-two Roman Catholic Institutions. He did not make any accusation whatever against them; he believed the motives for which they were established were excellent; and as a rule they dealt with an unfortunate class of society which deserved all their sympathy. But they were also great trading concerns; as his hon. friend said, they were at the present moment making many thousands

a year profit in competition with other laundries, and quite apart from any religious difficulty they certainly should be subjected to inspection, if only as a matter of fair-play. Two years ago he brought that matter forward, and was defeated, but he was sure that when the Home Secretary looked at the Report he would realise the gravity of the difficulty. It was all very well to say that these institutions were properly conducted. Personally he knew nothing against them, but still it was necessary to bear in mind that the people employed in them could not effectually complain of their treatment. Parliament ought therefore to step in and see that the trade was carried on under proper inspection.

*THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I must remind the right hon. Member that it is impossible to provide for the inspection of Convent laundries without fresh legislation.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON hoped he was in order in pointing out the necessity for inspection.

*THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are discussing the administration of the Home Office, which has no power at present to inspect these laundries.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said that under the circumstances he would submit that it was undesirable that any trade should be carried on unless outside inspection was possible.

*SIR MICHAEL FOSTER (London University) said he sympathised with the impulses of those who opposed vivisection, because he recognised in them the conviction that real humanity was not humanity to man only, but to all the things around us. For that very reason he resented, he thought he might say justly, the terms which were applied to the profession to which he belonged, such as "devilish," "hellish," "fiendish," "torture den," and "vivisection den." Did the Committee for a moment think the medical profession consisted of devils? If they did, let them follow the advice of the hon. Member for Donegal and abolish vivisection altogether. What would they do if they abolished vivisection altogether? Vivisection experi-

ments were not carried on with the clear certainty that the result obtained would immediately suggest a cure for any particular evil belonging to mankind. The result was a contribution to the general knowledge of mankind, and an enlargement of the power of mankind. The increase of medical power that occurred year by year was due to the increase of medical science. Medical science from the time of Galen to the present time had been based in part on vivisection. It was based on many things—on observations on men, on observations on dead things, on observations on dead animals, and on experiments on living animals. Those elements were all interwoven, so that we could not pick out any part of the advance of knowledge as belonging to this head or that; and if we withdrew experiments on living matter the whole would fall together as a confused heap. The results which had been obtained in regard to malaria, as a consequence of which West Africa had become an entirely different place from what it used to be for the white man to live in, were not due to seeking a particular cure, but to the advance of general science. So it was with cancer. If the efforts of scientific men were not trammelled by unnecessary restrictions they would in time be able to make out the natural history of the nature of cancer, and when they had done that, the cure would come at once. For the general advance of medical science they demanded that experiments on living animals should be continued. Physiologists had accepted the Act, and had loyally observed it, and he appealed to successive Home Secretaries to say if they had not done so. The persons who were licensed to carry out the experiments could be trusted; there was the further safeguard of inspection by inspectors, who loyally did their duty, who made surprise visits, and who at once reported any abuse of the Vivisection Act. Could not the licensed persons be trusted in their efforts to arrive at the truth, which they desired for the benefit of mankind? Could they not be trusted with such safeguards? If they could not be trusted, then let that be said and vivisection be discontinued. The descriptions heard of experiments were

Colonel Saunderson.

not true descriptions. One great object of the physiologist was that for the sake of the results pain should be abolished altogether, and a very large amount of the progress in recent years was due to the fact that the operations could be carried on without pain. It was only when in a few rare cases pain was part of the study that anæsthetics were not used, and when pain or sensations was the subject of inquiry, physiologists had not shrunk from experimenting on themselves. When a nerve was divided there was loss of movement and loss of sensation; after a while the nerve united, and there was return of movement and sensation. In experiments on animals they could judge of the return of movement, but it was difficult to judge of the return of sensation. A friend of his had a nerve in his arm divided in order that he might study the return of sensation. He found it caused him little pain, and only inconvenience for a short time; the loss of movement was brief. That was an ordinary experiment such as was carried on in laboratories, and gave valuable results. The Home Secretary, through his inspectors, who, though they belonged to the medical profession, were able to thoroughly carry out their duties, had adequate means of preventing any abuse of the Act; and an even surer safeguard was in the fact that physiologists had no desire to abuse the Act, and simply wished to carry on their researches for the benefit of mankind.

*DR. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye) said the Committee might contrast the tone of the brutal vivisectionist with that of the soft-hearted gentleman who introduced the subject. In the strongest manner he wished to repudiate the epithets that had been used towards his profession.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL said he simply repeated the statement of a well-known man that he would not allow vivisection in the University of Dublin because it might tend to make the medical students young devils.

*SIR MICHAEL FOSTER: The hon. Member certainly used the phrase "vivisection dens"; I resent that. He also spoke of the tortures there inflicted; I emphatically resent that. And he spoke of medical students as "young devils"; I object to that.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I cannot allow my character to be assailed. What I said was that the doctor to whom I referred stated he would not allow vivisection in the University of Dublin because it had a tendency to make medical students young devils.

*DR. HUTCHINSON said that as his observations had drawn a recantation from the hon. Member he had not wasted the time of the Committee. Apparently, the man who received the greatest honour in the House was the man who took most lives, such as the soldier who killed a large number of men. But the object and sphere of the members of the medical profession was to save life and prevent suffering. If a Member of the House was ill, or had suffering in his family, who was the person called in? It was one of the men who had obtained his skill and knowledge from this "horrible" vivisection. A laboratory ought not to be looked upon as a kind of butcher's shop; it was nothing of the sort. He hoped the House would continue to keep a soft corner in its heart for the noble profession to which he had the honour to belong.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he could not complain of the manner in which this subject had been brought forward, but he was bound to say that if everybody who approached this rather painful subject would study the extreme moderation of the clear statement of the hon. Member for London University they would be much more readily and cheerfully listened to. The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division and the hon. Member for Peckham had assured the Committee that they were not to be included in the category of anti-vivisectionists; they simply desired that the existing Act should be carefully administered, and possibly amended in

order to make the administration more effective. They did not go so far as the hon. Member for South Donegal, who described himself as a root-and-branch opponent of all experiments on live animals. The hon. Member had described his ideal inspector—a reasonable man, with a well-balanced mind and no pre-conceived opinions. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member, and he would assure the Committee that those were exactly the qualifications possessed by the present chief inspector, Dr. Thane, and he thought he could say the same of his assistant. In that respect the country could not be in better hands. As to the conditions under which vivisection was permitted in this country, the Act of 1876 was based on the almost unanimous report of a Royal Commission, and the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division had admitted that the Bill as introduced was a most proper measure, but complained that it was altered in its later stages.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: In another place.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said that, at any rate, the principle of the Bill was approved by the hon. Member. If Members desired, as did the hon. Member for South Donegal, to prohibit all experiments on living animals, they must obtain the repeal of that Act. All he had to do was to administer the Act as he found it, and he could assure the Committee the greatest precautions were taken in its administration. He thoroughly appreciated the responsibilities which the Act devolved upon his Department; in fact, there was hardly anything connected with the duties of the Home Office which gave him a greater sense of responsibility than the administration of this Act. He was a great lover of dumb animals himself, and would be the last person in the world to permit suffering to be inflicted upon them which was not accompanied by greater benefits to the human race—much less to permit unnecessary suffering. He would like to explain to the Committee the practice of the Home Office in regard to the granting of licences. Applications for all came before the Home Secretary personally, and they were carefully inquired into and signed by him. No licence or certificate

was granted except on the recommendation of an eminent medical man, such as the president of the College of Physicians or the president of the College of Surgeons, or without reference to the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Research. Care was taken to see that the licensee was a person whose qualifications were undoubted, whose *bona fides* were beyond dispute, and whose desire for purely scientific research was unquestioned. The Secretary of State never allowed an experiment unless he was satisfied that it was for a proper and an adequate scientific object, that it was to be performed by a properly-trained and competent person, and that it would be conducted with every precaution against unnecessary pain being inflicted. The experiments were divided into three classes. In the first class the animal was under complete anæsthesia from the beginning to the end of the experiment, and was painlessly killed before it became conscious. In such cases no pain whatever could be inflicted. Those cases were about one-eighth of the whole. In the second class of cases the animal was under complete anæsthesia during the experiment, but was allowed to recover consciousness and to live under observation, so that the effect of the operation might be noted. The experiments in this class though fewer in number were of the greatest importance. They were most fruitful in increasing scientific knowledge, and leading to the amelioration of human suffering and the curing of disease.

MR. JOHN ELLIS asked whether those were the experiments under Sub-section (3) of the proviso of Clause 3.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said yes, and that they were allowed only on comparatively rare occasions; they numbered only about one-twentieth of the whole, and they were hedged in with every restriction. The actual operation was performed under anæsthetics, with antiseptics, and if suppuration or pain ensued the animal was immediately killed. The third class of experiments were performed without anæsthetics. In this class no experiment whatever was allowed which involved greater pain than that caused by a simple hypodermic injection. It would be almost absurd to describe the prick of an

Mr. Akers Douglas.

inoculating needle as an operation. Even in these operations the animal was destroyed at once if any pain resulted. When the licence was granted the licensee was bound to make reports to the inspector. He was always liable to visits from the inspector, and those visits were practically always surprise visits. As an additional security, no experiments were allowed in private places. Nearly always they were allowed only in great medical schools and in the laboratories of pathological institutions. Last year 319 persons were licensed, of whom 112 did not perform any experiment. It was true that there was an increase of sixty-two, but that increase was due to an alteration in the termination of the year during which the statistics were taken. Hitherto the statistics had been taken from 31st December to 31st December; but the last report dated from 31st December, 1901, to 28th February, 1903. There were twenty-six towns in the United Kingdom in which registered places were situated, and in those only could experiments be performed. Of the sixty-two registered places in those towns seventeen were in London. Every registered place was visited by the inspector every year, and sometimes several times a year, and the inspector was in constant communication with the licensees all over the country. It was the duty of the inspector to make himself personally acquainted with the methods by which experiments were performed, and wherever the conditions of the licence were violated the severest notice was taken of it and if necessary the licence was revoked. Successive Secretaries of State had inclined to the view that the appointment of additional inspectors was not as yet necessary. If it could be proved to him that there was immediate necessity for the appointment of additional inspectors, he should certainly see that they were appointed. Successive Home Secretaries—and he included himself in this category—had been among the severest critics of vivisection. They had not been content to take things for granted, but had taken an interest in seeing that precautions were properly observed. There was no reason whatever to think that this matter was left entirely in the hands of the inspectors

without ever coming to the knowledge of the head of the Department. Although the number of experiments had increased during the last quarter of a century the increase was really trifling except with respect to the experiments included under Table III. (B)—viz., experiments of the nature of simple inoculations. These experiments rarely caused any real suffering, and were conducted with the greatest possible care. They were performed not only for purposes of research in connection with special scientific objects, but were constantly performed on behalf of public authorities. Some were undertaken for the benefit of the House of Commons itself in order to test the conditions under which hon. Members lived there, some for the Local Government Board, some for the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, some for the Board of Agriculture, others for County Councils and other municipal corporations. They had all been justified by the results obtained. He would only say, in conclusion, that his own control was exercised with the greatest care and a full appreciation of his responsibility. He was always open to listen to criticism, and when any *bonâ fide* case was submitted to him he would see that it was probed to the bottom. It would be almost impossible to improve upon the administration of the Acts except on the point that it was necessary, as it might be, to increase the number of inspectors. He doubted whether the ability of the inspectors was sufficiently recognised and whether they were adequately remunerated considering their ability and the amount of work they did.

MR. JOHN ELLIS thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the full manner in which he had dealt with the question, and, while adhering to what he had said, admitted that the tone and spirit of the Home Secretary's reply left nothing to be desired.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said he wished to say that if he thought experiments were carried on as described in some publications, or as he believed they were carried on in France and Germany, he should urge the abolition of vivisection altogether. To carry on

experiments upon live animals without anæsthetics, without a hope or promise of any definite result, would not meet with approval. He had gone into the matter with some care, and he believed that the experiments were carried on in this country with every reasonable safeguard. Did his hon. friend deny that some of the most beneficent changes in medical science had been partly brought about by vivisection? In view of this fact was it not justifiable to make experiments with anæsthetics for the benefit of medical science? His hon. friend the Member for South Donegal had expressed some feeling for the lower animals, but he thought he ought to have some feeling also for the higher animals. It was well known that diphtheria defied medical science a few years ago, and when a medical man saw a child being slowly choked to death by this disease he used to be absolutely unable to prevent it. At the present time diphtheria could be relieved and cured, and that result was largely due to vivisection. Dr. Pasteur would never have accomplished the great results he had achieved but for vivisection. Let the Committee consider for a moment the progress which had been made in regard to surgical operations on the brain. A few years ago it was considered that the brain could not be touched without destruction of life, but now experiments were being performed daily on the brain, and those experiments which had largely transformed medical science would have been almost impossible without vivisection. Again, there was the operation for appendicitis, which had saved more lives than anything else in surgical science. That had been made possible by vivisection experiments. In the face of these facts, he asked his hon. friend to extend some of the overflowing sympathy to humanity which he extended to the lower animals. Under the safeguards of the Home Office, vivisection experiments were properly carried out, and it would be a great loss to medical science if they were not allowed to continue.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

*CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.) said that before he dealt with the question of the police force he ought to state his reasons for bringing the question on in connection with this Vote. He did so because on a previous occasion the Chairman pointed out that this was the proper Vote to deal with the subject, because it dealt with the policy of the Home Secretary as regarded the police. His complaint affected some 2,000 police constables within the County of London, or one-seventh of the entire force. They were married men, and their grievance was that they had to perform exactly similar duties under precisely similar circumstances as their fellow-constables, and yet they received 1s. 6d. per week less pay.

Some three years ago the Council of the City of London, finding that the rentals throughout the Metropolis generally had increased to such an extent as to raise the price of living generally for the working classes, came to the conclusion that their constables were insufficiently paid as compared with the rate of pay they received some years previously; and, actuated by a right and proper feeling, they decided to raise the pay of their constables by 3s. a week. He immediately suggested to the Home Secretary that he should deal in a similar manner with the members of the Metropolitan police force. Eight or nine months had elapsed before any action whatever was taken, and at the end of that time the Home Secretary, instead of granting an increase of 3s., gave them an increase of 1s. 6d., and 1s. 6d. more in the shape of a rent aid which he confined to those members of the police force who were married and living within boroughs, and he excluded all those men in the urban or rural districts outside boroughs but within the area of the County of London. At that time an appeal case was going on as regarded pensions, and it was decided that allowances were not pensionable. The natural result was that every man in the force believed that he had been given one-half of his increase in this way in order to avoid the infinitesimal sum by which the pension would be increased. When he

made this statement to the late Home Secretary he pointed out that no such reason ever entered his mind, and that the idea was that in those districts house rent was lower. As a matter of fact, owing to increased means of communication, rents were almost as high in one part as another, and, where they were not so high, facilities for cheap markets were so great that this counteracted the small difference there was between the rents. He should like to point out the injustice of this arrangement. Take, as an example, the case of Highgate. There a police station was moved about 150 yards outside the borough boundary, and in consequence of that the constables at that station ought not to receive this 1s. 6d. per week, although their duties took them into the borough, yet they did. In Kilburn there was a new police station about 150 yards outside the boundary of the borough, and although the men stationed there were doing duty within the borough they were deprived of this 1s. 6d. a week extra pay, whereas the men in the borough received it. In the borough of Ealing, which had recently been constituted a borough, they received at once the 1s. 6d. extra pay, whereas their comrades doing duty near them did not receive it. The reserve men did special duty which was not confined to any particular district, but any reserve man attached to a station within a borough in the Metropolitan Police area received this 1s. 6d., but those who were attached to a station outside the boroughs in the Metropolitan Police area were deprived of that 1s. 6d. He could not conceive of anything more calculated to cause well-founded discontent in a force than this. They had an illustration of this during the late war. The last batch of Imperial Yeomanry received 5s. a day, whereas the Infantry

only received 1s. a day, and this caused a great deal of discontent. It was the duty of the Government to do everything in their power to prevent such a state of things as that arising in the police force? On the 30th May last year when he brought this question before the Committee what was the Home Secretary's apology for not dealing out even-handed justice to the whole of the police force? The reason he gave was that it would cost a sum of £140,000 to the ratepayers, but he did not state that there had been an increase in the population within the area of the County of London of about 50,000 per annum. He had made some inquiries into the cost of this change, and instead of being £140,000, he thought the real cost to give this 1s. 6d. to all the men outside boundaries of boroughs would be about £10,000. As a matter of fact, he thought it would not exceed £8,000, which would be a mere drop in the ocean, and would not add one single farthing to the rates. Owing to the great increase of wealth and population, the rateable value of the area of the county of London was increasing by leaps and bounds; therefore there was no question of throwing an extra burden upon the ratepayers. He had received a Resolution from one of the Councils urging the necessity for taking some action in this matter. He could not understand upon what principle these men were not given this extra 1s. 6d. who lived outside the borough boundaries. There was one borough which for over three-quarters of a mile bordered upon an Urban District Council area, and on one side of the road the men, doing the same duty as on the other side, and living in the same building under the same conditions, drew 1s. 6d. per week more than the others. He could see no

greater injustice than this, and he was extremely anxious to hear what explanation the Home Secretary was prepared to give.

*CAPTAIN BALFOUR (Middlesex, Hornsey) said the hon. Member for Newington had spoken only of the Metropolitan boroughs, but it was not a case of the Metropolitan boroughs only, but of the whole area of Greater London. Representations had been made to the Home Secretary as to the unevenness of the application of this allowance of 1s. 6d. per week. If a policeman resided in a borough he got the allowance, but if he lived in Willesden, because it was not a borough he would not get that allowance. His own constituency was in a very peculiar position. A portion of it was not now a borough, and the constable did not receive this 1s. 6d., whereas this portion would probably be, by next November, constituted a borough, and, consequently, the constables would then get this extra allowance of 1s. 6d. It did not necessarily follow that because a district was a borough it was cheaper to live in than an Urban District Council area. On the contrary, in Kingston, which was a borough, the people lived cheaper than outside. It had been said that frequently policemen applied to be transferred outside the borough where they would not get this 1s. 6d. extra, but they, no doubt, did this for family reasons. A constable might have been recommended to go outside the borough by his medical man, and often he was ready to do this and sacrifice the extra pay. In London a constable might probably be satisfied with a couple of rooms, but in the districts outside the boroughs it was not so easy to get a couple of rooms, and he often had to take a house.

Captain Norton.

It might be said that they must draw the line somewhere. At the present time, the line was drawn in such a way that they had dodging in and about the boroughs Urban District Council areas. No doubt the line could be drawn between London and Greater London, but that would not get over the difficulty. If they could draw a distinct line which included the whole Metropolitan Police Force in the whole area of Greater London, he thought that would be reasonable, because outside that area the police were under different jurisdiction. Here they had an area administered from one centre, and the line drawn was indistinguishable to any person travelling through the country. That line gave a constable living in one street an advantage over a constable living in the next street. He was aware that the Metropolitan Police Force was considered to be one of the best forces in Great Britain, but he knew there was a feeling that the line drawn was a very unfair one. He should like to know how far the ratepayers would be affected. He had been told that the sum required would be somewhat larger than the hon. Member for Newington had stated, and that would be nearer £17,000 than £8,000. He should like to know how the expense of the police was distributed at the present time. Did the ratepayers outside the area of boroughs contribute anything towards the lodging allowance given to the police inside the boroughs? If the whole of this £17,000 was to fall on a certain section of the ratepayers it would prove to be a very heavy expense. If this rent aid allowance was included in a lump sum over the whole Metropolitan Police area, then that would be a much less burden than it would be if it fell only upon the particular districts

affected. It would make but a slight addition to the rates, and he was sure the ratepayers would be willing to give what was required in order to secure satisfaction in the police force. The request was brought forward last year, and resisted by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was then the Home Secretary. He hoped the present holder of the office would not view it in the same light.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) joined in the appeal to the Home Secretary to do something for the police. He was not much concerned whether the sum involved was £8,000 or £17,000. In either case it was not a large sum when one considered that a penny rate on the rateable value of London produced £160,000, and if the rate covered Greater London the amount produced would be nearly £250,000. He asked the Home Secretary to treat the police force as every employer treated his workmen, that was to give them one day's rest a week. At present the police only got one day off in thirteen days. The public were continually complaining that the men did not do this, that, and the other, but looking to their conditions, how could they expect them to be even half as good as they were? It was said that they got seven days' holiday in the year, but that did not cover the case at all. If the Home Secretary would look at the reports of complaints against the police, he would find that they were usually made at the end of a wearying day, or near the end of the period when an officer was to get one day's holiday in thirteen. A policeman had not only to protect an enormous amount of property, but also the lives and limbs of the citizens in regulating the traffic. He had

to be not only a soldier, but a lawyer as well, and for that work he scarcely got enough pay to enable him to live, let alone keep a wife and family. He asked the Home Secretary whether it would not be possible for his Department to undertake the duty of looking after the manufacture and storage of explosives in Government establishments, as well as in other places. He had a report in his hand which contained a paragraph stating that notwithstanding the large increase in the manufacture of explosives, the average number of deaths had greatly decreased since the passing of the Explosives Act. That was to say that wherever the Home Office inspectors were allowed to go in and have something to do with the regulation of the manufacture and storage of explosives deaths had decreased. On the other hand where the inspectors had no such power deaths had increased. Why should not all manufactories, whether under the War Office or otherwise, come under the cognisance of the Home Office?

*THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Office has no control over the dockyards, and therefore it would be out of order to raise that question on this Vote.

MR. CROOKS accepted the ruling of the Chairman. At the same time the Committee would realise the difficulty of the position he was in when endeavouring, in a matter involving danger to life and limb, to show how accidents might be avoided by proper precaution and care. He thought the power of inspection by the Home Office under the Explosives Act ought to be extended to War Office establishments. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to use his personal influence and to place his inspectors at the service of the War

Office in order that there might not be a repetition of such a deplorable accident as recently occurred at Woolwich.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said those who had spoken of the police pay and administration were supported by a great mass of opinion outside. He desired to support the appeals of the hon. Members who had preceded him with regard to the institution of a uniform system of pay for the police throughout the whole of the force. There should not be regulations whereby a man on one side of the street was paid on a different scale from another man on the other side of the same street. The argument of the Home Office was that the line must be drawn somewhere, but surely the line should be drawn in such a way as not to continue the present injustice. He believed that the action of hon. Members on this subject had not been brought about by any organised body of opinion among the police force. Speaking for himself he had not been approached by a single police officer on the subject. The facts brought before the Committee were facts which they had ascertained for themselves in their daily lives as Londoners. He felt that it was not necessary to make any Motion to-night, because he had an idea that the Committee would receive a statement from the Treasury Bench that something would be done to remove the evils of which they complained. If his right hon. friend, however, did not see his way to grant a concession he could assure him that feeling outside, which had been growing year by year, would continue to grow until hon. Members gained for the police that which they believed to be right.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said he had twice in this House asked
Mr. Crooks.

the Home Secretary Questions on the subject of birching inflicted upon boys who were brought before the Police Courts, and against whom no charge was made for which birching was a legal punishment. There was one particular magistrate in London who was in the habit, when a boy came before him on a charge for which birching could not be legally inflicted, of suggesting to the parents that the boy should be birched by an officer of the court. In several cases this had been done. He was not discussing the general question of birching, though he held strong opinions upon it. He did not believe in it as a reformatory measure. But in these particular cases the complaint was that an official of the court, either a constable or a gaoler, was called upon to birch boys illegally. If a boy was to be birched outside the law surely the parent was the proper person to undertake the duty, but in cases to which he referred the birch rods were supplied by the Home Office, and the person who inflicted the punishment was in the pay of that office. He hoped the Committee would have an assurance from the Home Secretary that these illegal birchings would not be allowed. The Home Secretary had admitted, in reply to questions, that this had been done, but said that it was by arrangement with the parents. He urged that the right hon. Gentleman should issue instructions to the effect that the practice should not be continued.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.) said the Report to which the hon. Member for Woolwich had called attention in regard to the effect of inspection under the Explosives Act was a testimony to the manner in which the duties of the inspectors were

carried out. He entirely endorsed what the hon. Member had said as to the necessity for proper care and inspection in the War Office factories, but he was obliged to point out that that was not a matter in which the Home Secretary had any power whatever. They all deplored the accident by which so many lives were lost at Woolwich, and gladly would they see steps taken to make such loss of life less likely in future. The Home Secretary had been asked for certain additional privileges and pay for the Metropolitan Police force. He could assure the Committee that the Department he represented had the greatest regard and sympathy for the police force, but they must have regard to their duties as to economy. After a most careful departmental inquiry, the considerable concession was made in regard to pay. Every constable received an increase of 1s. 6d. a week, every sergeant one of 2s. a week, and every inspector one of 3s. a week. That involved a charge of £60,000 on the rates; and in addition a lodging allowance was made to the men resident in the Metropolitan boroughs. That cost another £30,000 a year. As to the arbitrary line between those who received this allowance and those who did not, the line must be drawn somewhere. There was no discontent in the force, and it was rarely that men in the suburbs cared to take up vacancies in the boroughs for the sake of the lodging allowance. As to the question of holidays, that must be left to the Commissioner, who was responsible for the discipline of the force, to settle with his men. The police got ten days holiday in the year on full pay, and that compared very favourably with the holidays given to other classes in the community.

MR. KEIR HARDIE asked if no answer was to be given to his question.

MR. COCHRANE said as to the question of birching, the real point was whether in the case of some boy who had committed an offence the parent should see him properly chastised, or whether the boy should go to prison. His idea was that the boy should be birched; and if the parent, perhaps a widow, was unable to control a good lusty boy there could be no objection to getting a policeman or a warder to administer the punishment.

*CAPTAIN NORTON said he was not satisfied with the reply of the hon. Gentleman who represented the Home Office. There was no reason why a policeman patrolling one side of the street should receive 1s. 6d. per week less wages than a policeman on the other side of the street. The total cost of the reform which he asked would be something like £8,000, and it would not involve more than the very smallest fraction of a farthing on the ratepayers. In fact, it was the ratepayers in the suburban districts themselves who asked that all the men should be placed on the same rate of pay, and that evenhanded justice should be done. He must confess that he was immensely surprised that the Home Secretary did not see his way to do evenhanded justice to these 2,000 men, and therefore he moved to reduce the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Item A (Salaries) be reduced by £100, in respect of the salary of the Secretary of State."

Committee divided:—Ayes, 21; Noes, 110. (Division List, No. 132.)

AYES.

Allen, Charles P. (*Glouc., Stroud*)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (*Hornsey*)
Black, Alexander William
Brigg, John
Caldwell, James
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks William,
Delany, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph

Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (*Bristol, B*)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Morgan, David J. (*Walthamstow*)
Rickett, J. Compton
Shaw, Thomas (*Hawick, B.*)

Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
Ure, Alexander
Weir, James Galloway

TELLERS FOR THE AYES —
Captain Norton and Mr.
Claude Hay.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Bain, Colonel James Robert
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manch'r*)
 Banbury, Sir Frederick George
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
 Bignold, Arthur
 Bill, Charles
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Brassey, Albert
 Brodick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brotherton, Edward Allen
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Worc*)
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
 Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
 Corbett, A. Cameron (*Glasgow*)
 Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Craig, Charles C. (*Antrim, S.*)
 Cranborne, Viscount
 Crean, Eugene
 Crossley, Sir Savile
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dickson, Charles Scott
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas

Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fielden, Edward Brooklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
 Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Philip S. (*Warwick, S. W*)
 Fyler, John Arthur
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
 Gordon, J. (*Londonerry, S.*)
 Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby- (*Lincoln*)
 Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
 Gretton, John
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (*Midd'x*)
 Harris, Frederick Leverton
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James (*Staffs., N. W.*)
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somerset*)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. (*Salop*)
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. NR*)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (*Bristol, S.*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Milvain, Thomas
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (*Monmouth*)

Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Percy, Earl
 Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Purvis, Robert
 Raech, Major Frederic Carne
 Ridley, Hn. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, E.*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lancashire*)
 Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Jn. M.
 Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (*Ox'rd Univ.*)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Tuke, Sir John Battay
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Wanklyn, James Lealie
 Whiteley, H. (*Ashton-und-Lyne*)
 Wolf, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wood, James

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

Original question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That a sum, not exceeding £9,157, be
 granted to His Majesty, to complete the
 sum necessary to defray the Charge
 which will come in course of payment
 during the year ending on the 31st day
 of March, 1904, for the Salaries and
 Expenses of the Local Government
 Board for Scotland (8 and 9 Vic., c. 83;
 52 and 53 Vic., c. 50; 57 and 58 Vic.,
 c. 58; 60 and 61 Vic., c. 38; and
 various other Statutes)."

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty)
 said he was astonished that in the
 Report of the Local Government Board
 for Scotland there was only one small
 paragraph referring to the Highland
 counties. That was not a fair way
 of treating the Highlands. He com-
 plained of the inadequate supply of
 water, not only to private houses but

to schools. The local authorities failed
 to give effect in many cases to the
 recommendations of the sanitary inspec-
 tors; and it was the duty of the Local
 Government Board to see that these
 recommendations were carried out. In
 many parts of the Highlands the con-
 dition of the houses was deplorable, the
 cattle being only separated from the
 family living and sleeping room by a
 low boarding. That was contrary to
 the Public Health Act, and it was the
 duty of the Local Government Board
 to see that the law was obeyed.

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman
 left the Chair to make his Report to the
 House.

Resolution to be reported upon
 Monday next; Committee also report
 Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjourned at Three minutes after
 Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 26th June, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

West Bromwich Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Manchester Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Transfer) Bill. Moved, That the order made on that 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed.

Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill. Read 3^a, and passed.

Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Belfast Water Bill [H.L.]; Shephed Urban District Gas Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments: The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Gas Light and Coke Company Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

Commercial Gas Bill; Great Eastern Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill. Moved, That the Order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday, the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation Bill; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill; Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill (No. 138); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill (No. 139). Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill; Crystal Palace District Gas Bill; Leigh Corporation Bill; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kilmaine be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Mayo; read, and agreed to.

THE OLD NAVIGATING OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.

LORD MUSKERRY called attention to the case of the few remaining officers of the old navigating branch of His Majesty's Navy, now on the active list

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of staff captains and staff commanders, and asked the Government if they would take into account their long and valuable services, and the lack of recognition they had received in view of the way in which other branches of the naval service had been treated. He asked the Government whether they could see their way to grant the staff captains, fifteen in number, the same retiring allowance—£500 a year—as the officers of similar rank received in the engineer branch, and permit them to assume as a right the title of captain, instead of being gazetted as now, “permitted to assume the rank of captain.” In the case of staff commanders—also very few, only seven in number—he asked that they might be granted £450 a year on retirement, if they had served the necessary time at sea, instead of £400, which they now received. He hoped their Lordships would support him in his endeavour to secure better consideration for the remaining officers of the old navigating branch of the Navy. He felt that he had rather a hard task, as his noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty—although with regard to another branch of the Service he was overflowing a short time ago with the milk of human kindness—seemed to have hardened his heart in respect to the claims of the old navigating officers of the Navy. He hoped, however, that the noble Earl might be persuaded to reconsider the matter in a favourable light. Prior to 1867 there was a distinct class called the navigating class. They went through the same course as the other officers, with the one exception that instead of taking gunnery they took pilotage in their examination. But whereas the other officers could rise to the position of Admiral, the officers in the navigating branch had no chance of getting higher than staff captain. A regulation was, however, passed at that time that three of the navigating class should in each year be absorbed into the executive branch. That was over thirty years ago, and he believed that not a single officer had been so absorbed. Naturally, the branch was now dying out—there were fifteen staff captains and seven staff commanders. Their grievances were, first, the inadequacy of the full pay; and secondly, the small amount

Lord Muskerry.

of the retired pay. If their Lordships compared the retired pay of a staff captain with that of officers holding relative rank in other branches, they would see that the grievance was a just one. The retired pay, for instance, of an inspector of machinery was £500, but the retired pay of a staff captain was only £450. He did not think the noble Earl would deny that the old navigating officers had done as good service as the members of other branches of the service. Their third grievance had reference to increase of rank. When they retired they were gazetted as “staff captain, with permission to assume the rank of captain.” They felt this to be a slight, especially as all other officers when they retired were permitted to assume a higher rank than that in which they had been serving. A captain, after long service, might retire with permission to assume the rank of rear-admiral, and, even after his retirement, he might become a vice-admiral. In the same way, in the engineering branch, an inspector might retire with permission to assume the rank of chief-inspector, or under the new regulations, the rank of engineer rear-admiral. But captains of the navigating branch were retired with permission only to “assume” the rank of captain, a rank which they had held for many years. The fourth grievance was that the officers of the navigating branch were omitted from the honours list. Of all the officers who received honours on the occasion of His Majesty’s Coronation, only one of the old branch was included, and he was, to all intents and purposes an Admiralty official. The cost of bringing the retired pay of these officers up to that of officers of similar rank in the engineer branch would not exceed £2,000 a year, and in view of the valuable services of this splendid body of officers he hoped the First Lord would give the matter his favourable consideration.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): My Lords, I entirely agree with what my noble friend has said as to the valuable services rendered by this class of naval officers. Nothing that he has said in their praise will I for one moment dissociate myself from. But I must decline to join with him in discussing the honours which His Majesty thought fit to bestow

at the time of his Coronation. As regards the specific questions which the noble Lord has asked, in the case of the staff captains I see no reason why there should be granted to a small number of officers privileges with respect to their retired pay which have been withheld from similar officers for many years past, and the granting of which would raise a grievance among all staff captains on the retired list. I must therefore say, without any hesitation, that that question cannot be reopened. As regards the particular manner in which these officers are gazetted on retirement, I am obliged to the noble Lord for having drawn my attention to the peculiarity of the words used. The words complained of shall not occur again, and these officers will be gazetted on retirement in the ordinary phraseology. As to the third point, I would emphasise the fact that the seven staff commanders now on the list will, if they continue to serve, reach the rank of staff captain, and will then be entitled to the retired pay of staff captains, which is £450. That being the case it does not seem necessary to consider whether any change should be made in the retired pay of staff commanders.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to Order.)

Clause 1 :—

*THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD had an Amendment on Sub-section (b) of Clause 1, which sub-section enables the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to provide for transferring (subject to any right enjoyed by any person at the passing of the Act) to the Bishop of Lichfield or to the Bishop of Birmingham the patronage of any benefice situate either within or without the diocese of Worcester, the patronage of which is immediately before the foundation of the Bishopric of Birmingham vested in the Bishop of Worcester. He moved, after "Lichfield," to insert the words "or to the Bishop of Hereford." He said that the effect of the Amendment would be to enable the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to take the diocese of Hereford into consideration in the same way as the diocese of Lichfield. It was strongly felt in one, at any rate,

of the two dioceses concerned, that there ought to be some readjustment of patronage as between the diocese of Hereford and the diocese of Worcester, and that this was an opportune moment for doing so. The Bishop of Worcester, at the present moment, was patron of no less than fourteen livings in the diocese of Hereford, whereas the Bishop of Hereford himself was patron of only thirty-two livings in the whole of that diocese. He thought this a sufficient reason for giving the Ecclesiastical Commissioners power to consider this question.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 24, after the word 'Lichfield' to insert the words 'or to the Bishop of Hereford.'"—(*The Lord Bishop of Hereford.*)

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said he saw no objection to the Amendment.

LORD BELPER said he had no objection to the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

*THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD said the object of his Amendments to this clause was to give power to rearrange also the boundaries of the diocese of Hereford. As long ago as 1836, when the very important Bill affecting Bishops' revenues and dioceses was passed, it was enacted that all the county of Worcester should be included in the diocese of Worcester, but that had never been carried out, and there were about twenty parishes in the county of Worcester which still belonged to the diocese of Hereford. It would be a very great advantage if they could assimilate the diocesan organisation to the county organisation as far as possible. All he now asked was that by the acceptance of his Amendments they should be at liberty to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners when the time came, and advocate such a readjustment as they believed might be beneficial.

Amendments moved—

"In page 2, line 22, after the word 'Lichfield' to insert the word 'Hereford;' and in line 29, after the word 'Lichfield' to insert the words 'and Hereford.'"—(*The Lord Bishop of Hereford.*)

LORD BELPER said he had no objection to the Amendments.

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

On Sub-section (a) of Clause 3, which provides that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall have power in the event of the foundation of a Bishopric of Southwark, of rearranging the boundaries of the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester and Southwark.

*LORD ASHCOMBE moved] after "Canterbury," to insert "Winchester." He said that the proposed diocese of Southwark would adjoin, on the west side, the diocese of Winchester, and therefore, it was desirable that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should have the same power, if they thought fit, of rearranging the boundaries of the diocese of Winchester as they had of rearranging the boundaries of the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. The Amendment had the approval of the most rev. Primate and of the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 19, after the word 'Canterbury' to insert the word 'Winchester'."—*(Lord Ashcombe.)*

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said he saw no objection to the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 28, after the word 'Southwark' to insert the words 'Winchester and Southwark.'"—*(Lord Ashcombe.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining Clause agreed to.

Schedule 1 agreed to.

Schedule 2—

LORD NORTON said he desired to amend the section which provides that, subject to the rights enjoyed by any person at the passing of this Act, there

shall be transferred to the endowment fund of the Bishopric of Birmingham, such portion of the endowment or income of the Bishopric of Worcester as will reduce that endowment or income from the annual sum of £5,000 to the annual sum of £4,200, irrespective of tenths or first fruits. He wished to omit "£4,200" and to insert "£4,000."

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of MORLEY) pointed out that the noble Lord's Amendment should have been moved to the First Schedule, which had been agreed to. It was therefore out of order now, but it could be moved on Report or in the Standing Committee.

Schedule 2 agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 137.)

CONTRACTS (INDIA OFFICE) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2:—

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON suggested that the rules and regulations in regard to the manner in which contracts were to be signed should be made public in some way. He thought they might be laid before Parliament regularly.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): I will take care that the noble Marquess's suggestion is considered.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

Bill reported without Amendment; and recommitted to the Standing Committee.

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE AND THE NEW ZEALAND COURT OF APPEAL.

*LORD HAWKESBURY: It having been represented to me that some dissatisfaction exists in New Zealand with

regard to a recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, I beg to ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack whether his attention has been called to the matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): I very much regret to say that I think owing to a misapprehension of what was intended by the words used, there has been a feeling created in New Zealand in respect to a judgment of the Privy Council, and accordingly I have thought it right to make inquiry on the subject, and I am happy to say that I have received an assurance from the learned Judges who decided the case that they never intended to make any attack whatever on the Court of Appeal in New Zealand. The mode in which the case was conducted and certain observations contained in the judgment of the Court of Appeal in New Zealand induced the learned Judges to make the remarks as to which remonstrance has been made; but I am assured by the learned Judges that it never occurred to any one of them that in the observations they thought it right to make they were making an attack on the Court of Appeal in New Zealand, or that they intended in any way to comment on the character or conduct of their proceedings. I trust that this assurance will be conveyed to the Court of Appeal in New Zealand, and that the feeling aroused will be found to have been based on a total misapprehension.

House adjourned at five minutes past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 26th June, 1903.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the

case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz., Bristol Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz., Salford Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz., Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next.

Commercial Gas Bill; Gas Light and Coke Company Bill; Great Eastern Railway Bill. Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Belfast Water Bill [Lords], read the third time and passed, with Amendments.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill, read the third time and passed. [New Title.]

Shepshed Urban District Gas Bill [Lords], read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Croydon and District Electric Tramways Bill; Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Liverpool University Bill [Lords]; Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords]; read a second time, and committed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Colonel WELBY reported from the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills, That the parties promoting the Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill had stated that the evidence of James Alfred Crowther, Borough Engineer, Southampton, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said James Alfred Crowther do attend the said Committee on Monday next at eleven of the clock.

Ordered, That James Alfred Crowther do attend the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills on Monday next, at eleven of the clock.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP G).

Colonel WELBY reported from the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills, That the parties opposing the Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill had stated that the evidence of Joseph James Hornby, of Knowsley, Prescott, Lancashire, Land Agent, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said Joseph James Hornby do attend the said Committee on Wednesday next at eleven of the clock.

Ordered, That Joseph James Hornby do attend the Committee on Group G. of Private Bills on Wednesday next, at eleven of the clock.

POLICE AND SANITARY COMMITTEE.

Mr. HEYWOOD JOHNSTONE reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, That the parties opposing the Frinton-on-Sea Sea Defences Bill had stated that

the evidence of Francis William Anderson of Thistle Cottage, Old Road, Frinton-on-Sea; A. Beresford Pike, of 2, York Gate, Regent's Park, London; and Arthur Blackford, of 61, Chancery Lane, London, was essential to their case; and, it having been proved that their attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House, he had been instructed to move that the said Francis William Anderson, A. Beresford Pike, and Arthur Blackford do attend the said Committee on Tuesday next, at half-past eleven of the clock.

Ordered, That Francis William Anderson, A. Beresford Pike, and Arthur Blackford do attend the Police and Sanitary Committee on Tuesday next, at half-past eleven of the clock.

Sheffield Corporation Bill; reported from the Police and Sanitary Committee, with Amendments. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Naval Works Provisional Order Bill, without Amendment.

Ipswich Gas Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to Harrow and Stanmore Gas Bill [Lords]; Wirral Railway Bill [Lords]; Rickmansworth Gas Bill [Lords]; Harrogate Water Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under The Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Barrow-in-Furness Tramways, Horsforth Urban District Council Tramways, Keighley Corporation Tramways, and Ramsbottom Urban District Council Tramways." [Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill intituled, "An Act to incorporate the Mid Yorkshire Tramways Company, and to empower that Company to make and maintain tramways and other works, and for other purposes. [Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords].

Public Accounts.—That they give leave to the Clerk of the Parliaments to attend to be examined as a witness before the Select Committee appointed by this House on Public Accounts.

Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 259.]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill. Reported without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Reported with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with an Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

London and North Western Railway Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Torquay Corporation Water Bill [Lords]; Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table and to be printed.

King's College London Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time.

St. Philip's Chapel (Regent Street) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

BURGH POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Falkirk, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Sutherland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petition from Edinburgh, against; to lie upon the Table.

VIVISECTION.

Petition from London, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SCOTLAND (TECHNICAL EDUCATION).

Return ordered, "showing the extent to which and the manner in which Local Authorities in Scotland have allocated and applied funds to the purposes of Technical Education during the year ending the 15th day of May, 1903, under the following Acts: Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890; Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892; Technical Schools (Scotland) Act, 1887; Technical Instruction Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1892; and Public Libraries Acts."—(*The Lord Advocats.*)

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**

Vivisection Experiments—Presence of a Government Inspector.

DR. SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many experiments on animals under licence alone, and under Certificate B respectively, have been witnessed by an inspector at any time during the experiment, and during the whole duration of the experiment.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) During 1902 eleven experiments, under licence alone, were witnessed by the Inspector, and one under Certificate B. In the case of one (under licence) the whole experiment was witnessed; and with regard to the others the inspector usually remained a considerable time, and on some occasions made more than one visit during the progress of the experiment. In the case of the one under Certificate B the inspector also visited the animal next day. Inasmuch as the inspector habitually visits without notice he cannot be sure of arriving at the beginning of an experiment so as to be able to see the whole of it, nor even of finding any experiment in progress. It may be added that the inspector at his visits always sees any animals on which experiments may have been made, and carefully notes the condition.

Report on Vivisection Experiments.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the increase in the number of experiments performed on living animals since the passing of the Cruelty to Animals Act, he will state if he has received any Report of the results of these experiments, as the Act provides; and, if so, whether he will cause such Report to be issued.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) The Secretary of State receives numerous reports of the results of experiments in pursuance of the requirements which the Act referred to enables him

to make. Many of these reports become accessible to the public in printed form; but I do not think it practicable to publish them officially.

Truck Act—Deductions from Wages in the Iron Plate Trade.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will direct his Majesty's Inspector to take a case under the Truck Acts in order to raise the question of deductions from wages for supply of light in the iron plate trade.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) If the right hon. Baronet is referring to the case at Stourbridge, I may say that I am informed that, when the factory was last visited, no deductions were being made contrary to the provisions of the Truck Act. Deductions from wages for the supply of light are not, I am advised, illegal, provided that the conditions laid down in the Truck Act, 1896, are complied with. But if a case is found in which they are imposed otherwise than in accordance with those conditions, it shall certainly be considered with a view to prosecution.

**Small Factories and Workshops—
Precautions against Fire.**

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in view of the remarks contained in the recently issued Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops relative to the fire in Queen Victoria Street, will he consider the advisability of introducing legislation such as will bring small factories and workshops within the scope of the Factory Act, with a view to ensure workers being afforded adequate means of escape in case of fire.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) Small factories and workshops are already within the scope of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, and under Section 15 thereof local authorities have power to make by-laws providing for means of escape from fire in the case of any factory or workshop. The premises on which the

fire in question took place were neither a factory nor a workshop within the meaning of the Act.

Accidents on the Glasgow Corporation Electric Tramways.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state the number of accidents which have occurred on the Glasgow Corporation electric tramway system during the year ending the 1st June last, distinguishing fatal accidents to persons from injuries to persons not resulting in death; and will he quote the number of accidents causing damage to goods, vehicles, animals, and other property.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The Board of Trade are informed by the General Manager of the Glasgow Corporation Tramways that the number of accidents which occurred on the Corporation electric tramway system during the year ending 31st May last causing injury to persons was ninety, resulting in the death of twenty-four persons, and that during the same period there were fifty-five accidents which caused material damage to property. It is added that the number of car miles run in the twelve months referred to was 14,008,750, and the number of passengers carried 177,179,549.

Treaties giving Preferential Treatment to Foreign States.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he will state what are the dates of the treaties or agreements made by the United States, Portugal, and any other countries by which preferential treatment has been given to the products of foreign States as compared with the products of the United Kingdom; what are the articles affected by such preference; and what are the differences in the rates of duties.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The replies given by me to the hon. Member for the South Molton Division on the 17th inst.†, and to the hon. Member for Exeter on the 24th inst.‡, cover the whole of the points referred to in the Question.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxiii., 1175.

‡ See page 376.

Tenders for Battleships and Armour Plate.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty when he hopes to be in a position to invite tenders for the construction of the contract-built battleships and armoured cruisers included within the programme of the current financial year, and for the armour required for the dockyard-built cruiser included in the same programme.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) Tenders for the construction of the armoured cruisers belonging to this year's programme which are to be built by contract will be invited almost immediately. It is hoped to invite the tenders for the battleships in September next, and those for the armour required for the cruiser to be built at Pembroke not later than October next.

Infectious Diseases on Liners.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that although the White Star Liner "Victorian" arrived in the Mersey at 7.30 a.m. on the 22nd May four smallpox patients were not removed until she arrived at the Wallasey stage at 3 p.m.; and, in view of the risk attending the removal at the stage where there were a number of cattle drovers and other persons, will he state why a tug was not sent out to the vessel on her arrival in midstream to take these sufferers direct to the port hospital at New Ferry; and will care be taken that similar cases are more promptly dealt with in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am aware of the facts referred to in the first part of the Question, and I obtained a report from the Medical Officer of Health of the port of Liverpool on the subject last month. There were three cases of smallpox on board the vessel, and it appears from the report that, owing to the critical condition of one patient and the height of the steamer above the decks of the tug, it was considered unsafe to land the patients in the tug, and arrangements were accordingly made to land them at the stage. On arriving at the stage no one was allowed on board, due notice being given to those

on the stage of the reason; the people were cleared off the gangway and every precaution appears to have been taken in the landing of the patients to prevent any spread of infection. I may add that all infected bedding and clothing were burnt, suspected articles were disinfected, and the vessel was thoroughly fumigated and washed down. I see no reason for objecting to the course adopted in this case.

Experts of Wheat and Flour from India.

MR. HUNTER CRAIG (Lanarkshire, Govan): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the ports from which wheat and flour have been exported from India for the year 1901-2, and to which countries and ports have they been shipped, together with the respective quantities of wheat and flour.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) I, Exports of wheat from India in 1901-2:—

From	Tons	To	Tons
Calcutta	3,261	United Kingdom	197,550
		Belgium	61,181
Bombay	4,165	France	4,951
		Germany	2,000
Karachi	358,665	Holland	5,772
		Italy	1,200
		British East Africa	318
		Egypt	84,494
		Mauritius	375
		Aden	647
		Arabia	2,393
		Hong Kong	778
		Persia	3,076
		Turkey in Asia	1,133
		Other countries	223
Total	366,091		366,091

II. Exports of wheat flour from India in 1901-2:—

From	Cwts.	To	Cwts.
Calcutta	27,408	British East Africa	91,105
		Mauritius	99,855
Bombay	420,052	Aden	124,582
		Arabia	106,634
Karachi	81,857	Ceylon	59,128
		Persia	26,295
		Other countries	21,718
Total	529,317		529,317

The Trade Returns show the names of the countries only, without specifying the ports.

Management of the Uganda Railway.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, whether it is the intention of the Government to retain the management of the Uganda Railway permanently in the hands of the Railway Committee of the Foreign Office.

(Answered by Lord Cranborne.) The Answer to the hon. Member's Question is in the negative, but I hope shortly to lay on the Table Papers which will explain the intentions of His Majesty's Government in the matter.

Construction of the Ballyronney and Newcastle Railway.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether he can state if the construction of the Ballyronney and Newcastle (county Down) Railway has yet been commenced; and, if not, when the work of construction is likely to be entered upon by the Great Northern Railway Company of Ireland and the Belfast and County Down Railway Company respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) It is understood that neither of the two companies mentioned in the Question has commenced the construction of the line. The Commissioners of Public Works learn from the arbitrator, who was appointed by them under statute, that progress with the award in respect to the lands proposed to be taken by the Great Northern Company has been stayed at the request of that company, in order to enable it to negotiate with regard to some of the lands. The draft award in the case of the lands proposed to be taken by the Belfast and County Down Railway Company has been forwarded to the company's solicitors by the arbitrator for some information necessary for its completion. The statutory period for completion of the line extends to 30th July, 1905.

Treasure Trove Purchased by Royal Irish Academy.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if he can give particulars as to number, price, and total amount of the purchases by the Royal Irish Academy from finders of treasure-trove since June, 1896, through the medium of the Constabulary, in accordance with the arrangement stated to have

been sanctioned by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in the circular issued by the President of the Academy in that year; and also the total annual sum available for the purchase of objects of antiquity by the Royal Irish Academy.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Since June 1896 only one object of treasure-trove (a gold armlet for which a sum of £4 was paid) was purchased through the medium of the Constabulary, all the other antiquities purchased having been sent to the Academy directly. The amount available annually for the purchase of antiquities is £100.

Military Stores sent to South Africa.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the value of military stores sent to South Africa during the years 1901 and 1902; and how much of their values are due to normal and to extraordinary war expenditure in each year.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The value of military stores (which exclude clothing and food supplies) sent to South Africa during 1901-2 and 1902-3 was approximately £2,699,000 and £975,000. Of these amounts about £162,000 may be taken on each of the two years as the normal expenditure, the balance being due to the war.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection: That they had discharged the following Member from the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure—Mr. Lees Knowles; and had appointed in substitution, Mr. Samuel Roberts.

Report to lie upon the Table.

COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION EXTENSION BILL.

[THIRD READING].

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [19th June], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said that last Friday, when addressing the House, his remarks were interrupted by the adjournment, and he was very glad of that, because during the past week he had received a letter from a barrister which expressed very well indeed some weighty objections to this Bill. That gentleman in his letter said there was no second opinion among those who practice in the Courts that the Bill would be madness under present conditions. The effect, it was pointed out, would be to add to the costs of small suitors on account of the adjournment of cases through want of time to deal with them. That barrister stated that he had known a case for £19 adjourned four times owing to the Court being crowded with work. It was said that all solicitors were in favour of the Bill because they practised in the County Court, and that all barristers were against the Bill because it would diminish their practice. He was against all such calumnious objections. This was a matter that ought not to be regarded from the point of view of those who most expressed the opinion of the commercial classes. Of course the commercial classes were in favour of the Bill. They wanted to get a Court to decide more expeditiously than the High Court in the suits in which they were interested, and it was to them a matter of little concern that small suitors should be put to inconvenience, delay, or expense. It was, he thought, the business of this House to see that that result did not happen. They had been told that the Bill was not workable, and that there would be considerable congestion of business in the Courts. The poor man would be put to considerable difficulty, and he would only have the consolation that those who might have gone to the High Court would gain an advantage from a system of jurisdiction which was originally intended and principally suited for small business. If they set up the system proposed by this Bill they would crowd out the poorer litigants for whom the County Courts were originally intended. Under these circumstances he should feel it to be his duty to give his vote against the Third Reading of the Bill.

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.) said that in view of the remarks made

by the Solicitor-General when the Bill was under discussion last week he now proposed to make a Motion which at all events would enable the House to discuss whether or not proper machinery should be provided for the carrying out of this Bill. It had been contended with great truth that the County Court Judges at the present time had sufficient work to do—there were no doubt cases in which they could well do more—and that the extra work entailed upon them by this Bill was greater than they would have time to perform. He had no doubt that County Court Judges could undertake more work in the country districts, but in the large centres they could not do so. It was obvious that provision must be made to enable the County Courts to carry out the extra work which the Bill would entail. If he could prove that, he submitted that he should have made out an overwhelming case for this House considering how the Bill was to be carried out. In regard to the general principle of the Bill, if they were going to deal with the question of County Court jurisdiction the whole system had to be reconsidered. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton said last week that when the Act was passed in 1888 there was a demand for the reconsideration of the whole system. Let them be logical, and revise the whole system, and not make the present system more unworkable than it was. They had been told by the Attorney-General that that was what this Bill would do. The Bill proposed to raise the limit from £50 to £100, and it incidentally dealt with the question of the costs of those actions. He was surprised that his hon. friend in charge of the Bill should take up the position he had done in regard to the question of costs. By increasing the limit they were increasing the number of cases where the plaintiff would not get his costs. The whole support of the Bill was based on the assumption that there would be a greater demand for County Court work, and if they were going to compel people to go into the County Courts they were penalising the plaintiffs in successful actions, because if they went into the High Court with cases up to £100 their expenses would be allowed. He understood that the

County Court costs which were allowed were very meagre as compared with other costs. A Return laid before the House showed that last year there were 799,930 cases decided by the County Court Judges and that only 10,738 were decided in favour of the defendants. That was one in eighty. That showed that this Bill was going to work very unfairly to the very persons whom it ought to be the duty of this House to protect. That might be a small point, but it was one his hon. friend should consider more seriously than he had done, and he should put some provision in the Bill whereby successful litigants should not be penalised.

It was a peculiar fact that the work in the County Courts increased when trade was good, and that there were fewer cases when trade was diminishing. There was a large diminution between 1880 and 1884 which, as was well known, was a period of more or less prosperity. But since then there had been an increase in the quantity of work in every respect, and last year showed the largest increase in the amount of work done by the County Courts that had taken place since they were first established. The House was well aware that cases could be entered for over £50 by agreement between the parties concerned. In the period between 1876 and 1880 there were only 403 of such cases, but in the period from 1897 to 1901 there were 1,604. Of course the supporters of the Bill would assume that that was a sign that there was a desire for the Bill, but surely if it was so, proper provision should be made to enable the Courts to carry out the work. If they passed the Bill and placed this extra work on the County Courts they must increase the staff. He did not say that at present they were overworked, but they were fully worked. The offices were none too big for the work that had to be carried out at present. It might be argued that the County Court Judges were paid sufficiently at present for any extra work which would fall upon them under the Bill. He did not think that was really so, and if extra work were put upon them they would have to get extra pay. Cheap labour in any form was generally not very satisfactory, and, therefore, the £1,500 a year which was given to a County Court Judge with no pension,

except in cases of ill-health, would have to be increased if they gave him extra work. If more work was going to be given to these County Court Judges than they could do, then assistance must be also given them. And that would cost money; but there was no provision in the Bill for this extra cost. A great deal more work had been put on the County Court Judges on account of the Workmen's Compensation Act. A very interesting Return was laid on the Table of the House on 25th March last, which showed that during the year 1901 the total number of cases brought into the County Courts under that Act was 1,918 compared with 1,636 in the previous year. And the number of cases brought under the Employers' Liability Act was 590, being a small increase over the previous year. It might, of course, be argued that the Workmen's Compensation Act had brought more work to the County Courts on account of the uncertainty of the drafting of that Act, and the many questions which had been taken from the County Courts to the Court of Appeal. That might be true in regard to law, but his experience was that where the employer disputed a claim—which a good employer never did on a question of law, because he would have to accept the decision of the higher Court—on a question of amount they would still go into the County Court. Therefore he was going to move that the Bill should be recommitted for the insertion of a new clause to provide for the additional expense that would be incurred.

It might be contended that the Motion which he had put down on the Paper was not the proper way of carrying out his purpose. But no private Member could move a Motion which would make a charge on the public funds. The County Court Judges were paid out of the Consolidated Fund and it would therefore be impossible for him to put down a charge on that Fund. Therefore the only thing he could do was to put the charge on the county rate. He admitted frankly, that such a way of dealing with the matter was not the right way; but he must do it somehow. He hoped that his right hon. friend the Attorney-General would move the omission of those words in his Amendment, and take upon himself the responsibility

of providing the necessary costs. It might also be argued that all that was necessary to be done could be accomplished by an Order in Council. But that would involve a new clause. His reply to that was that the new clause could be put in in another place. He thought that this House was not doing its duty when it allowed a Bill to pass which, it was within their knowledge, would be unworkable; and leave it to another place to make it workable. It was the duty of this House to consider properly that such Bills as were sent to another place should be in such a state that they were likely to receive approval there. He hoped that his right hon. friend, if he could not agree to his proposed new clause, would sanction the re-committal of the Bill. If the Government thought that this Bill was a desirable Bill to be passed; if they thought that it would facilitate the mercantile community in carrying on their commerce; if they thought that the County Courts should be made more use of, and that that would be of general benefit to the community, it was their bounden duty to see that proper provision was made for carrying it out. If they did not think that the plan he had suggested was the proper way to carry out the object they had in view, his hon. friend was bound to support the re-committal of the Bill. He begged to move.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said that after the weighty and exhaustive speech of the hon. Member for Manchester it was not necessary for him to take up much of the time of the House in explaining why he supported the Motion just made. The main point of the speech of his hon. friend was one which, it seemed to him, presented insuperable difficulty to those concerned in passing this Bill. In fact, it was unanswerable. The work of the County Courts was already congested; their time was already fully occupied; and it had, of late, been increased by the growing complexity of modern life. Now, no provision had been made in the Bill to do this work by improved machinery; and unless some such provision was made, it was perfectly obvious that it would be unfair not only to the classes of people at present included in the Bill, but to the classes proposed to be included. The

poorer class of litigants would find their business delayed, because the time of the County Courts would be occupied with that of the more important clients; while the decision of the cases of the latter class would be delayed by the consideration of the cases of the poorer class. It would, therefore, be unfair to each of these classes separately, and the conjunction of the unfairness to the two classes would aggravate the evil. Under these circumstances he had much pleasure in seconding the Motion of his hon. friend.

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out all the words after the word ‘be’ and add the words ‘recommitted to a Committee of the whole House in respect of a new clause (Increase of Courts).’—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (*Islington, S.*) said that no one could find fault with his hon. friend for the temper and ability with which he had stated his case against the Bill. But there were two points on which he was disposed to differ from his hon. friend. His hon. friend protested against doing anything in a hurry. He quite agreed; and if the hon. Member had been helping them at an early stage of the Bill they would have been less open to the charge of exhibiting undue haste. The Bill passed its Second Reading without a division; it went through Committee without a division; and on the Report stage there was one division on an Amendment which was defeated by 197 to 52. His hon. friend the Member for Oldham said that the speech of the hon. Member for Manchester was unanswerable.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he did not allege that the speech was unanswerable, but that if it was not unanswerable it would have to be answered.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT said he could only attempt to answer it on the point raised by the hon. Member. He might point to an hon. Gentleman opposite who had himself been a County Court Judge, and who had given an unswerving support to this Bill. He himself had been a practitioner in the County Court,

Mr. Winston Churchill.

and was registrar of a County Court for twelve or fourteen years, and during that time it was his business to try to become acquainted with the matter. In his experience the County Courts had served a great purpose both in the interests of the poor and of the commercial community. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand cases passing through County Courts involved small amounts, and were practically not heard at all. They were practically undefended cases. He himself disposed of 700 or 800 of such cases, each involving only one minute's consideration, in a day. A great fact in the history of County Courts was that it had been the policy of Parliament, ever since 1847, to gradually increase their jurisdiction. The jurisdiction was increased from £20 to £50, and at that time the same arguments were employed against the proposal which had now been amply shown to be fallacious. In one form or another Parliament had placed on the County Court duties which they admirably fulfilled, as a rule. Figures showed that the smaller cases had not been neglected. Equally, cases involving commercial questions had been decided at infinitely less cost though not without proper remuneration to solicitors and others, the cost being less because witnesses had not to be taken to linger in London for days and days. The witnesses were on the spot, and the local administration of justice was in evidence. His hon. friend had appealed to the law officers of the Crown to make this Bill a workable measure. From the first moment of the introduction of the Bill they had begged the law officers of the Crown to state where it was not workable, and to help to provide the necessary machinery; and though his hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General had deemed it his duty to take up a more or less neutral position in connection with the Bill, he was sure that his hon. and learned friend's knowledge of Scottish procedure must have satisfied him that there was a case even for unlimited jurisdiction with, of course, the right of removal. The only question in the Committee was whether the jurisdiction should not be £500 instead of £100, and the £100 was ultimately adopted in great measure as a compromise. He hoped in another place the Government would supply any deficiencies that might exist, although he himself did not admit any.

Up to the present that had not been the attitude of the Government. The attitude of the Government, as expressed by the Lord Chancellor in connection with this reform, was to object to the principle of the extension of jurisdiction. In Chambers of Commerce and elsewhere they had tried to meet the views of the Government. His right hon. friend and himself introduced a Bill of numerous clauses with adequate machinery, and he had a letter from the Lord Chancellor written in 1898 in which he stated that if the occasion should arrive for discussing the subject with a view to legislation, his Lordship would consider the question of receiving a deputation. He had also a letter from the Lord Chancellor in which he objected entirely to the extension of jurisdiction. The House of Commons had, however, decided otherwise and had emphatically approved the feeling in the country that local Courts should have extended jurisdiction.

Where was the lack of machinery? Was it a question of expenditure? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton had frequently stated that money could be obtained through the Estimates without the necessity for legislation at all. The Treasury would take the fees; and if the fees were too high the ruling Committee of Judges could alter them. If the Treasury took the fees then the Treasury was bound to provide the necessary machinery. Then his hon. friend referred to the necessity for buildings. There was no necessity for that. Every locality was bound to place the town hall or the parish hall at the disposal of a County Court Judge; and the vast increase in cities and parishes of local government provided ample accommodation without the necessity of spending a penny on Courts. Take the Westminster County Court district. Both the present town hall and the Caxton Hall would be available. There was no need for any expenditure in that direction. Then it was said that the Judges would be inadequate for the work. He had heard so many general statements of that character that he had taken the trouble to get the actual figures with reference to the employment of Judges. He might be allowed to state, with a large experience, that there might be exceptions which were difficult to deal with among County Court Judges; but there were

other Judges equally difficult to deal with, and not at all more competent. What was required was really a redistribution of the work. There was power by Order in Council to alter the time and place where the Court sat and to provide additional assistance, either an additional Judge or an additional registrar. He was not impeaching the devotion to duty displayed by the Judges. Very much the contrary, but he found that in the Metropolis, out of say 300 available working days, the average number of sittings was 171. In the country the average number of sittings was only 146, and it was quite evident that if the average was only 146, there must have been many cases in which the number of sittings was below that. That showed that it was redistribution and re-arrangement that was wanted, and that could be done without the necessity for legislation.

His hon. friend also referred to the question of remuneration. He thought that underpaid judicial work was as bad and as disadvantageous as any other underpaid work, and he quite agreed that if as the result of experience there was undue pressure on any Court, it would have to be redressed. But surely they might ask for experience first as to how far the existing margin would be available. His hon. friend said that there would be no pension. That was not correct practically, because, if the Judge were permanently disabled, the Lord Chancellor could grant him two-thirds of his salary, and, as a matter of fact, that happened. He quite agreed that in some cases, but by no means in all, certainly not in cases where the Judges were under-worked, there might be a claim for remuneration, and that claim would have to be attended to. If it were a question of too high fees, the Committee of the Judges with the Treasury and the Lord Chancellor could reduce them, and if it were a question of unequal work that could be remedied by redistribution. He quite admitted that if an increase of work fell upon the Judges, they would have an equitable claim to consideration. At present there was a great stagnation of justice in consequence of the impossibility of prosecuting cases involving only £100 in the High Courts. That was a most costly and unwise proceeding which no

solicitor would advise, unless the question of principle was involved. Adequate machinery could be provided if the Government would only help. The reform proposed in the Bill was supported by the whole commercial community. It affected the administration of justice in this country, and it would remove a great sense of injustice owing to the cost of prosecuting cases in the High Courts. On those grounds he hoped that the House would re-affirm the principle that there was need for legislation, and that all the suggested Amendments were corollary to the passage of the measure; and if experience justified it, they would follow as incidents of a Bill which he believed to be a large step in the direction of law and reform.

*Mr. DUKE (Plymouth) said he desired to inform his hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General that, as far as he was aware, commercial men looked with a great deal of anxiety to the attitude which the Government had adopted in connection with this Bill. There was a sense of injustice and of wrong which, if not removed by this Bill or some other Bill, would very formidably react against those who were responsible for its continuance. He could assure his hon. and learned friend that commercial men did not think that on a question of this kind it was sufficient for the Government to maintain a policy of splendid detachment and inaction. It was a matter in which settled convictions were expected, and if they were not found the responsibility for not possessing them would not be regarded as insignificant. It had never been denied, it could not be denied, that the commercial community of this country, to the well being of which they attached so much consequence, was practically unanimous in its dissatisfaction at the present mode of dealing with a certain class of actions at law. Chambers of Commerce were unanimous in the matter ever since he had known anything about them, now some twenty years. One branch of the legal profession which was in direct contact with litigants in this country, and which was to a great extent responsible for the opinions which had been ex-

pressed by the Chambers of Commerce, was entirely in accord with that opinion. The other branch of the profession, of which he himself had the honour of being a member, showed divided opinion. At the present time common law cases involving over £50 could be remitted to the County Courts, and cases involving larger amounts could be remitted under certain technical restrictions. The average number of cases remitted by consent between 1876 and 1880 was about 400, but between 1897 and 1901 the average was 16,004 per annum. That showed that at any rate in the great centres of population there was absolute confidence in the capacity of County Court Judges to deal with that class of action. There was also power in a district registry and the central office in the High Court to remit to the County Court Judges other common law actions not limited in amount to £100. In the last year for which there were statistics 16,000 such actions were remitted, 2,000 being from the Metropolitan County Courts, and the County Courts of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff, and Brighton. That showed that there was great anxiety on the part of litigants to have their litigation disposed of as near as possible to their own residences and with reasonable cheapness. He did not see how it could be seriously suggested in the face of those facts that the demand of the representatives of the commercial community did not disclose a real evil which should be dealt with. To his mind it was not enough, and he spoke with all respect, that the Government, charged with the administration of justice as one of the first concerns of a civilised community, should merely say with reference to a measure of this kind that it would not do. This was not a competition upon a prize puzzle. Reform of the administration of justice should not be settled by a sort of guessing competition. It was not enough to say to the competitors "You are wrong." Somebody was responsible in the matter, and he hoped the question would not be looked upon entirely from the point of view of the imperfections of the present Bill.

For his part, he believed that this Bill in its present form would practically

wreck the ancient system of the administration of civil justice in this country, by the trial of causes on the Circuits, and he looked at the prospect with something like dismay. For the greater part of his working life he had been engaged in attempting to help in the administration of justice, and he might be pardoned if he felt concern at any such prospect. But this country did not exist for the sake of the judicial system or the legal profession. They existed to meet the necessities of the country. The great question he should like to see debated was what ought to be done with an admitted administrative evil. It was also said that this Bill would wreck the County Court system. He thought there was risk of that. It should be remembered that 50,000 actions passed through these Courts every year. They were actions of little people who came into Court very frequently from their work, and to whom it was a very serious question whether they lost half a day's work or perhaps a day's work. Dozens, sometimes scores, of such cases were disposed of in the course of the day, usually to the satisfaction of the litigants. It was a very serious matter to those poor people whether a change of procedure in the judicial forum established to deal with disputes which affected their social life and interest as vitally as the great disputes of commercial men affected theirs, should result in the denial of justice to them. What would happen under this Bill? At the present time, and he believed any hon. Member who had practical experience in the administration of the law would agree, any case which had anything in it would practically occupy a working day. Some cases occupied three or four days, and he had known cases adjourned from sitting to sitting and which ultimately had to be heard in instalments of one day at a time until the inconvenience disgusted the suitors. The serious question with regard to County Court jurisdiction was whether Parliament would put on County Court Judges who were created to act as Judges of small debt Courts in this country cases which would occupy days to the interruption of the business for which the Court was created. As the representative of a commercial constituency he

regarded the interests of the community with great concern, but in the form in which it was now the Bill would be a mockery both for suitors in the High Court and suitors in the County Court. He had received a letter from a gentleman who had very great experience on the subject, and who stated that for years the commercial community had been trying to have steps taken to have disputes for moderate amounts settled in the County Courts and that they were supported by every newspaper of standing in the country. His correspondent added that the present circuit system was practically moribund, that many actions were remitted to the County Court, with the result that "the proper business of those Courts is blocked and the responsibility of the Judges more than doubled." That was the statement of a man who knew the facts as well, and perhaps better, than any other man in this country. In his opinion it would not be proper on the part of the Government to permit this Bill to be passed in a form in which it would prevent County Courts from discharging to a great extent the special work they were established to discharge.

With regard to the Assize system, statistics showed that at the present time the bulk of the business was concerned with cases between £50 and £100 and if an average were taken it would be found that the amount involved in the majority of such cases was nearer £50 than £100. In some towns the Assizes were little more than a solemn pageant. There were two Assize towns in the country where since 1889 the combined number of cases totalled three. That was a very serious matter. There was a yearly increasing resort to the County Courts, whereas the ancient forum of justice was substantially deserted. It showed a condition of things to which it was not possible that any Government should be indifferent. A good deal had been said about the attitude of solicitors and of the bar. At the annual general meeting of the bar, on the Motion of Sir Edward Clarke this Bill was criticised but no veto was put upon it. It was criticised because of its defects and the absolute absence of machinery. He would respectfully urge the Government to deal with this question as a practical question. He

hoped that the attention which this Bill had evoked would have the effect of introducing some prospect of an early change in the judicial system such as would enable the County Courts to be utilised as far as they could, but which would, at any rate, provide a forum in the great towns in connection with the High Court which would satisfy the demand of the commercial community of the country. Although he thought that the Bill in the form in which it stood would have a mischievous effect on the judicial system he could not vote against the Third Reading because he regarded it as a protest against a policy of inaction in face of a serious and reasonable public demand.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said his hon. and learned friend had just announced his intention of voting for the Bill although he regarded it as an impossible measure and one which, if it became law, would wreck the administration of justice not only in the High Court but in the County Court.

*MR. DUKE: I said I should not vote against the Bill.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY thought the hon. and learned Gentleman went further. Undoubtedly the circumstances were very peculiar, for they had one Member moving the recommittal of the Bill to insert a clause which he knew to be impossible, and another declining to vote against the Third Reading, though he believed it would wreck the judicial administration of the country. The only question before the House concerned the merits of this particular Bill, and he could not accept the invitation to enter into a general discussion of the whole question of the judicial arrangements of the country. It was said that Chambers of Commerce throughout the country were in favour of the Bill. But there was one important exception to the approval of the Bill by the Chambers of Commerce. Liverpool had passed a Resolution against it.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington) said Liverpool had two County Court Judges.

Mr. Duke.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said other large towns and cities also had local Courts of their own. He considered that the opinion of Liverpool in any case was entitled to weight; and he thought the Chambers of Commerce, who had petitioned in favour of the Bill, intended rather to express a general aspiration to have an extension of County Court jurisdiction than an opinion on the merits of the Bill.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT said that, with the one exception referred to by the Attorney-General, the Chambers of Commerce had petitioned in favour of the Bill.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said he was afraid that they did not fully appreciate the effect the Bill would have in penalising those who might desire to bring actions into the High Court, and who might fail to obtain High Court costs if the amount could have been recovered in the County Courts. There was a means under Order 14 by which summary procedure could be obtained in the High Court in cases in which there was no real defence, and there was a danger that if this Bill were carried High Court costs would be withheld.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT said that if judgment was obtained under Order 14 full costs were now recoverable.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said this did not affect his observation that, if it were made possible to obtain judgment for sums up to £100 in County Courts, the High Court costs might not be given. This Bill, in any case, would seriously injure the County Court system, although he was not prepared to go quite so far as the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth, who said the Bill was calculated to wreck the whole system of the administration of justice. A County Court Judge, of great experience and ability, assured him that the effect of the Bill on the working of the County Court system in the Metropolis would be most serious. The County Courts were introduced as Courts for the recovery of small debts. If other actions, involving a prolonged hearing, were admitted, there would be serious interference with that

work. There was a danger of overstraining the machine. If such a change were to be contemplated by the Government it would be necessary to see what additions to the judgeships, the office staffs, and the building accommodation were necessary. The country could not be committed to the additional expenditure thus involved without inquiry and a well-considered plan. It would be seen, therefore, that this measure dealt only with a very small part of a large subject; and he was not at all surprised that the Treasury had not given authority for incurring expenditure in the promotion of such a measure as this, which, however well meant, did not and could not deal with the whole subject. He was unable to vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for South-West Manchester because he looked on it as quit: as unworkable as the Bill itself.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton E.) said there was something about the debate which was altogether outside the Bill under discussion. When speeches were delivered in such a debate by some of the most distinguished of the younger Members of the House who, while they might have a wide acquaintance with many things, had very little acquaintance with the administration of justice, but felt very strongly about other Bills, Members generally might perhaps form their own conclusions. Without further alluding to that point, he would turn to the speech of the Attorney-General, which he was bound to say he did not understand. He altogether denied the proposition of the hon. and learned Member that the Bill was unworkable and would break down for want of necessary additional machinery. There was no necessity to appoint any additional Judges. There were at present fifty-nine County Court Judges, and the Act of 1888 provided for the appointment of sixty. What was really wanted was a redistribution of judicial work. On that point he would have to trouble the House with a few figures, especially after the speech of the hon. Member for South-West Manchester, who had spoken almost with tears of the enormous amount of work performed in the district with which he was most familiar.

There was a district in Lancashire in which only five Courts were held. What were the figures concerning that district last year? The average number of days in the judicial year of a High Court Judge was from 200 to 210. In this district, which included the towns of Bury, Bolton, Oldham, Rochdale, and Wigan, there were only 146 sittings in the year before the Judge. How could an increase in the number of Judges be asked for under such circumstances? No doubt London was exceptional, but the Lord Chancellor had power to transfer any of the Judges, to redistribute the sittings as he liked, or to take a Judge from a district where he was not doing sufficient work and add him to another. Even with the jurisdiction extended, he was not prepared to admit there was any necessity to increase the number of County Court Judges. Originally, no doubt, these Courts were instituted to take the place of the small debt Courts, but that position had long since passed away. There were not small debt Courts now. In several respects the jurisdiction of the County Courts had been extended by the Act of 1888 to cases up to £500, and there were men sitting on the County Court Bench who were quite competent to sit in the High Court, and whose appointment to the High Court would be hailed with satisfaction by the public. Where, then, was the machinery to break down?

He admitted the case of London would have to be considered by itself. He thought additional Judges would be wanted in London, but there would be no difficulty in securing them. As to the buildings, that question would settle itself. The judicial accommodation produced by the County Courts would compare very favourably with the judicial accommodation provided for the superior Courts thirty years ago. But supposing these difficulties did exist, they could be dealt with in another place. The House of Lords had a form by which they dealt provisionally for expenditure, and there were in that chamber a large number of Judges and ex-Judges, and other eminent lawyers, who could remedy every defect which had been pointed out. He was not, however, advocating any addition. He thought it much better that the principle of the extended jurisdiction should be affirmed, and the experiment

fairly tried, before the country was committed to any extra expenditure. He would certainly oppose any addition to the judicial staff until the experiment had been tested. Since 1888 and before the Associated Chambers of Commerce had been asking for this Bill. For years all the mysterious delays attending private Members' legislation had been suffered, but now at last the Bill had a chance. The question was so undebatable that the Measure passed its Second Reading and through the Grand Committee without a division, and he had ventured to say, perhaps somewhat boldly, that it was the duty of the Attorney-General, as the first law officer of the Crown, and the law officer of the House of Commons, under these circumstances, if he thought the Bill needed amending, to prepare clauses for the purpose. If the hon. and learned Member had not had time he could doubtless have obtained assistance from his two young friends who had taken so much interest in the debate and who had shown such striking ability in the matter of drafting Amendments. But the Attorney-General had not done so, although the House, by an immense majority, composed of all shades of political opinion, had expressed its desire that the Bill should pass. He thought the debate had now served its purpose; having lasted an hour and a half, it had paid sufficient toll to the exigencies of the situation. But there was something due to the House itself, and to the commercial community outside, and it was with perfect confidence he asked the House to proceed at once to read the Bill a third time.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) said it was a novel doctrine to come from the right hon. Gentleman that a Bill should be sent to the House of Lords in an imperfect state in order that it might be put right there.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: I did not say it was in an imperfect state. I do not think it is.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON said the right hon. Gentleman had been rather accustomed to resent such proceedings on the part of the House of Lords. However, he had come to the House with the intention of seeing this Bill through, as he had received many communications from his constituents in favour of the passage of the Measure. Addressing a lay intelligence only to the question, he totally failed to see the constitutional dangers in the way of extending the ordinary jurisdiction of County Courts up to £100. In Scotland the Sheriff Courts dealt with higher values with great success, and they wanted law as cheap as they could get it. To increase the limit should be a great boon to a numerous class of suitors, and he did not know why there should be such terrible dangers as had been predicted. He hoped the Attorney-General would vote for the Third Reading, and not lead into the division lobby a large number of hon. Members against the Bill.

MR. GALLOWAY said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton was mistaken in regard to his object in opposing the Bill. After what had fallen from the Attorney-General, and in view of the fact that the Government were not willing to put in clauses to make the Bill workable, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment and divide the House on the Third Reading.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put:

The House divided:—Ayes, 160; Noes, 10. (Division List No. 133.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Allen, Charles P. (*Glouc., Stroud*)
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christchurch*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George

Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brigg, John
Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, Rt Hon J A (*Glasg.*)

Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Right Hon. Jesse
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William

Sir Henry Fowler.

Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardign*)
 Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (*Galway*)
 Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Edwards, Frank
 Emmott, Alfred
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas
 Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
 Farrell, James Patrick
 Fenwick, Charles
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Flower, Ernest
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Fuller, J. M. F.
 Garfit, William
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J.
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
 Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Groves, James Grimble
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hammond, John
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
 Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
 Heath, Arthur H. (*Hanley*)
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somrset*)
 Hogg, Lindsay
 Howard, J. (*Midd., Tottham*)
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse

Johnstone, Heywood
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, David B. (*Swansea*)
 Jones, William (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Joyce, Michael
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Accrington*)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 London, W.
 Macdona, John Cumming
 McKenna, Reginald
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Mowbray, Sir Robt. Gray C.
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Nolan, Col. John P. (*Galway, N.*)
 Nuasey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, P. J. (*Tipperary, N.*)
 O'Doherty, William
 O'Donnell, John (*Mayo, S.*)
 O'Donnell, T. (*Kerry, W.*)
 O'Kelly, Conor (*Mayo, N.*)
 O'Kelly, J. (*Roscommon, N.*)
 O'Shea, James John
 Partington, Oswald
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Phillips, John Wynford
 Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Rea, Russell
 Reckitt, Harold James

Redmond, William (*Clare*)
 Rigg, Richard
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Herbert L. (*Cleveland*)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Shatpe, William Edward T.
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, H. C. (*North'mb. Tyndeside*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theo. C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, F. Freeman- (*Hastings*)
 Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, J. Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, John (*Falkirk*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wood, James
 Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson
 Wylie, Alexander
 Yerburgh, Robt. Armstrong
 Young, Samuel
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Albert Rolit and Sir
 James Woodhouse.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bowles, T. Gibson (*Lynn Regis*)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne

Forster, Henry William
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (*Oxford Univ.*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (*Bath*)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. Galloway and Mr.
 Winston Churchill.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

[THIRD READING].

Order for the Third Reading read.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that this Bill which had been brought forward by his hon. friend was not one to which he wished to offer any serious opposition. His hon. friend was so well known for the interest he took in all Postal questions, and was so widely reputed as one of the greatest authorities on these questions, that any proposal he might make must be

received with the greatest respect and attention. His hon. friend was fortunately in his place, and all that he wished to do in respect to the interesting proposal which his hon. friend had made was to ask him a few questions, which no doubt he would be able to answer, and remove from his mind any lingering doubt he might have as to the expediency of this proposal. His hon. friend might perhaps be able to explain why it was necessary to have such a Bill at all. One would have thought that such a matter could have been dealt with by the Postmaster-General on his own responsibility; and

that it should have been necessary to take up the time of the House, whose business was already so much congested, with such a Bill, was a serious reflection on the efficiency of the public administration. He supposed there were some constitutional reasons which prevented the Postmaster-General issuing Postal Orders for a guinea. He had searched diligently for them, but had found none. He would like to ask his hon. friend how much his proposal was going to cost, because they were bound in these days to scrutinise with care every item of expenditure. He had often thought that the printing bill of the country was a matter for very serious consideration. Hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent on printing, and any new proposal to increase that expenditure must be looked upon with caution. In the next place he wanted to know where was the Postmaster-General? One would have imagined that, when any measure like this, which affected his Department, came before the House, the right hon. Gentleman would have been in his place, and would have been able to have told the House how much this proposal was going to cost. The Postmaster-General took a great interest in the working of his Department, and it was to be hoped that his absence on this occasion did not portend that his attention had been withdrawn from the work of his Department, and that he was not being entangled in the controversy regarding preferential tariffs which might compromise an otherwise brilliant career. He should like to know, apart from the question of cost, what was the reason for this particular postal order for a guinea? It seemed to him that the existing postal order for twenty shillings and another for a shilling would achieve every purpose of a guinea postal order. Those who dealt in guineas were not usually of the impoverished class. His hon. friend, he believed, said that the guinea postal order would be useful for charitable purposes. It occurred to him that if the proposal of his hon. friend were adopted it might encourage the demands on Members of Parliament for subscriptions to Football Clubs, Christmas Goose Clubs, Choral Societies, Lyceums, and the like.

Mr. Winston Churchill.

He himself held very strong views as to the shocking abuse which already existed in the expenditure of Members of Parliament in these directions, and he did not feel inclined to afford any further facilities for extending that abuse.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (*Lynn Regis*) said he hoped the House was going to receive some explanation as to the necessity of such a Bill. There was really no practical difficulty at present in remitting a guinea. It was perfectly possible to obtain a postal order for a shilling, and another for twenty shillings and putting the two together there was the guinea. Moreover, he would point out that for many years past there had been no such coin as a guinea; and coins of a sovereign and a shilling were already provided for by legislation. They had been told by the Postmaster-General, whose interest in this Bill was well illustrated by his absence, that these Postal Orders had to be printed at the public cost, and that large numbers had to be kept in stock. Now, the effect of this Bill, if passed, would be that a large portion of the stock at present in hand would be rendered useless, and that might require the interposition of a public committee of inquiry. With a Bill of this sort before the House there ought to be some representative of the Government on the Treasury Bench. That the Treasury Bench should be deserted in this manner was discourteous to the House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (*Clare, E.*) said he was very much in favour of the Bill of his hon. friend the Member for Canterbury; but it was hardly treating the House of Commons with respect that no member of the Government was present when such an important Bill was being considered. If the Postmaster-General himself could not be present, he ought to have sent a substitute. (At this point Mr. H. W. Forster entered the House, and took his seat on the Treasury Bench.) They had the satisfaction at last of seeing one of the Government satellites come in, and perhaps the hon. Gentleman would indicate what the Postmaster-General thought of this Bill. It was no extreme inconvenience to be obliged to take out two small orders in

order to make up a given sum. Really he thought the Third Reading of the Bill was only a question of time, and when a certain hour was reached, no doubt the Bill would be passed with the cordial assent of the Member for Oldham as well as of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham) suggested to the hon. Member for Canterbury that he should consider the advisability of withdrawing the Bill in order to enable the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill to be proceeded with. His hon. friends the Members for Oldham and Greenwich were strongly opposed to this Postal Order Bill, and therefore felt compelled to discuss it fully; but, on the other hand, they were extremely anxious to see the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill pass into law, and it would be a pity to disappoint them. He hoped, therefore, his hon. friend the Member for Canterbury would drop his Bill for the present.

MR. GALLOWAY said the hon. Member who last spoke was a comparatively new Member of the House, or he would have known that the adoption of such a course would not bring him any nearer the object he had in view, as he would see by the congested state of the order-book. The hon. Member for Canterbury really had good cause for complaining that there was no representative of the Post Office present that afternoon. The hon. Member had worked at that subject for many years, and in spite of the opposition of the Post Office he had produced many reforms. It was therefore unfair that when a Bill of that kind came before the House the Postmaster-General should not be in his place to assist in carrying it, and to congratulate the hon. Member on the successful issue of his labours. It was very important that they should have some explanation from the Treasury as to the cost of issuing these orders. The Return showed an increasing issue of orders every year; the last Report gave a total of £13,000,000 odd, as compared with £9,000,000 in 1882, and that surely afforded ample justification for granting increased facilities for the issue of orders. Undoubtedly there had been some slight falling off in the number of 1s. orders issued in the same period, but no doubt

that could be easily explained. But if the issue of guinea orders was to be attended with a considerable increase of cost, would not that materially reduce the large profit now earned? He would like to know also if the cost of keeping up the stock of orders would not be very considerable. He hoped that some satisfactory assurances would be forthcoming on these points, as he did not want either to vote for the adjournment of the debate or for the rejection of the Bill.

*MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said he was too sensible of the kindness extended to him by the House of Commons in past years to ignore the appeals addressed to him on this occasion by hon. Members on both sides of the House. This Guinea Postal Order question had been before the House of Commons for many years, and the introduction of the Bill had been rendered necessary by the fact that no power was given in the original Act for issue of orders of this denomination. The Bill had the warm support of the Postmaster-General; the goodwill of the Leaders of the Opposition, of the Leader of the Nationalist Party, and of the leading commercial men in the House. With regard to the question of cost he could assure hon. Members that the issue of postal orders was the most profitable branch of Post Office business. On lost orders alone the Government made a profit of £12,000 a year, and under the contract which had just been entered into, the saving would be more than sufficient to cover the cost of the new issue.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: There is the cost of the printing, and the loss of the extra halfpenny now obtained.

*MR. HENNIKER HEATON said the saving would also cover the cost of supplying counterfoils. The bankers of the United Kingdom had in a most generous manner withdrawn their objection to the issue of guinea orders and he would like to point out how convenient it would be to many persons to be able to send away their contributions to charitable and other societies in a single order. The guinea was popular because the shilling paid the expenses, and the charitable institutions, etc., had £1 clear. He hoped that after this explanation hon. Members would allow the Bill to pass.

MR. VICARY GIBBS (Hertfordshire, St. Albans) next rose.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to move that the Question be now put.

*MR. SPEAKER: I hope that will be unnecessary and that the debate will not be unduly prolonged.

MR. VICARY GIBBS said he only wanted to point out that no account had been taken by the hon. Member of indirect loss on cheques for a guinea which would no longer be drawn.

*MR. HENNIKER HEATON: Not one farthing.

MR. VICARY GIBBS said he could not accept that view. He felt that there would be a loss on cheques which would cease to be drawn if the Bill were passed. He, like other hon. Members, resented the absence, of the representative of the Post Office, but possibly as the hon. Member for Canterbury long ago earned the sobriquet of "the Postmaster-General" the present state of the Front Bench was intended to be some sort of official recognition that postal matters were in future to be left in his hands.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

MILITARY LANDS BILL.

[THIRD READING.]

Order for the Third Reading read.

SIR A. HAYTER (Walsall) said he did not rise to oppose the Bill, but he wished to point out a flaw in it. The Bill, while regulating the hiring of land by County and Borough Councils, to be afterwards leased to Volunteers for shooting practice, omitted to deal with the case of the purchase of land, which was also contemplated in one of the clauses. That defect, he feared, vitiated the whole Bill. It was strictly the business of the Government to concern itself with this question, and a Bill which involved a charge on the rates should not, in his opinion, be in the hands of a private Member.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Midy) said he had allowed the Bill to pass former stages with the greatest possible reluctance. It was practically a Government Bill, introduced through the medium of a private Member; it would enable Councils, at the expense of the rates, to hire land for purely military purposes, and he protested against the opening given by the Bill to the military authorities, to place what were really Imperial obligations on the local rates. The Volunteer forces now constituted a distinct part of our Army Corps system. He believed there was nothing to prevent the Crown, by Royal Proclamation, calling out the Volunteers to serve in any part of the world. They were part of the military organisation of the country, and local rates ought not, therefore, to be saddled with any part of their cost. Finally, he thought they had good cause for complaint that the Government were not represented in the House at that moment.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said there was nobody more capable of appreciating the importance of a Bill or its true character than the hon. Member for Mid Lanark. If ever there were a Bill public in its nature and in its essence, a Bill which ought to be proposed by the Government, it was this Bill. And yet they had not a single member of the Government, concerned with this kind of Bill—the Secretary of State for War, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Local Government Board—present to advise them. The Bill set up an entirely new principle; it enabled County and Borough Councils to buy land anywhere, and to pledge the local rates for the purpose. There was absolutely no limitation. It was, in fact, a public Bill dealing with a public matter; yet there was no Member of the Government present to advise the House. He felt very much inclined to move the adjournment; but perhaps a prolongation of the debate for a little longer would give some member of the Government an opportunity of putting in an appearance.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND thought that the experience of the past few years would have ensured more strict attention being paid by the representatives of the War Office in that House to matters affecting the Army. Widespread discontent and criticism had of late been directed against the management of the war; yet here they had still another instance of carelessness and laxity. It was a perfectly monstrous state of things that on the consideration of a Bill which was for a purely military purpose not a single representative of the War Office was present. This was the second Bill dealing with a great Government Department which had been under the attention of the House, and yet not a single member of the Government had thought it worth while to look in even for five minutes. It was not treating the House with proper respect. What would the outside public say if it could see the state of the House at that moment. Here was a Bill dealing with a new development of Army matters; yet those who represented the War Office were treating it contemptuously and would not take the trouble to come into the House if only for a few moments. Possibly the absence of the Secretary of State for War was as valuable as his presence would be, but hearing, as they had done of late, so much about the Imperial spirit of the Empire and the influence exerted by our Volunteer forces in all parts of the world, he felt it was regrettable that members of the Government should be too busy formulating plans to make the food of the people dearer to give the least possible attention to a Bill intended to make the defensive forces of the country more efficient. It was a monstrous state of affairs; and if the result should be that the British Empire should go to pieces, the Secretary of State for War would be altogether to blame.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) pointed out that this Bill, which gave County Councils or Borough Councils power to hire land by agreement, was merely an extension of the Act of 1892, under which the Councils had power to purchase land by agreement. The War Office had realised that it had not always been easy for County

and Borough Councils to purchase land, although it was possible to hire it, and hence it had been deemed desirable to give this authority. No doubt it would have been better if matters had been entirely kept under the control of the War Office and not delegated to County or Borough Councils, for it was not the proper function of the latter bodies to attend to the military requirements of the country. But this after all was not a new measure; it was merely an extension of one which had already been passed, and the compulsory clauses having been omitted he did not think he could any longer object to the Bill, especially as the military authorities were in favour of it. As to the absence of the Members of the Government he presumed that they did not anticipate any opposition to the Bill at that stage. If the House desired to take advice on that point it was in their power to do so, but at the same time he pointed out that this was not a new power, inasmuch as the County Councils now had power to purchase rifle ranges.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he gathered there was a general feeling in the House that a representative of the War Office should have been present to advise the House upon this Bill, and he also understood the hon. Baronet who had just sat down to say that both the War Office and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War approved of this Bill or that the military authorities were favourable to it. Whether they were favourable or not a representative of the War Office ought to be present to advise the House. He thought it was a very good Bill, and therefore in the absence of the Secretary of State for War he would undertake to defend it. The question of handing over any sort of military duties in connection with the Volunteers to local bodies had been pointed to as being the most important question in this Bill. He had always held that the Volunteer forces would profit and increase the further they were withdrawn from the purview of the War Office, and that much advantage could be obtained by them if they could be put more and more under local bodies. It was quite true the local management of Volunteers might.

clash with their duties in the so-called Army Corps Scheme, and anything that conflicted with that might be deemed a misfortune; but never having taken that view he did not regard that argument as one worthy of consideration or one that ought to weigh with the House. The value of the Volunteer forces of this country depended largely upon the local training which they received. The idea of the War Office at the present time was that Volunteers should only be trained on large open spaces. He read a few days previously that a brigade of Volunteers were taken from Newcastle to Salisbury Plain for the purposes of training; but he might point out to the House that a Volunteer was only wanted in England, and in many cases he would have to fight among the hedgerows of his own county. Anything more absurd than to take them away from the country that they knew in order to train them on Salisbury Plain it was impossible to conceive. It was of the greatest advantage to train men locally, and to use for that purpose the country which they had a special knowledge of. The value of such training had been seen in the Boer War, and in order that local Volunteers should be trained in that knowledge this Bill, or something like it, was absolutely essential; and who could better make arrangements with the farmers in the neighbourhood for the use of the land for this purpose than the local authorities. Would not they be able to make far better arrangements than the War Office authority. (Lord Stanley at this moment entered the House.) He was glad to see his noble friend now in his place, because he was perfectly certain that his noble friend would agree with every word that he had said and would be glad to offer his thanks for the manner in which he had sustained the position of the War Office. This Bill offered facilities for manœuvres, and there was nothing in its form to prevent the establishment of local rifle ranges, upon which the efficiency of the Volunteer rifle corps of the country so much depended. The Bill also offered means of economy, because it provided for the manœuvring of the Volunteers in their own counties instead of the absurd practice of taking a brigade from Newcastle to Salisbury Plain at a great expense and waste of

their time in the journey there and back, and at a great cost to the public. The troops would be better trained in their own locality, and a great economy would be effected. Therefore he hoped that the absence of the Secretary of State for War on this occasion would not be deemed a reason for the rejection of this Bill, the benefit of which was incontrovertible, and which if passed could not fail to put the Volunteers in a very much better position than that in which they had hitherto been placed.

*SIR WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk), said he was not disposed to follow the hon. Member for Oldham into the matter of whether it is expedient to bring Volunteers from Newcastle to Salisbury Plain, as the subject had no connection with the Bill before the House, beyond remarking that if Volunteers are to be brigaded with Regular troops, it follows that if they are not to be sent from home to meet the Regular troops at a rendezvous, the Regular troops must be taken to them. He then went on to say that a Bill of this character would find few friends in the House. He was not a military man, but he was a ratepayer, and he objected to the cost of a matter of this kind being put upon the local rates. It was, in his opinion, a national affair, and should be dealt with by the War Office.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH (Bristol, W.) hoped that the House would not be influenced by the hon. Member's objection. He did not wish to argue the question as between rates and taxes, though he had some little sympathy with the taxpayer. It must be remembered that in the Bills which had been passed by Parliament in recent years the taxpayers had been very heavily charged with expenditure for the provision of ranges at the more important centres of military administration, and he did not think it would be practicable to impose upon them the cost of providing local ranges purely for Volunteer practice all over Great Britain. But he had another argument in favour of the Bill. It seemed to him to be very desirable to keep up the ancient interest of local bodies in the Volunteer force; and that would be effected to some extent, at any

rate, by the present measure, to the general saving of the expenditure of public money. He was convinced that the County Council of Gloucestershire, for example, who were extremely anxious that the Bill should become law, would be able to obtain a local range more cheaply and perhaps with more regard to the general interests of the public than would be practicable for the War Office. He believed that the Bill not only had the support of his own County Council, but also the practically unanimous support of public opinion, at any rate in that part of England. It was a very small measure; and for his part he would have been glad if it had gone rather further, and, under proper safeguards, enabled the local authorities, perhaps with the assent of the War Office, to bring compulsory powers to bear for the purchase of land. But he welcomed the Bill in any case and hoped the Government would support it.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton) said that he felt he owed the House an apology for not having been present when the Bill was brought up for a Third Reading; but it had passed through its previous stages without a single word, and he confessed that he had looked upon it as a Bill which would pass by the unanimous wish of the House. He still hoped that that would be the case. The War Office were entirely in favour of the permissive clause allowing agreements between local authorities and landlords for the hire of land for the purposes of the measure, and they had always held that the more they associated the local authorities with local military enterprise the better it would be. In this case he was perfectly certain that it would be much cheaper for the country.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

INCEST BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

*MR. TALBOT (Oxford University) said the only object he had in moving the Amendments standing in his name upon

the Paper was to make the Bill more perfect. For the Bill itself, he thought his hon. and gallant friend deserved great credit, and for having dealt vigorously with a very painful subject. The first one he proposed to move was to leave out "of or above the age of thirteen years," and the reason he moved it was this: that if they intended to punish this horrible crime effectually there was no object in limiting the age. He begged to move.

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out the words, 'of or above the age of thirteen years.'—
(Mr. Talbot.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said he had endeavoured to meet the wishes of hon. Members on both sides who had assisted him in framing this Bill. It was fully discussed in the Grand Committee on Law, at which the Attorney-General was present, and various recommendations of the hon. and learned Member were taken into consideration. The object of putting in the limit of thirteen was to meet various recommendations made on both sides of the House. He believed also that any person committing an offence against any person under that age would be amenable under another Act. That being so, he would ask the hon. Member not to press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) having been called upon,

MR. GALLOWAY said on a point of order he had an Amendment of which he had given notice, which would come before the Amendment of the hon. Baronet. He desired in Clause 1, page 1, line 7, after the word "daughter" to insert the word "step-daughter." He hoped the Amendment would be accepted, because, in his belief, the experience of the Bill would show that those were the most serious class of cases.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said they had endeavoured to draft this Bill in such a

way as to limit the number of relations as much as was possible, because they had felt that the moment they went too far abroad it might be impossible to meet the objections that might be raised.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL) Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) asked upon a point of order whether it was within the purview of the Bill to make "incest" that which was not incest at present. Nobody doubted that it was a most abominable thing that there should be such a crime, but he submitted that they would be going outside the Bill if they made punishable as a criminal offence something which was not incest according to the present law.

*MR. H. D. GREENE (Shrewsbury) asked if the hon. and learned Gentleman had looked at the table of consanguinity and affinity in the prayer-book, or the Matrimonial Causes Act.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, after the word 'daughter' to insert the word 'step-daughter.'"—*(Mr. Galloway.)*

Question, "That the word 'step-daughter' be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON said he desired that the Bill should become law, but he hoped consideration would be given to the extension he proposed to make by the Amendment standing in his name. The 27th Section of the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 provided that a wife should be able to obtain a dissolution of her marriage on the ground among others of incestuous adultery on the part of her husband. All the other offences named in that Act were already punishable by law, and they wanted to maintain the strength of the law, and wanted to show that this country regarded these matters as very serious matters. It was desirable that these offences, whether committed with persons related to the husband by consanguinity or only by affinity, at all events during the lifetime of his wife, ought to be treated with equal gravity.

Colonel Lockwood.

Incestuous adultery had been defined as adultery committed by a husband with a person with whom, if his wife were dead, he could not wed, owing to his relationship with her either by consanguinity or affinity. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, after the word 'sister,' to insert the words 'or who, being married, has committed incestuous adultery within the meaning of Section 27 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857.'"—*(Sir William Tomlinson.)*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. H. D. GREENE said he was in no way associated with the promotion of this Bill, but he had taken considerable interest in the discussion in the Grand Committee on Law when no one who desired to extend the Bill ventured to go so far as the hon. Baronet, who now desired to extend it to entirely different offences to those comprised in it. Incest was at present an offence under the ecclesiastical laws of this country, and it was open under a statute of Edward I. for any one to report a case to the Bishop of the diocese, who could impose either a pecuniary or corporeal penance. He understood from experts in ecclesiastical law that the Bishops had usually been satisfied in the past with a pecuniary penance, and that from very rich people large sums had been obtained. It was desired now to make the offence of incest punishable as a crime. When making incest a crime punishable by penal servitude or imprisonment, it was desirable to limit it as much as possible, and the promoters had limited it to "grand-daughter, daughter, or sister." They had introduced no person related by affinity, and had perhaps not gone as far as they might, by not including persons connected by affinity. But the hon. Baronet asked for the inclusion of quite a different matter, and by introducing this Amendment was asking the House to make punishable what hereafter might become the law of the land by a Bill a little lower down on the Paper. The country was not yet ripe for making adultery punishable as a crime. If they were seeking to punish immorality generally he would earnestly support his hon. friend, but he was not desirous of going

with him in introducing such an Amendment into a Bill so limited in its scope as this, which for the first time was to make the crime of incest punishable as a crime. He heartily agreed that incestuous adultery should be punished, but he could not support such an Amendment being introduced in such a limited Bill as this.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said his hon. friend would see the difficulty in which they were placed; the effect of such an Amendment would be that the Bill would be rejected in another place. They were most anxious that it should pass, and therefore he would ask his hon. friend to withdraw the Amendment.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON said he responded with great reluctance to the appeal of the hon. Baronet. He was exceedingly sorry to hear that there was likely to be a difficulty in dealing with the Bill elsewhere if his Amendment was adopted, and under the circumstances he begged leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. TALBOT said that the Amendment which he now proposed to move was not one which by any possibility could endanger the prospects of the Bill in this House or elsewhere. The object of this Amendment was to preserve to the Judge absolute discretion in passing sentence. Everybody conversant with the criminal law knew that the circumstances under which an offence might be committed differed very widely, and that an offence committed by one person might not be by any means of equal gravity when committed by another, having regard to the attendant circumstances. Under those circumstances, he desired to leave the Judge absolute discretion in dealing with the cases brought before him. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, to leave out the words 'and not exceeding seven years.'—(Mr. Talbot.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. GALLOWAY said that in his opinion there were two objections to this Amendment. In passing criminal statutes it was, in the first place, usual to put in a limitation of this kind, and if they gave unlimited scope they would have different Judges passing different sentences for the same offence, than which there was nothing more likely to bring the law into ridicule and contempt, and nothing which did so much harm to the administration of the law. He hoped, therefore, the Amendment would not be persisted in.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said he was very reluctant to accept such an Amendment, and he hoped his hon. friend would withdraw it.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.) said he hoped the Amendment would not be accepted for the reasons pointed out by the hon. Member for South-West Manchester. They were for the first time making a crime and a crime of a very special character. They were familiar in the law with cases by which the public conscience had been shocked by the immense disparity of the sentences passed by Judges for the same offence. In those cases, although the Judges endeavoured to base their decisions on common principles, there were always individual members of the Bench who felt conscientiously impelled to give effect to their own individual views. It would be a great misfortune, and tend largely to prevent due administration of this Bill if savage sentences were imposed. He thought the restriction was a useful one.

*MR. H. D. GREENE said he did not think that the right hon. Member could point to any Statute that imposed a criminal liability where such a restriction was not put in, but his reason for desiring that this Amendment should not be pressed at this moment was that carnal knowledge of a child under thirteen was already punishable, and carnal knowledge of a person between thirteen and sixteen was amenable to a maximum penalty of two years hard labour. They were now going to give the Judge the power to punish these offences in a different manner, and therefore they ought not to give a minimum penalty and leave it to the

fancy of a Judge to impose any sentence which he might be impelled to impose by sentiment. They must fix a maximum beyond which he could not travel. He hoped, under the circumstances, the Amendment would be withdrawn.

*MR. TALBOT: said that after the observations which had been made, although he could not withdraw the Amendment he would not put the House to the trouble of dividing upon it. He would rather that it was negatived.

Question put and agreed to.

MR. VICARY GIBBS said the Bill first dealt with consanguinity, but the Amendment incorporated in it extended to cases of affinity. If they included step-daughter they must of necessity accept the Amendment he now proposed to move, which was Clause 2, page 1, line 25, after "brother" to insert step-grandfather, step-father, step-son, step-grandson or step-brother. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 25, after the word 'brother,' to insert the words 'stepgrandfather, step-father, or stepson.'"—(Mr. Vicary Gibbs.)

Question, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill," put, and negatived.

*MR. TALBOT said he now came to his last Amendment on the Paper, which was to leave out Clause 5. The object of this Amendment was to enact that these offences need not necessarily be tried at the Assizes. As the House was aware, Quarter Sessions very often sat between the times of the Assizes, and he submitted that they might very well be tried at the Quarter Sessions under special circumstances. The result would be that a person charged might not be kept in custody for so long a period before trial.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 9, to leave out Clause 5."—(Mr. Talbot.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. H. D. Greene.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington) said there were several very grave offences which were, in his opinion, very wisely withheld from trial at Quarter Sessions and only allowed to be tried by judges at Assizes. This was a very serious offence, and ought, in his opinion, to be tried before the most competent Court.

SIR EDWARD CARSON entirely agreed with the hon. and learned Member. They were creating this afternoon an offence of a very serious nature, with the maximum penalty of seven years penal servitude.

*MR. H. D. GREENE said he hoped the hon. Member would now be satisfied and would withdraw his Amendment, but his objection to the Amendment was that it only pertained to the first half of the clause. To leave the whole clause out seemed to him to be proceeding too rapidly in the line of humane legislation.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. GRETTON (Derbyshire, S.) said there was no reason why this Bill should not apply to Scotland and Ireland, unless it was suggested that as these offences were unknown there the Bill was not required. He therefore begged to move that Clause 6 be left out of the Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 12, to leave out Clause 6."—(Mr. Gretton.)

"Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone) said this crime had never been heard of in Ireland, and that was a reason why this Amendment should not be agreed to. It would, he thought, be also very unfortunate to spring a Bill of this kind upon the House in the absence of nearly all the Irish representatives. In ancient times there were certain offences so bad that no law was made against them, because it was inconceivable that such offences could be committed. That fact was present in his mind at this moment, and although he desired that the laws of the

two countries should be as uniform as possible, and although he had no objection whatever to this Bill, he thought such an Amendment was unfair when the Bill had been read a second time on the distinct understanding that it should not apply to either Scotland or Ireland.

MR. MALCOLM (Suffolk, Stowmarket) thought the clause should be omitted unless some reason could be given for the exemption. He failed to see why England should be made the *corpus vile* upon which to try this experiment. The offence with which the Bill proposed to deal was not confined to the country south of the Tweed, and it would be a good thing to extend the measure to Scotland.

SIR EDWARD CARSON hoped the House would not accept the Amendment. He had not the least objection to the Bill extending to Ireland, but when Bills had been introduced containing a clause of this kind, and had gone through Committee with the clause still intact, it was not fair to Members from Scotland or Ireland to propose to omit the clause on a Friday afternoon, when they might reasonably have gone away satisfied that the point would not be discussed, especially as no Amendments dealing with the matter appeared on the Paper. Under these circumstances he hoped the House would reject the Amendment.

MR. CALDWELL pointed out that the law of Scotland was much stronger on this subject than the law of England as proposed in the Bill. It should be noted, however, that prosecutions in Scotland were undertaken only by the Lord Advocate, so that it would be impossible to apply this Bill to Scotch procedure without a special clause being introduced. He suggested that it would be advisable to restrict prosecutions under the Bill to cases authorised by the Attorney-General or the Solicitor-General.

MR. GRETTON asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD moved that the Bill be read a third time.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a third time," put, and agreed.

INNKEEPERS' LIABILITY BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee) considered.

The first Motion on the Paper was a new clause, standing in the name of the hon. Member for South-West Manchester, dealing with the application of the Act to Scotland.

Clause 1 :

*MR. SPEAKER ruled the proposed new clause out of order, as the Bill did not apply to Scotland. He was aware that an Amendment lower down on the Paper proposed to make the measure applicable to Scotland, but if such Motions as the one referred to were allowed, it would be possible to have on the Paper any number of clauses dealing with the application of a Bill to Scotland or Ireland, to discuss them for several days, and then, when the Amendment to extend the operation of the measure to Scotland or Ireland was reached, the House might by a large majority decide that it should not be so extended. He therefore ruled the proposed new clause out of order.

MR. GALLOWAY moved a new clause exempting from the operation of the Bill towns of over 50,000 inhabitants, and the County of London. He understood that the promoters of the Bill would offer no objection to the clause, and, that being so, he should not move the remaining Amendments of which he had given notice.

A Clause (Exemption).—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion. The question

was very fully discussed in Committee, and, though he would not object to the exemption of towns of over 50,000 inhabitants, the County of London contained a number of rural parishes to which it was desirable the Bill should apply.

MR. GALLOWAY said he understood the hon. Member would accept the clause, otherwise he would have argued it at greater length.

SIR EDWARD CARSON could not see the slightest reason for the insertion of the Amendment. There was no reason why an innkeeper in a town of 50,000 inhabitants should not carry out a common law obligation just as much as an innkeeper in a rural village.

MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) differed from the learned Solicitor-General. This was not entirely a question of law. It was simply a question of whether the exigencies of the situation demanded the supply of these refreshments. Nobody could reasonably contend that in large towns there was the same necessity as in the rural parts of the country.

MR. VICARY GIBBS supported the new clause on the ground of common sense. Obligations should not be imposed upon innkeepers unless they were for the convenience of the public. There were restaurants and refreshment rooms within the reach of everybody in the Metropolis and all large towns, and the Bill was not required in such cases. He understood that the Home Office were prepared to accept the new clause, and he would like to hear their views on the matter.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON contended that the proposed new clause would be

utterly repugnant to the whole scope of the Bill. The first section simply defined the obligations which were cast upon innkeepers under the existing common law as some correlative to the many advantages enjoyed by them under exceptional legislation. The only obligation cast upon innkeepers by the first section was that they should supply the reasonable demands of travellers for board, lodging, refreshments, and other accommodation, not in any event, but only if they happened to have at their disposal accommodation of the nature demanded. That was a legal obligation, and he should have thought a common-sense obligation. Why an innkeeper should, from mere caprice, refuse a reasonable demand for accommodation which he had at his disposal he was at a loss to understand, and he submitted that the clause had no foundation in common sense, to which the hon. Member for St. Albans appealed.

MR. GRETTON explained that his name was on the back of the Bill, and he desired it to pass. He did not think this clause of exemption was fatal to the principle of the Bill, but it was unreasonable on the ground of common sense. The whole purpose of the Bill was to make more easy the application of the common law. Why they should have one law for the country and one for the larger towns he could not conceive; but rather than endanger the Bill he thought he might venture to appeal to the promoters to allow the clause to be read a second time.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 75; Noes, 130. (Division List, No. 134.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis

Sir Brampton Gurdon.

Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
Fisher, William Hayes
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gore, Hon. GRC. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)

Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Knowles, Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. N.R.*)
Lee, Arthur H. (*Hants. Fareham*)
Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
 Macdonia, John Cumming
 Malcolm, Ian
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Myers, William Henry
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
 Pierpoint, Robert

Plummer, Walter R.
 Purvis, Robert
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Smith, H. C. (*North'mb. Tyneside*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (*Sheffield*)
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Warde, Colonel C. E.

Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Rt. Hn. J. Powell. (*Birm*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Mr. Galloway and Mr.
 Vicary Gibbs.

NOES.

Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
 Allen, Chas. P. (*Glos., Stroud*)
 Arkwright, John Stanhope
 Asher, Alexander
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Austin, Sir John
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Barran, Rowland Hirst
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Burt, Thomas
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
 Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
 Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
 Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
 Cramer, William Randal
 Crombie, John William
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davies, Alfred (*Carmarthen*)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardigan*)
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
 Duke, Henry Edward
 Duncan, J. Hastings
 Dunn, Sir William
 Emmott, Alfred
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Fenwick, Charles
 Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
 Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
 Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
 Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Furness, Sir Christopher
 Garfit, William
 Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
 Gorat, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
 Grant, Corrie
 Griffith, Ellis J.

Groves, James Grimbale
 Hamilton, Marq. of (*London*)
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
 Helme, Norval Watson
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Howard, J. (*Midd., Tottham*)
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (*Accrington*)
 Leng, Sir John
 Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Evesham*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 London, W.
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 M'Arthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benj.
 Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
 Morgan, David J. (*Walthamstow*)
 Murphy, John
 Murray, Chas. J. (*Coventry*)
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
 O'Shee, James John
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Philippe, John Wynford
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Rea, Russell
 Redmond, William (*Clare*)

Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Eifion*)
 Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Russell, T. W.
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Sanderson, Rt. Hn. Col. E. J.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Spear, John Ward
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (*Oxj'd Univ.*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Thomas, David Alfred (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, F. Freeman (*Hastings*)
 Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomkinson, James
 Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
 Walton, Joseph (*Barnsley*)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. R.*)
 Wilson, John (*Falkirk*)
 Wilson, J. W. (*Worcestersh., N.*)
 Wolf, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wood, James
 Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Brampton Gurdon
 and Mr. Gretton.

MR. GALLOWAY said that as the agreement which he understood had been arrived at had not been carried out he held himself at liberty to move the further Amendments standing on the Paper. He desired to move a new clause giving a right of appeal. The penalty under the Bill was not a large one, and it could not be contended that

the measure proposed any revolution in the law. He submitted, however, that innkeepers were entitled to an appeal against the decisions of lay magistrates, who, although they discharged their duties with perseverance, credit and industry, were not trained lawyers, and had to depend largely for their decisions upon the clerk to the Court. It was all

very well for the hon. Member to say "agreed" now; but why was not the arrangement carried out before?

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON said the hon. Member was entirely mistaken in supposing any agreement had been entered into.

Mr. GALLOWAY said he did not suggest that the hon. Member had deliberately broken an arrangement; what he said was that he understood they had come to an agreement.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is obvious that there has been a misunderstanding on both sides.

Mr. GALLOWAY said it was very unfortunate that the hon. Member, if he was prepared to agree to this clause now, did not take the same view in the Grand Committee.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) rose to a point of order. The hon. Member in charge of the Bill had expressed his willingness to accept the clause; was the hon. Member opposite entitled to go on discussing it?

*MR. SPEAKER said he could not interfere on the point of order. Every Member of the House had a right to express his opinion. At the same time, seeing this was the last private Members' day, he hoped the hon. Member would not take up time in pressing a Motion which obviously would be accepted.

Mr. GALLOWAY said that after that expression of opinion he would not pursue the matter further. He admitted, however, that he was speaking under a feeling of some resentment at what had taken place.

A Clause (Right of Appeal).

"Any person aggrieved by a conviction made by a Court of summary jurisdiction under this Act may appeal therefrom to a Court of quarter sessions."—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time, and added to the Bill.

Mr. Galloway.

Mr. GALLOWAY moved an Amendment to Clause 1 to confine the innkeeper's liability to his ordinary hours of business. It was unreasonable that an innkeeper in a country village should be compelled to supply refreshment at all hours of the day and night. The whole point of this Amendment turned upon the construction placed upon the word "reasonable." He thought there ought to be some reasonable limit to the liability. He hoped the Amendment would be accepted.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'from opening until closing time.'"—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON said that although he agreed with the spirit of this Amendment he thought the word "reasonable" covered the object of the hon. Member for Manchester.

SIR EDWARD CARSON hoped the House would not accept this Amendment, because they would be laying down a different construction of the word "reasonable" to that which already existed. The first section declared the innkeeper liable to accommodate a traveller at any reasonable time, but they were asked by this Amendment to limit it so that it should only apply within certain hours. The very time when a person might be coming into a small village or town might be at a later hour than the hours of closing. The innkeeper was protected by the words "reasonable demand." He hoped the House would not impose a different liability to that which already existed.

LORD HUGH CECIL thought the expression in the clause was too wide while the Amendment was much more limited. The only question he had a doubt about was whether it was worth while putting the House to a division. As the hon. Member opposite had conducted the Bill in a conciliatory way he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON thought it was a very unreasonable ground for not supporting a reasonable Amendment to say that that attitude was adopted because of the unconciliatory attitude of some hon. Member of the House. The speech of the Solicitor-General upon this point was absolutely conclusive. Surely it was sufficiently clear that the first clause of this Bill merely defined the existing obligation. The present Bill substituted new machinery for the old cumbrous method of procedure. He wished to point out how utterly destructive the Amendment would be. Take the case of a country inn where a traveller might arrive a few minutes after ten o'clock at night and desire to have a bed for the night. Suppose the innkeeper had ample accommodation but capriciously and negligently refused that accommodation. If the Amendment were carried the innkeeper would be protected in taking such a course.

MR. LOYD (Berkshire, Abingdon) said the Bill did not annul the common law but provided summary remedy in case accommodation was unreasonably

refused. The Amendment, though it would be better lower down, would confine this remedy to cases of refusal during opening hours, leaving innkeepers liable, with regard to charges which were more serious, to be dealt with by indictment at common law. This proposal had been treated as if it was a preposterous Amendment, but it seemed to him to be reasonable and sensible and worth considering. The question was, should they limit this procedure, intended, they were told, to stimulate publicans in out-lying districts to provide proper refreshments, to the cases where they refused it during the ordinary opening hours and leave the closing hours to be dealt with under the old procedure? He hoped the summary procedure would be limited to accommodation and refreshment during ordinary hours, and then the publican would come under the common law for the more serious charge of refusing lodgings at night, which ought to be investigated by a jury on indictment.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 73 ; Noes, 140. (Division List No. 135.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Austin, Sir John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Baldwin, Alfred
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bull, William James
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore

Flower, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. Vicary (*St. Albans*)
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutton, John (*Yorks, N.E.*)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.

Knowles, Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lee, A. H. (*Hants, Fareham*)
Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
Lucas, Reginald J. (*Portsmouth*)
Macdonald, John Cumming
McKillop, W. (*Sligo, North*)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
Myers, William Henry
Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
Pierpoint, Robert

Plummer, Walter R.
Purvis, Robert
Reid, James (*Greenock*)
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander

Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (*Sheffield*)
Welby, Lt.-Col. ACE (*Taunton*)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (*Bath*)

Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Galloway and Mr.
Groves.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Allen, Charles P. (*Glouc., Stroud*)
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
Burt, Thomas
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ.*)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. J.
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crossley, Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dalsiel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (*Carmarthen*)
Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardigan*)
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Durn, Sir William
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
Evans, Saml. T. (*Glamorgan*)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
Ferguson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (*Manch'r*)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
Furness, Sir Christopher

Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
Harnsworth, R. Leicester
Harris, Frederick Leverton
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somerset E*)
Howard, J. 'Midd., *Tottenham*
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Johnstone, Heywood
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
Kennedy, Patrick James
Labouchere, Henry
Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. NR*)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Accrington*)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leng, Sir John
Long, Col. Charles W. (*Evesham*)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowe, Francis William
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
McArthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
McLaren, Sir Charles Benj.
Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
Morgan, David J. (*Walthamstow*)
Morley, Charles (*Breconshire*)
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Philippe, John Wynford
Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard

Power, Patrick Joseph
Rattigan, Sir William Henry
Rea, Russell
Redmond, William (*Clare*)
Rickett, J. Compton
Rigg, Richard
Roberts, John Bryn (*Eifion*)
Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Russell, T. W.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunders, Rt. Hon. Col. Edw. J.
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Charles Hilton (*Lincoln*)
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H. C. (*North'mb. Tyneside*)
Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
Spear, John Ward
Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (*Ox'f'd Univ.*)
Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
Thomas, F. Freeman (*Hastings*)
Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
Thornburn, Sir Walter
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
Walton, Joseph (*Barnsley*)
Wason, E. (*Oldham*)
Wason, J. Cathcart (*Orkney*)
White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. R.*)
Wilson, John (*Falkirk*)
Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
Wilson, J. W. (*Worcestersh., N.*)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wood, James
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wylie, Alexander
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir Brampton Gardon and
Mr. Corrie Grant.

Clause 1, agreed to.

Clause 2.

MR. GALLOWAY moved an Amendment with the object of excluding from the provisions of the Bill an habitual drunkard to whom the sale of liquor

was refused under the Licensing Act of 1902.

Amendment proposed—

"After the word 'manner' to insert the words 'or is an habitual drunkard to whom the sale of liquor has been refused under Section 6 of the Licensing Act, 1902.'"—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

Amendment agreed to.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY moved as an Amendment to Sub-section (b) of the clause, which excluded from the provisions of the Bill a traveller who failed to tender "a sum adequate to the cost of the accommodation demanded," to substitute for the expression "a sum adequate to the cost" the words "a reasonable price."

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he did not think those words were known to the law.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said if they were not known to the law they were known to common sense.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the words 'a sum adequate to the cost' and insert the words 'a reasonable price.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clauses 3 to 5 agreed to.

Clause 6 :

MR. GALLOWAY moved an Amendment to exclude Scotland from the operation of the Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 24, to leave out the words 'Scotland or.'"—(*Mr. Galloway.*)

The doors having been closed for the Division, it appeared there were no tellers for the Ayes. MR. SPEAKER said that, of course, if no one would tell for the Ayes there could be no division. The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for SCOTLAND thereupon declared that he would tell for the Ayes, and MR. CALDWELL said he would do so likewise.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House divided :—Ayes, 140; Noes, 52. (Division List, No. 136.)

AYES.

Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Allen, Charles P. (*Glouc. Stroud*)
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burt, Thomas
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ.*)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cochrane, Hon. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cross, H. Shepherd (*Bolton*)
Crosley, Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles

Dalsiel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (*Cardmarthen*)
Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardign*)
Delany, William
Dewar, John A. (*Inverness-sh.*)
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Charles M. (*Lanark*)
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
Ferguson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Man'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Sir Walter (*Derby Co.*)
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Grant, Corrie
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londonderry*)

Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. (*Somerset E*)
Howard, J. (*Midd., Tot'tham*)
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (*Morley*)
Jebb, Sir Richard Clarrhouse
Johnstone, Heywood
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (*Carnarvonshire*)
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kennedy, Patrick James
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. NR*)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Accrington*)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Lough, Thomas
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lundon, W.
Macdonald, John Cumming

Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
 Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
 Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
 Morley, Charles (*Breconshire*)
 Murphy, John
 Nannetti, Joseph P.
 Newnes, Sir George
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
 Partington, Oswald
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
 Philipps, John Wynford
 Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Rea, Russell
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)

Rigg, Richard
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Eifion*)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Russell, T. W.
 Seely, Charles Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Renfrew*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, H. C. (*North'mb Tyneside*)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (*Lanarks.*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (*Oxford Univ.*)
 Taylor, Austin (*East Tooteth*)
 Thomas, David A. (*Merthyr*)
 Thomas, F. Freeman (*Hastings*)
 Thomas, J. A. (*Glam., Gower*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter

Tomkinson, James
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. F. H. (*Sheffield*)
 Wallace, Robert
 Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
 Walton, J. Lawson (*Leeds, S.*)
 Wason, J. Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
 White, Luke (*York., E. R.*)
 Wilson, John (*Falkirk*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wilson, J. W. (*Worcester., N.*)
 Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
 Wood, James
 Wylie, Alexander
 Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Mr. Dickson and Mr.
 Caldwell.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
 Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
 Austin, Sir John
 Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Bull, William James
 Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
 Chapman, Edward
 Charrington, Spencer
 Churchill, Winston Spencer
 Coddington, Sir William
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Flower, Ernest
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby-*(Salop)*
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)

Greene, Hy. D. (*Shrewsbury*)
 Grenfell, William Henry
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Hoare, Sir Samuel
 Hutton, John (*Yorks, N. R.*)
 Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
 Knowles, Lees
 Lee, A. H. (*Hants., Fareham*)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Evesham*)
 Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
 Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Cecil
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Morgan, D. J. (*Walthamstow*)
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer

Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Myers, William Henry
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Purvis, Robert
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Linchouse*)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Walton, Joseph (*Barnsley*)
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. R.*)
 Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. Galloway and Mr.
 Groves.

And, it being after half-past Five of the clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended by the Standing Committee, stood adjourned.

Further consideration to be resumed upon Monday next.

ADDENBROOKE'S HOSPITAL BILL.

As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

PISTOLS BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee considered.

A Clause (Sale of pistols to insane or intoxicated persons)—(*Lord Hugh Cecil*)—brought up, and read the first and second time, and added.

Amendments made to the Bill.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

MARKET GARDENERS' COMPENSATION BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged.

Bill withdrawn.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (*Somersetshire, Wellington*) stated that on Thursday next the Navy Estimates would be taken instead of the Irish Estimates, as had been arranged.

Adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 29th June, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with—

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7); South Shields Corporation.

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill: Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill. The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn: The order made on Tuesday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Leave given to the Select Committee not to sit again till Tuesday the 7th of July next.

Kip's Patents Bill [H.L.]; Birmingham District Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Bradford Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Yarborough, the Lord Middleton, and the Lord Glenesk be proposed to the House as Members of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Earl of Lytton, the Lord Bolton, and the Lord Hatherton,

and that the Lord Glenesk be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to.

Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Brougham and Vaux be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Earl of Belmore, and that the Lord Brougham and Vaux be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill; East Ham Improvement Bill; Great Western Railway Bill; Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill; North-Eastern Railway Bill; Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway (Extension of Time) Bill; Romford and District Tramways Bill; Wood Green Urban District Council Bill; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz.:

D. Bedford,
D. Newcastle,
E. Temple,
L. Berwick,
L. Ribblesdale (chairman);

agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next, at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Friday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill. Committee of the whole House (which stands appointed for this day), put off till To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill. Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 147.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

- No. 3009. Japan.
- No. 3010. France (Corsica).
- No. 3011. France (Dunkirk).
- No. 3012. China (Swatow).
- No. 3013. China (Kiungchow).
- No. 3014. Sweden (Stockholm and the Eastern Coast).
- No. 3015. Austria-Hungary (Trieste).

Presented [by Command]; and ordered to lie on the Table.

MERCHANT SEAMEN'S FUND.

Account of the receipts and expenditure under the Seamen's Fund Winding-up Act, from 1st January to 31st December, 1902.

LUNACY.

Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, to the Lord Chancellor.

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES (POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS FUND) (SAVINGS BANKS FUND) (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES FUND).

Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1902.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, declaring that Paul Powell, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department.

Laid before the House [pursuant to Act]; and ordered to lie on the Table.

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

Read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a to-morrow (The Earl of Mayo.) (No. 141.)

County Courts Jurisdiction Extension Bill (No. 142); Military Lands Bill (No. 143); Incest Bill (No. 144); Addenbrooke's Hospital Bill (No. 145); Pistols Bill (No. 146).

Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a, and to be printed.

FINANCE BILL.

Read 2^a (according to Order): Committee negatived: Then Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order) and dispensed with. Bill read 3^a, and passed.

IMPERIAL FISCAL POLICY.

*THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH: My Lords, I rise to call the attention of the House to statements made by the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary, and to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when His Majesty's Government intend to lay before Parliament their proposals to induce Germany to modify her tariff regulations with the Dominion of Canada. In doing so I must direct attention to statements that have been made by certain eminent men in regard to this matter. The Prime Minister stated a few days ago—

"I have not hesitated to say that if other methods failed I do not shrink from retaliation."

And the Colonial Secretary stated, at the same time, in the House of Commons—

"If there had been nothing in the condition of our colonies which justified allusion to this matter, I agree in that case there would have been no immediate urgency — immediate urgency not arising. But is the right hon. Gentleman (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman) so behind the times that he knows of no urgency?"

Now, we have got a statement which, I think, is of considerable importance, that this question of the tariff arrangements between Germany and Canada is one of urgency. We have been told, and I do not wish to quarrel with that statement, that the general question of our fiscal policy is one which cannot be decided at once, but ought to be left for an open investigation for several months. But then, my Lords, a debate was initiated by a noble Earl in this House. Lord Camperdown, on a question to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, and whilst I am sure that was not the intention of my noble friend, yet certainly the effect of his speech was to imply that in this matter Germany had acted in a way which was unduly and unnecessarily hostile both in spirit and intention to the Dominion of Canada. I am confident that there is not one of your Lordships who does not desire to cherish and to strengthen the ties between this country and Canada; but while I would wish to do that, and to do justice in every sense to our fellow-countrymen in Canada, I think it would be very mischievous if a wrong impression got abroad in regard to the conduct of Germany in this matter. The feeling that Germany had been behaving in a rather high-handed manner, to say the least of it, was rather emphasised in the speech of the noble Marquess the Foreign Secretary. In reply to the question and the speech of my noble friend Lord Camperdown, the noble Marquess rather compared the position of this country to that of an unprotected person in a lawless country. He said—

“To my mind the present position is almost intolerable. If we take the opportunity of supplying ourselves with a revolver, and let it be seen by everybody that we have got one, and that it is rather larger than anybody else's, my own impression is that we shall find ourselves carefully let alone.”

Certainly, the effect of those words in the country, whatever may have been the intention of the noble Marquess, was to emphasise and to give force to the view that in this matter we had a reasonable ground of complaint against the attitude of the German Government.

Let us examine shortly, but carefully, the history of this matter. Before 1897 the treaty between this country and Germany was in force which had existed since 1865. That treaty contained a stipulation that there should be absolute equality of treatment between German and British goods in British Colonial markets. In 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier changed that policy by giving to this country a preferential tariff in respect to goods sent from this country as against Germany. The result of that was that a correspondence arose between the German Government and our Government, and Lord Salisbury, who was at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

gave notice that he desired to terminate the existing treaty. The treaty was terminated, and Germany declined at the time to enter into a new treaty because she said her whole tariff system was going to be overhauled in 1903. And here I may venture to say that I do most earnestly trust that in any future arrangement with Germany the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will be able to secure the best treatment that can possibly be obtained for Canada. However, the new treaty was, as I say, declined by Germany, but in the meantime a *modus vivendi* was arrived at between the German Government and the British Government by which the most-favoured-nation clause was retained to this country, but, of course, Canada was exempted from it. The gist of the whole controversy depends upon the answer to the question whether or not Canada has been and is a fiscal unit of the Empire. It was maintained by the Canadian Government that Canadians had a right to be treated in precisely the same way as the States of the German Confederation, and as France, Spain, and Belgium treat their colonies. But, my Lords, the great difference between the two cases is that the colonies of France, Spain, and other European nations are answerable for the fiscal policy of the mother country without their consent. It has always been the policy of this country—I think I may say the admitted and the wise policy of this country ever since we lost the greatest colony we had in America through adopting a different policy—that the colonies should be perfectly independent and free in regard to their fiscal arrangements.

But apart from this general theory and this general practice, I would remind your Lordships that the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Charles Tupper, contracted a commercial treaty on behalf of Canada with France only a few years ago—namely, in 1893, and that treaty was ratified by Her Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada but not with the advice and consent of the Legislature in this country. Again, Lord Salisbury himself, in a despatch in reference to the treaty of

1865, which was being discussed in 1897, said that—

“For many years past the self-governing colonies have enjoyed complete tariff autonomy, and in all recent commercial treaties concluded by Great Britain it has been customary to insert an article empowering the self-governing colonies to adhere or not at will.”

At that time, and when Germany declined to make a new treaty, the matter dropped. Mr. Buxton was told in the House of Commons that no correspondence passed between the Governments of this country and of the Dominion of Canada, or between this country and Germany, on the subject for 1900, 1901 and 1902. Well, in 1903 came the Colonial Conference, when we all most heartily and cordially welcomed the Colonial Premiers to this country. In the Report of the Colonial Conference, page 39, will be found these words—

“In connection with the discussion of the question of preferential trade the Conference also considered the point raised by the Commonwealth Government as to the possibility of the colonies losing most-favoured-nation treatment in foreign countries in the event of their giving a tariff preference to British goods. As, however, the exports from the colonies to foreign countries are almost exclusively articles of food, or raw materials for various industries, the possibility of discrimination against them in foreign markets was not regarded as serious, and as the exports from foreign countries to the colonies are mainly manufactured articles it was recognised that if such discrimination did take place the colonies had an effective remedy in their own hands.”

Now, inasmuch as this matter was allowed to drop for several years and is stated in the Report of the Colonial Conference of last summer not to be serious, I cannot understand why now we are told by the Colonial Secretary that this is a matter of urgency.

I should like also to call your Lordships' attention to another aspect of the question. I am sure that the impression is very largely entertained abroad that the effect of these preferential tariffs is very considerable in regard to our trade with Canada. Sir Wilfrid Laurier started his policy in 1897. The preference that was then given to this country on goods amounted to 12½ per cent.; that, again, was raised in 1900 to 33 per cent., and yet, as I shall be able to show your Lordships, the trade between this country and Canada has

diminished since these preferential tariffs were in existence. One fact goes, perhaps, some way to explain that, and it is this, that the Canadian Government, before giving us these preferential tariffs, raised the duties on cotton goods and lowered the duties on raw material, which, of course, are the great American imports into Canada. The Canadian tariff rate on printed cottons was raised 30 to 35 per cent. before the preferential tariff came into play. Inasmuch as half the Canadian imports from this country consist of textiles, your Lordships will see that that was retaining the protection to the Canadian manufacturer as against the Lancashire manufacturer. What has been the practical result? Whereas in 1896, the year before the preferential tariff came into force, the percentage of imports from Great Britain into Canada represented 31 per cent. of the total imports, in 1902, that is two years after, the preferential tariff had been raised and we had been given a bonus of 33 per cent., the percentage had fallen to 25 per cent., whilst the percentage of imports from the United States into Canada had risen in the same period from 51 per cent. to 58½ per cent. Or to put it in another way, the average Canadian duty on English goods in 1901, which is the last year I could get at in order to make the calculation, was 18 per cent., whereas the average duty on American goods was only 12 per cent. Do not let it be supposed that in quoting these figures I have any grievance whatever against Canada. Canada has a perfect right to deal with these financial questions and to work out her own financial policy as she pleases; but what I do wish to bring out is this, that we are not gaining under the preferential system, and that Canada, I think most wisely, has taken the precaution in her own interest to do nothing to interfere with or to prevent imports from the United States.

Let us, on the other hand, compare the trade of this country with Germany. I take my figures from the Annual Trade Statement. In 1902 our imports from Germany were £33,500,000, and our exports £33,000,000. But we must remember that in connection with this trade we ought to add, if we want to arrive

at the profit to this country, the profit which we make in freights, because almost the whole of the trade is carried by English shipping. I do not want to unduly weary your Lordships with figures, but I should like to remind you that of this £33,500,000 of German imports, about £4,000,000 is represented by cotton and woollen manufactures and machinery. It might be said that we might retaliate upon Germany by putting a heavy duty on those goods which we ourselves are highly interested in, but I find that we export to Germany £9,500,000 of precisely the same class of goods. I want to ask another question with regard to this proposed retaliation on Germany. Is Holland to be included? A very large amount of the goods that come from Germany come through Holland, and it seems to me, on the face of it, rather unreasonable that Holland, with whom we have no commercial quarrels, should be included, and yet, if we do not include Holland, we shall have to resort to a sort of investigation as to origin, and every one connected with trade knows that these vexatious and inquisitorial proceedings hamper and are highly detrimental to general trade.

Let me, again, ask your Lordships to consider what are the facts and figures in regard to the trade of this country and Canada. I will not occupy your Lordships' time by statements of a general character, but will give you facts and figures, which are unanswerable, from the Statement of Trade of the United Kingdom. We import from Canada, annually, goods to the extent £18,000,000, which I believe represents approximately about half the total export trade of Canada, and we receive these £18,000,000 of Canadian goods without asking them to pay one penny of duty. On the other hand, what is our export trade to Canada? We export to Canada goods amounting to an annual value approximately of £8,000,000. But, my Lords, what is £8,000,000 compared with our exports to India, which amount to £40,000,000, and as compared with our exports to foreign countries, which stand at £178,500,000? In short, our export trade to Canada, having regard to the total export trade of this country,

represents but 3 per cent. of our total trade. Again I say no one desires more sincerely than I do to encourage trade between this country and Canada in a natural and legitimate way; but, dealing with figures—and this question must be decided upon economic grounds—I do not see how you can treat this Canadian question as apart from the general interests of the Empire at large.

The total export trade of Australia represents about £56,000,000, of which customers in this country take about £36,000,000. Therefore, in addition to half the export trade of Canada, we take two-thirds of the export trade of Australia, and we take all that trade absolutely free from a single sixpence of duty. When people talk of free trade within the Empire, it should be remembered that we have already free trade with a great part of the Empire, with India, with Hong Kong and with Singapore, while the duties at the Cape are very small; and, therefore, if we are asked to change our policy, it must be in the endeavour to tax the food of this country, because that is the only advantage we can offer to Canada and Australia, as opposed to the interests of the Empire at large. I have no doubt your Lordships have read the interesting letters which have been published in *The Times* newspaper, written by a gentleman who signs himself "Economist." I am rather surprised that he should have assumed that title, because the arguments in favour of his views are always on political and not on economic lines. But in those letters there are two very considerable admissions, which I do maintain go to the root of the whole question. In one of those letters—I think the first—"Economist" said he did not agree with the methods or views of Viscount Goschen, but at the same time he entirely agreed with him that a tax on food was the key of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; and again, in the second letter, he said—

"Do not let us be deluded by the idea that the British Empire can for a great number of years depend upon its own production."

That is to say, "Economist" admits that the keystone of Mr. Chamberlain's policy is taxation on food, and he also admits that it must be years and years before, under any system of protection, the

people of this country can be supplied with cheap food by and through the colonies. That seems to me to strike at the root and at the heart of the whole matter. I do not for one moment wish to say a word which can give offence to the colonies; but the colonial problem and our problem are totally different. We have to feed, and they have to build up, a population, and that central fact must never be lost sight of and can never be burked.

I confess that I entirely endorse the expression of opinion which fell from the noble Duke the Leader of the House that this policy—if it is a sound policy—must be decided on economic grounds. What is economically true in this matter is politically right, and what is economically false is politically wrong. We have tried a contrary policy in Ireland with regard to Irish land, and we have had to pay the penalty for our sentimentality and our folly in that respect. If this question is to be decided on political grounds—and that, I believe, is the way in which it will be put before the country—rather than on economic grounds; if Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is to be considered on political in preference to economic reasons I do not see myself how the British Empire, which is a democratic Empire, is to be strengthened or increased in force or in cohesion by such a policy. I am afraid that very awkward Socialistic questions and other questions dangerous to property will be raised if we adopt a policy—for that, after all, is what it would mean—of making this country a land of protective interests and privileged classes. There are vast masses of the people of this country who do not belong to any particular interest that can be protected, and I maintain that the position would be a serious one if the masses of the people are to be told that in order to maintain the Empire their food must be taxed, and that if they object to their food being taxed they must go elsewhere and emigrate either to America or to the Colonies. That is the way in which it will be put to their minds, and that is the way in which I should like to see it answered to-night. It is for these reasons that I do raise a very strong objection to the re-opening of this question, be-

The Earl of Portsmouth.

cause I believe it may revive a great many controversies which we had hoped were settled once for all. I believe a cause of quarrel between the mother country and the colonies will be introduced, and not a bond of cohesion, if there is an attempt to elaborate in this Empire, with its divergent and different interests, one hard and fast fiscal policy.

***LORD HARRIS:** My Lords, I also beg permission to ask a Question of which I have given my noble friend the noble Marquess private notice, and which I think legitimately arises out of the larger part of the subject with which the noble Earl opposite has dealt, although it does not, I admit, directly arise out of the particular Question he has asked. In the course of the debate on the new fiscal policy raised by the noble Viscount on my left the other night, several speakers referred to what they called the remarkable prosperity of the country during the last fifty years, and I do not think I should be using too strong an expression if I said that the general tone was that the progress had been unparalleled. But in the course of the last thirty years, under the system of free imports, one industry has been very nearly ruined. I think it is hardly reasonable to suppose that those who have suffered should look back with complacency to that period as one of unparalleled prosperity. In order to see the effect on a country of a system, one should leave it for some years. I left this country for five years, and when I came back I was able to detect certain changes in the people. I admit at once the folly of attempting to argue from the particular to the general. I am simply giving my experience of my own neighbourhood—a purely agricultural one. I found that the poorer classes—the labouring classes—were undoubtedly better off. There was no question about it. The children were well clothed and shod and looked well, and one could not help being delighted at seeing such a change. I do not mean to say that at the beginning of those five years they had been in a miserable condition; far from it, but there was a distinct improvement in their appearance.

But, on the other hand, I found that a generation of farmers had been swept out of existence. There were, in fact, no farmers for miles around. So, too, the yeomen's property was absorbed in larger properties in the neighbourhood, or purchased by people of some wealth coming from the towns who might in the course of a generation or two become yeomen themselves, or what we used to regard as yeomen. But the class for the time had disappeared. Large numbers of landowners, in endeavouring to maintain their properties properly, to keep up the buildings, to provide decent lodgings for the poorer classes who lived on those properties, had failed and gone down in the struggle. I do not think there is any stronger Radical than I am on the subject of land. I do not think anyone who cannot do his duty by the land is worth having on it. I prefer to see an old family go if they cannot keep up their property properly, if they cannot keep up their labourers' cottages to that condition which improvement in education requires; but I can imagine those families not regarding the system under which we have lived for fifty years as one of unparalleled prosperity. Therefore I think that when the system of free imports is held up to our admiration as it was the other night by my noble friend on my left, and when we are warned of the danger of taxing the food of the people, we are bound to remember that the one effect of very cheap food has been to seriously impoverish several classes of society; and it has had this additional effect, which I think is far more important, that it has reduced the number of people in certain areas whom the land at one time employed. When I came back after an absence of five years I found thousands of acres in grass, and not good grass at that, where once the plough was at work. The land in the eastern counties to which I am referring is regarded by the expert farmer as good for the grazing of sheep only. A good deal of it is not fit for keeping more than one sheep for every acre, whereas before the days of very low prices each acre used to produce four quarters of wheat, which supports a man for a year. Therefore, land which formerly maintained a man now only

maintains a sheep. That is not progression. It is retrogression. And when we contemplate the effect of free imports we are bound surely to have regard to the incontestable fact that many thousands of acres of land which used to provide work for the plough, and therefore for a number of men and horses, have gone back to a pastoral condition, and are unable to provide as much food as they used to when prices were better.

We are promised an inquiry into this most important subject. What the character of that inquiry is to be seems still somewhat vague. From the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the other night, I certainly did not infer—it was possibly my fault—that it was simply to be an inquiry within the Cabinet, with the presentation from time to time of Papers to Parliament; but I gathered from the speech of the Prime Minister, made a short time after the debate in this House, that that is to be the form of inquiry. I am perfectly certain that His Majesty's Government are most anxious to give all the information they possibly can in order to enable the public to make up its mind on this important subject; and it is very important, I need hardly say, that this information should be given as soon as possible. As your Lordships are aware, the autumn is an important time to agriculturists. It is the time when meetings of agricultural societies and of farmers and landlords are held. I am sure it is the desire of the Government that, before that time comes, those whose business and whose duty it is to address their neighbours on public subjects should be in a position, so far as possible, at any rate, to make up their minds upon some of the points that will have to be decided. As has been already pointed out by the noble Earl opposite, and by the noble Viscount on my left, in its initial stages this controversy will centre on the price of corn, and the agricultural labourer you may be certain has got his ears open, and will want to know how his wages and the price of his food are to be affected. Many of your Lordships are anxious to give your neighbours as clearly as possible your ideas of the

effect of the proposals that have been made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and I do hope that the Government will endeavour to give us as much information as they can and as soon as possible in order that we may be able to discuss with intelligence these questions at such meetings as I have suggested. I am personally not very much alarmed at the idea of an import duty on wheat—I mean an import duty of any reasonable amount. Your Lordships will remember that, when Sir Robert Peel's Bill came up to this House for the abolition of duties, the question was whether an Amendment should be introduced, and the maximum amount discussed was 5s. We know now what amount of revenue a 5s. duty would bring in at this time. I am not suggesting for one moment that His Majesty's Government have any idea in their heads of any such import, but giving that as a possible figure, I confess I am not very much alarmed at the idea of an import duty; and for this reason, that the average effect of an import duty on wheat would be infinitesimal compared with the fluctuations in price brought about by natural causes. In one of the articles in *The Times* to which the noble Earl referred, reference is made to these variations. The writer points out that the average price of wheat in the English market for the twenty-five years preceding the repeal of the Corn Laws was practically the same—57s.—as that of the early seventies, and that the great fall from 1877, when the price was 56s. 9d., to 1894, when it was 17s. 8d. in October, and, for the year, an average of 22s. 10d., was very remotely connected with the repeal of the Corn Laws. He gives tables showing the price of bread between 1893 and 1898. In September, 1896, the average price for the 4 lb. loaf was 4²/₂d.; in May, 1898, the average price was 6¹/₂d. This is a rise of very nearly 50 per cent. brought about by natural causes; and that is the reason why I say I am not very much alarmed at the effect of an import duty. I cannot conceive it possible that the whole of the charge would fall on the consumer.

What I have quoted leads me to the Question which I wish to put to His

Lord Harris.

Majesty's Government—namely, whether the Government can give us some information which will enable us to estimate what has been the effect of freight on the market prices of some of the largest articles of import in the last twenty-five to thirty years. As has been pointed out by the writer in *The Times*, the principal fall in the price of wheat did not take place in the first twenty years after the abolition of import duties, but only from about the seventies to the present time; and therefore it is obvious to most thinking people that the main factor in producing cheap bread to the people of this country has not been the opening of ports, but the increased supply *plus* reduction in freight. After the noble Lord opposite [Lord Avebury] had spoken the other night on this subject, I took the liberty of going across and asking him whether he thought it would be possible for the Government to give some information to Parliament on this subject, and he replied that he thought it would be possible. He said he believed that the reduction in the price of the transport of wheat from Dakota to England was no less than 21s. per quarter. The total fall in the last thirty years is only some 30s., and if 21s. of that fall is to be assigned—

*LORD AVEBURY: I certainly did in conversation give those figures to my noble friend, and believed them to be correct, but if I had known he was going to use them in your Lordships' House I should have verified them.

LORD HARRIS: I was careful to say that the noble Lord stated that he believed the figures he gave me were correct. I am using them to show how important it is that the public should understand that the main cause of the fall in the price of bread is not the opening of the ports but the reduction in freight, *plus*, of course, the largely increased area of supply. I think it would be extremely useful from their point of view if the Government could show that one cause of this remarkable fall in prices has been the improvement in the machinery of steam-going vessels. I was told the other day that another reason for steam vessels being able to reduce

their freights so largely was the introduction of compound engines.

From the point of the Government, or of those members of it, at any rate, who believe that there is some benefit to the country to be derived from a system of preferential tariffs as compared with free imports, it is highly important, it seems to me, to be able to show that this fall in price is due to these causes; for this reason, that it is highly improbable, so far as one can see, that freights can ever go up to anything like what they were before the seventies. Therefore, whatever effect may be produced by a duty, and whatever its incidence, at any rate it is impossible for bread to rise to such prices as were possible at that period. I put this point before His Majesty's Government solely with the object of helping them, if I can, to add to the useful information which it seems to me it is absolutely essential should be placed before the country if they expect those—and I say this with special feeling—who have supported them for so many years to continue to do so. I was a colleague in a humble position for something like fifteen years of noble Lords below me, and I am most anxious to support them now; but it is impossible for me to go to the meetings I am likely to have to address in the autumn, and to give unfaltering support to this policy, unless I am convinced that some good is coming out of it—not only some good to the Empire, which I put first, but also to the agricultural interest which has suffered so materially during the last thirty years. If it can be shown that the Empire will gain by such a scheme as has been foreshadowed by several members of the Government, then I should have no hesitation in putting the special interests of agriculture in the second place, and I should be prepared to do what I could in urging my agricultural friends in the country that they should, as they have done in the past, consent to suffer for the good of the general community.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN: My Lords, I only venture to interpose for a moment in order to express the hope that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs may feel it possible, in his reply, to say something

to remove the impression, which, to some extent, is an unfortunate one, that the recent action of Germany in regard to Canada has been such as to justify a feeling of injury on the part of this country, and that a thorough appreciation of Canada and her action in relation to Great Britain involved a somewhat reproachful attitude towards Germany. I quite admit that there has been a feeling of disappointment. That was brought out in the very able Budget speech of the Finance Minister of Canada; but I think that that is a very different matter from the sort of language which I am afraid has been used in this House. It has been said that Germany wanted to terrorise one of our colonies. That seemed to me rather strong language, and what I would hope is that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs may think it prudent and right to indicate that such a feeling is neither necessary nor justifiable. I do not see how we can expect Germany to approach this question with the same sort of sentiment with which we regard our colonies. I give way to no one in my devotion to Canada, but I would feel it to be a regrettable thing if Canada was to be the stalking horse, so to speak, for any suggestions or language which might seem in any way to impair the thoroughly friendly feeling between Germany and this country, which has been so well maintained and which, at the present time, it is most important should be preserved.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE):** My Lords, I had some difficulty when I saw the notice of the noble Earl's Question on the Paper in divining what particular statements of the Prime Minister's and the Colonial Secretary's he referred to. In these days Ministers are obliged partly in order to satisfy the requirements of their own adherents, and partly in order to meet criticism, to contribute a very large number of statements with regard to matters of this kind, and I was not able intuitively to detect what the statements were to which the noble Earl desired to call attention; but I gather from his speech that the particular statements which he had in view were

statements in which, in his opinion, both the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary exaggerated the urgency of the case which has arisen as between the German Government and Canada. The noble Earl also referred to the speech delivered in this House by my noble friend Lord Camperdown and to my own remarks. If the noble Earl had listened to, or had had an opportunity of hearing, what I said in following Lord Camperdown on the occasion of the second debate on this subject, he would have noticed that, while agreeing generally with the tenor of Lord Camperdown's remarks, I expressly desired to guard myself from being supposed to concur in what he said in the direction of imputing hostility to the German Government in its action with regard to Canada.

And when the noble Earl goes on to refer to that passage in my first speech in which I used the simile of the revolver, I must remind him that I was then dealing, not with the case between Canada and Germany, but with the second part of the subject, which I treated quite separately, namely—the question of the manner in which the industries of this country suffered from the competition of foreign goods produced under circumstances which make it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them in the British market. On that occasion I said that it seemed to me that, if we were to be in a position to resist attacks of that kind, we should supply ourselves with means for doing so. At the conclusion of the passage I find I used these words—

“I, at any rate, think it our duty to regard, in a tolerant spirit and with an open mind, the proposals for dealing with these important questions.”

That is exactly where the noble Earl and I part company. I desire that these proposals should be examined in a tolerant spirit and with an open mind, and the noble Earl told us just now that what he objected to was the re-opening of these discussions. We think the time has come when these discussions should be re-opened; and, though we do not desire for a moment to be dogmatic about it, we do consider that we should endeavour to find some means of ascertaining whether or not it

is possible to establish closer fiscal relations with the colonies; whether it is or is not possible to find some means of protecting them, when they are subjected to ill-treatment in consequence of preferential advantages granted to ourselves; and, finally, whether it is or is not possible to discover some manner of protecting British industries against that kind of unfair and inequitable competition of which I spoke a moment ago.

With regard to the German case, the noble Earl gave your Lordships its history at some length; and I could not help regretting that he did not wait to do so until the Papers, which I shall lay on the Table in a day or two, are in your Lordships' hands. I do not desire to-night to anticipate the discussion which those Papers may possibly lead to; but I will only say this, that I adhere to the view I expressed the other evening, namely, that the position with which we were threatened is not one which His Majesty's Government could regard as other than a serious position. It is not merely that we found that Canada was liable to be made to suffer in consequence of the preferential treatment which the Canadian Government had accorded to us; but it was actually adumbrated in an official document, which your Lordships will have an opportunity of reading, that if other colonies acted in the same manner as Canada the result might be that we, the mother country, should find ourselves deprived of most-favoured-nation treatment. That we regarded, and still regard, as an urgent matter. I do not mean urgent so much in point of time, because I have no reason to think that these things are likely to be done in the near future; but urgent in view of the great importance of the issues raised.

Then I think I understood the noble Earl to say that the preference which Canada has given to us had been of little or no value. [The Earl of PORTSMOUTH nodded assent.] Now, my Lords, the information in my possession is to the effect that if that preference did not lead to a very large or rapid increase in the trade between this country and the Dominion, it had, at all events, the effect of arresting the very perceptible downward movement which was in progress at the time when the preference was given.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

Besides that there is this to be borne in mind, that the main increase in Canadian exports has been in raw material or semi-manufactured articles of a kind in which we could not hope to compete; so that to the extent to which the preference applies to articles in which we do compete, it has been productive, I believe, of solid advantage to the commerce of this country. I will not attempt to follow the noble Earl to-night in prognostications with regard to the scope of any tariff legislation which may or may not be resorted to by His Majesty's Government. That is a matter as to which the noble Earl well knows no decision has been arrived at; and it would be clearly improper that I should take it upon myself to say whether, for example, any such measure, if adopted at all, should apply to Holland, the country to which the noble Earl referred.

Lord Harris asked the Government whether it was possible for us to give Parliament any information which would enable your Lordships to judge of the effect produced on prices, and particularly on the prices of food-stuffs, by the great fall in the cost of oversea freights. I do not think there can be any doubt whatever that the noble Lord is perfectly correct when he said that amongst the causes which have led to the great fall in the prices of food-stuffs the cheapening of oversea freights has been one. But, my Lords, it is only one of several factors; and, although it would not be difficult to supply figures to show what the movement of freights has been, I do not see how we can supply any information which will enable my noble friend to disentangle the effects of that cause from the effects of other causes which have operated in the same direction. It is clear, for example, that the great fall in the prices of wheat has been due to the development of new grain-producing areas, and to such causes as the invention of labour-saving implements. Besides that there is the question of, not oversea freights, but land freights. The noble Lord knows very well that in no respect have the conditions been more changed, on the American Continent at any rate, than in respect of the extraordinary cheapening of the charge for the carriage by land of grain and other bulky commodities. I have had no time to

look at the figures, but I believe I am right in saying that the cost of moving a ton of grain a mile in the United States is something less than half a cent; and one can well understand how cheap rates of that kind must tend to bring down prices at the place of delivery.

The noble Lord is perfectly correct when he says that oversea freights have fallen. I find there is a Board of Trade Return which gives figures up to the year 1895, from which I gather that the freight per cwt. from New York to the United Kingdom, which was 10s. in 1874, has now fallen to 3s. No doubt the noble Lord may claim that that fall is, to some extent, answerable for the great increase in the amount of cereals imported into this country, which, I believe, rose from 10,000,000 cwt. in 1865 to something over 100,000,000 cwt. in 1901.

The noble Earl opposite has asked me when the Government intend to lay before Parliament their proposals to induce Germany to modify her tariff regulations with the Dominion of Canada. As I said just now, we shall lay Papers carrying the discussion up to the present date; but the noble Earl, of course, must not expect to find in those Papers our proposals for inducing Germany, by negotiations or otherwise, to modify her tariff regulations. Those proposals are obviously of a kind which can only be taken into consideration and determined after the matter has undergone the full discussion which we consider indispensable.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: My Lords, I do not want to intervene for any time in this interesting discussion, but I must condole with my noble friend opposite, Lord Harris, on the very limited amount of consolation he has received in reply to his inquiry from the Government. He made a request of some importance, I think. He said he thought he had a right to be informed as to the nature of the inquiry the Government has instituted; and he drew a somewhat pathetic picture of what his fate would be this autumn in addressing agricultural meetings, at which apparently he is a welcome and frequent guest, without any guidance from the Government. The noble Marquess in reply to that tells him that he has figures, though

insufficient figures, and can procure more, as to the reduction of the cost of freight between the United States and this country. That is rather a stone to give to the noble Lord, who not merely asks for bread, but apparently for a protective tax on bread.

LORD HARRIS: I asked for nothing of the kind.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The noble Lord extended his remarks to some very interesting inquiries which I think deserve the attention of the Government. Now what is this inquiry? It is something so impalpable that the human mind refuses to grasp it, and the information which is given by the Government is of such a character that I venture to say no human being in this universe outside the Government, and I am not sure that even all the Members of the Government, can form the faintest idea as to what shape this inquiry is likely to take. I am one of those who consider that an inquiry is now necessary. I did not think it was necessary until the question was raised in an authoritative form by the Colonial Secretary, since when it has become a frequent and public subject of debate between the different Members of the Cabinet in both Houses of Parliament. But the question once being raised, and put as a question of Empire, it does seem to me impossible for the Government to escape inquiry, and I have no doubt that they see that as clearly as all of us. The question is, What is this inquiry going to be? Is it a public inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining the facts and communicating them as promptly as possible to the nation, or is it a mechanism for keeping the Cabinet together? I am strongly of opinion that it answers to the second of these descriptions.

I hear a laugh, and I am not in the least surprised, because the position is grotesque. We have at this moment a Government of all the talents, and all the majorities, repealing a corn tax of a very moderate description—a shilling; and at the moment when the Prime Minister is endeavouring to deal with his irritated followers on the subject of the repeal of this corn tax, and to vindicate that, the Colonial Secretary is making a speech at Birmingham in which he announces

that the policy of the Government will be, must be—I must be careful about my auxiliary verbs—may be a tax on the food of the people. The question naturally arises why if that is the policy of the Government a negative policy should be pursued with regard to the corn tax at the same time. But that is the position which evidently excited the attention of the Government, and, when followed up by one or two more speeches, caused them to hold a Cabinet, which I do not doubt, like all Cabinets, was a council of quiet and philosophical discussion. The result was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer read out an inspired paper to the House of Commons, in which he announced, or, I suppose, adumbrated, that he was quite ready for an inquiry—and I think that was the first notice we ever had that there was going to be an inquiry—because he was quite convinced that it would only fortify the country in the doctrines of free trade and in hostility to the tax on corn which he proposed to repeal.

That is where we stand with regard to the matter; frequent Questions have been addressed to the Government since asking what is the nature of the inquiry? Who is inquiring? Is anybody inquiring? Is the noble Duke inquiring? Is it being conducted by the Cabinet? Is it being conducted by a committee of the Civil Service, or by a committee of experts? The noble Duke may think that these questions are impertinent and intrusive, but to my mind they are vital to the matter at issue. This is not an inquiry as to the banker's accounts of the Government, or as to any private domestic affairs which may interest them and them alone; it is by far the most important inquiry that has ever been conducted in the country in my lifetime; and if it is to be conducted, and I think it is inevitable, it should not be a hole-and-corner inquiry, but the nation itself should be a party to it.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Hear, hear!

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: But in what sense is the nation a party to it? It does not even know the constituent body which is inquiring, it does not

know the nature of the inquiry, nor what it is inquiring into. If it is an inquiry into the opinions of His Majesty's Government, I can understand its being both lengthy and confidential. But if it is an inquiry into the broad policy on which the fiscal arrangements of this country have been conducted for the last fifty-six or fifty-seven years, I say that it should be a public inquiry. It should be by Royal Commission, or by some recognised method, but it should not be veiled in darkness, without any results to which we may look, without any results at present which are promised, and the slow progress of which is only marked by the milestones of the speeches of the Colonial Secretary and the Prime Minister, who announce doctrines which seem, to us at any rate, utterly irreconcilable to those held, for instance, by the President of the Council and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I appeal to the Government that they should take the country into their confidence in this matter. It is not too much to ask. Lord Harris is a faithful supporter of the Government, as he has reminded them. Has he not a claim to know something of what is going on in reference to this inquiry? And beyond the supporters of the Government, has not the whole nation a right to know something of what is going on? Lord Harris said the agricultural labourers of this country would be all agog to know what is to be proposed by the Government; he also said he had come back after five years' absence and seen the agricultural labourers of this country in a state of unexampled prosperity. I presume the agricultural labourers of this country, when they hear that the first fiscal measure of the Government is to be a tax on food, and when they hear, what is much more, that the continuance of the Empire is impossible without a tax on food—I presume that they, and every one, more especially Imperialists, to whom especially the Empire is dear, if it is dearer to one class than to another, have a right to ask what is being done on this matter.

I intervened on the spur of the moment, and I admit that what I have said has no direct reference to the speech of the noble Earl who introduced the

discussion; but it has very direct reference to the speech of the noble Lord behind the Government, who pleads that he may be given some guidance as to what he is to say in rural districts on the subject of the policy of the Government. It is not the noble Lord alone who is in a difficulty in this matter; it will be all the supporters of the Government, aye, and the Government itself. At present, under the new doctrine of Cabinet responsibility which has been revealed to us, the Government are talking in different voices, and presenting different arguments from a totally different standpoint, to the country, and the baffled and puzzled country are to be reassured under circumstances so unexampled and unparalleled as this—by being told that the Government are holding a secret inquiry the nature of which they cannot or will not divulge.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): My Lords, the noble Earl has made a speech—he assures us on the spur of the moment—which seems to have for its principal object to impress upon his fellow-countrymen how divided, as he opines, the Government are on the question we are now discussing. No one has a greater right than the noble Earl to address your Lordships with authority on what is meant by a divided Cabinet. I quite admit that there are many on both sides of politics who are desirous to have re-asked and re-answered these questions which, some would like to think, were laid aside sixty years ago. But the noble Earl himself is in the same position; for I defy any one to read his speeches on this question, as I have read them with minute attention, and say what his opinion really is. He began by telling his countrymen that he would never reject without examination any scheme put forward on authority with the object of connecting more closely the colonies and the mother country.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The noble Earl has omitted one rather important word. I said I would not reject any scheme unseen.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: But the noble Earl has since proceeded to construct every possible scheme, and to reject them all. But in this rejection of the schemes which he has himself constructed I have noticed two things. He has very carefully announced, *ad urbem et orbem*, that the doctrines of the Cobden Club are for him no part of revealed religion, thereby differentiating himself from a large part of the Party with which he usually acts; and I notice that, although he has contributed greatly to the elucidation of the question of a proposed tax on food, he has never so much as mentioned the word retaliation. The noble Earl has told us that if the Liberal Party cannot unite on this question never can they unite again. He is willing to hold out his arm to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and go forward with him on the march of progress. But at the very moment when they are linked arm-in-arm and about to start, with the impetuosity which is characteristic of the noble Earl's companion, the noble Earl says, "My friends, put your arms round the pillar of the Liberal League." That is a fair illustration of the fact that we are all ready to examine this question, and that none of us are prepared to stand exactly where our fathers stood fifty years ago.

My noble friend Lord Goschen talked of agnostics in this matter, and there he touched the spot. What is the position in which we find ourselves. Brought up almost to regard the doctrines of the Cobden Club as part of revealed religion, and to believe that there could not be any national prosperity or economic truth outside the pamphlets of that body, we have gradually been disillusioned, and we have seen that, though under free trade we have prospered mightily, other countries have prospered no less greatly under a totally different system. Therefore in our minds the doctrines of the Cobden Club have passed from a dogma to a policy; and the question that we now look at is not what is revealed truth, or the natural law, but what is the policy which, under given circumstances, will best suit this country or that. It is in that frame of mind that we desire to approach this inquiry. What are the objects? Are they great

and noble objects? The noble Earl himself laid stress on the great ideal of closer union with the colonies. The question is, can that be increased by any change in our fiscal policy, and what is the price that we must pay for the change? We apply exactly the same test to the question of retaliation; and the closer we look the more we are impressed with the fact that we are dealing with a question of policy. It is all a question of degree. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Ripon) laughs. In one of the printed despatches of the noble Marquess, when he was Colonial Secretary, in answering the proposal made at the Ottawa Conference—a proposal which he rejected—he dealt with the possibility of an alternative scheme in words of sympathy. He said that—

"If the proposal had been one for free trade within the Empire it would have merited very careful consideration."

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Hear, hear.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: That is the exact illustration of my point. If noble Lords were prepared to adopt such a system, could they refuse to give the colonies a preference or accept a preference from them? This inquiry cannot be dealt with by a Royal Commission. It must be an inquest of the nation by all its Parties and by all its Press. I entirely agree with the noble Earl that you cannot have Empire without trade. That is the gist of the question. This country has had great periods of prosperity; and the question we have to ask as guardians of the future is, not What is or has been the condition of the trade of this country, but What, as far as we can foresee, is to be the future of the trade of this country? Are the people to be better off or worse off? That question you cannot refer to a Royal Commission or to a Select Committee. It must be a discussion in which the whole nation takes part, and statistics which the Government Departments work out are only contributions to the knowledge of the nation. This is a revolt against authority; and I am very glad that it has taken place at this moment when trade is prosperous, because if it had taken place at a time of

trade depression there would have been a danger of conclusions being arrived at which were not justified by the facts of the case.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Would the noble Earl mind telling us what is the nature of the inquiry which he is about to set up?

***VISCOUNT GOSCHEN:** I think, my Lords, that the inquiry of the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, has been answered by my noble friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty. We are told that it is an inquest of the nation that is to take place. But if there is an inquest of the nation, we have further to ask of the Government, what are the questions to be submitted to the inquest of the nation? There are many questions which are raised in the speeches of the Colonial Secretary. There is the question of old-age pensions. Is that to be submitted to the inquest of the nation? and are all these questions to be supplemented by the information which is supplied from time to time by the Government themselves? Here I make one appeal to my noble friends, and I am sure that they will listen to it—that all information which is given to the Government should as soon as possible be supplied to the public; that there should not be speeches made in the first instance relying on certain statistics, and that the statistics should not come before us for verification only after the speeches have been delivered and their effect has been produced. That would not be a fair way to proceed; and I should have thought that it was in the interest of the Government themselves that members of the Government should refrain from continuing what I scarcely know whether to regard as a part of the inquest of the nation or a part of a campaign and crusade.

There is one object which is dear to the heart of a great number of the public and of the Press who support Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. It is that the labourer should be brought back to the land. Lord Harris suggests that the agricultural interest is to be benefited to a material extent by the proposals which will be submitted. Can the Government frankly

tell us whether a tax of 5s. on corn will form part of the issues that are to be submitted? I think they are bound to come a little more into the open in this matter. There are many persons who refrain from discussing such a tax from the certainty that Parliament will never assent to it. But, on the other hand, there will be others who gather the opposite impression, and from whom support is secured by a kind of distant hope that such a prospect is not out of the question. Will those who distinctly desire to protect agriculture by a 4s. or 5s. duty on corn think themselves to be justified in supporting the proposal of the Government on the ground that it lies within the limits of practical politics? If this be so, will statistics be placed before us elucidating any point as distinct as that? I have doubts whether it would be so, but what I should be anxious to see is a series of distinct propositions which should be put before the public, and that we should know really what we are to discuss, not only as outlined in the Colonial Secretary's scheme, but in far more particulars than are at present before the country.

Then with regard to the inquest itself. I agree that a great portion of that subject must be decided by the Cabinet; but there will be, and probably are, inquiries in progress among the various Departments of the Government. Are these Departments co-operating together, checking together, investigating with absolute impartiality, without any bias whatever? I think we were told by the Colonial Secretary that he would produce tables with which he would go into the cottage of every labourer, showing what effect would be produced by the increase of the price of food. Will such tables be accessible to the public so that we shall all be able to judge the correctness of the literature which is employed in that respect? I am sure that the whole country feels puzzled at present at the stage in which the inquiry stands. I do not know whether much progress is being made, if indeed any has been made, and I think Lord Rosebery is entitled to our gratitude for having elicited the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and for the endeavour to elicit what the nature of the inquiry is to be. I thought

it right to make these few observations, as I take the deepest interest in the subject of this inquiry, thinking that it ought to be thorough, while seeing the great difficulties that surround it.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I thank the noble Viscount who has just sat down for having relieved me of one part of the subject with which I desired to deal, namely, that relating to the inquiry. I fully agree with what he has said on that subject, but I feel compelled to make some observations on the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty. It is not for me to suppose that I can defend my noble friend Lord Rosebery, who is so well able to take care of himself, but I must say that I think the noble Earl singularly misrepresented the position my noble friend has taken up in regard to the question now under discussion. He said that Lord Rosebery had taken various views on this subject and had made inconsistent speeches. My noble friend's first speech, after the world was startled by Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, was made at a non-political meeting, if I am not mistaken, and was marked, no doubt, by caution; but whenever my noble friend has spoken since, when he has not been in the position of being hampered, he has expressed sentiments of disapproval of the proposals of Mr. Chamberlain; and I do not think that the noble Earl was justified, by the single fact to which I have alluded, in making the charge he did. Then the noble Earl went on to say that Lord Rosebery must, no doubt, sympathise deeply with a Government which was divided against itself. I should like to ask the noble Earl on what occasion any members of the Government of Lord Rosebery, either in Parliament or out of it, devoted themselves to attacking each other and to answering each other's speeches. That is the position in which His Majesty's Government now stands; and it seems to us who sit on this side of the House to be an objectionable and unconstitutional proceeding. Certainly no precedent can be found for it in the Government of Lord Rosebery.

My noble friend who introduced this discussion deserves our best thanks for his very able speech and for having raised a debate of so much interest, and if he has done nothing else he has accomplished

Viscount Goschen.

one very useful object in inducing the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to disconnect himself from a considerable portion of the speech made a few days ago by Lord Camperdown, and he has done so in a manner which I am sure the House will have heard with much pleasure. I certainly was under the impression that upon that occasion the noble Marquess did express a wider and more general approval of Lord Camperdown's tone in respect to Germany than he appears to have intended to do, and I am extremely glad an opportunity has been afforded to the noble Marquess to clear away the misapprehension, which I think existed in the minds of many. But the noble Marquess seems still to be hankering after retaliation and to be searching in his pocket for the "revolver". I hope that it is not going to be the old rusty pistol of protection; because, if it is, I am afraid that before long it will burst in his hand. It seems to me to be a clear proposition in economic science that a duty on foreign imports would injure our own people more than the people against whom we are retaliating. Retaliation of this nature must involve considerable industrial and commercial disturbance; it must limit our exports and injure those who rely upon it. Besides, it is a dangerous policy to begin a system of retaliation. Two can play at that game, and we may find that instead of yielding to retaliation, or to threats of it, a war of tariffs would be produced which would lead to great evils industrially and commercially.

The difficulties that arise between nations in these days arise mainly out of commercial considerations, and therefore it is peculiarly necessary that we should deal cautiously with this question and not place retaliation before us as a thing to which we can run at any time and which will be sure to produce the object in view. I confess that I do not see that the policy that has been pursued since the days when free trade began, has produced any of those evils which we hear talked about on the other side. Lord Harris spoke of the depression of agriculture and of the condition of the agricultural classes. No doubt the condition of the agricultural classes, or of some of them, has been for many years unsatisfactory. Rents have been reduced and profits have been cut down, but the noble Lord himself

admitted that the condition of the agricultural labourer was greatly improved. In my part of the world, at least, rents and the profits of tenants, no doubt, are much less than they were; but the wages of the agricultural labourers have very considerably risen, and I am bound to say that while I should like to see general and widespread prosperity among all classes of the community, if I had to choose which class was the one whose interests should be most considered, I would not hesitate to select the interests of the great mass of the people.

This discussion has covered a wide field, and I hope I shall be allowed to discuss some points which do not lie exactly within the limits of the noble Earl's notice, but which have a very serious bearing on the question itself. The First Lord of the Admiralty quoted accurately, except, perhaps, that I may not have used the exact words, from some despatches which I wrote when I held the office of Colonial Secretary, but I do not quite understand what was the conclusion he drew from the statements in those despatches. If the conclusion merely was that I desired to express what I most sincerely entertained, and entertain at this present moment, namely, a feeling of deepest sympathy with the colonies and a most earnest desire to consider their interest to the utmost, then he is quite right. But what I did say was this, that a real Zollverein—not this sham thing which is called a Zollverein, but which is no Zollverein at all—that a real Zollverein (that is to say a real Customs union between all parts of the British Empire), if the taxes levied were upon the principle of free trade and avoided the dangers of protection, would be a perfectly legitimate thing in principle, and I should greatly rejoice if it were possible upon good and fitting terms to make such an arrangement. Nobody knows better than the noble Earl that that is not possible in the present circumstances, the colonies not being willing to accept it. But to argue from that that therefore you are to look at a system of colonial preferences as the same thing as a system of uniform Customs rates, seems to me to be an entire error. The two things are totally

and entirely distinct. I accepted the one if it were possible, but I rejected the other for the reasons which are contained in those despatches, and with which I need not trouble your Lordships at the present time.

There was one remark in the speech made by the Colonial Secretary a few days ago, which, having the opportunity, I cannot help commenting upon. Mr. Chamberlain was reported in *The Times*—and as I have seen no contradiction of the report I consequently assume it to be correct—as having said—

“A system of preferential tariffs is the only system by which this Empire can be kept together.”

I deeply regret that the Colonial Secretary should have said that. It may be his opinion, for aught I know, but I cannot but feel that it was not a judicious utterance, nor was it fair either to the people of this country or to the colonies. Mr. Chamberlain spoke of himself as the representative of the colonies. No British Minister is specially representative of any part of the Empire—not even the Colonial Secretary. He stands between the colonies and the mother country. He has to promote their union, and to communicate to each part of the Empire the interests of the other in relation to any proposals which may affect the general interests of the Empire. I do not believe that the statement which Mr. Chamberlain made can be accepted as a literal fact. If I did believe it, I should be in a state of despair. It was no doubt a rhetorical statement, but it was a rhetorical statement which, in my judgment, ought not to have been made by any member of a responsible Government. I cannot think that the people of the colonies are so indifferent to the interests of the mother country that they would refuse to listen to a calm and reasoned statement why that which they desire cannot be granted to them. We have given them absolute freedom to make their own fiscal arrangements; they must not claim that there shall be put upon the food of the people of this country a tax more or less heavy in order to enable the colonies to carry out a special class of fiscal arrangements between them and us. I cannot but

believe that if the case had been fairly put to the colonies they would concede the principle that the control of our own home taxes must remain in our own hands. I do not believe that those great portions of the British Empire, whose interests are supposed to be promoted by this policy, would have dreamt of rejecting an argument of that description, and of claiming for themselves a freedom which they would not give to the mother country.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, I had no anticipation that the Question of the noble Earl opposite was intended to form the subject-matter of an adjourned debate on the question raised on a former occasion by my noble friend Lord Goschen; and, for myself, I am bound to say that I do not propose to repeat—which is all I can do—the statement of my own views which I had the opportunity to lay before the House at some length on the former occasion. I should not have risen at all but for the questions of the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, supported by the noble Viscount behind me. Both noble Lords are dissatisfied with the amount of information which they have received as to the nature and scope of the proposed inquiry. I would just remind the House that I do not think any Member of the Government has spoken of this question in the sense of being a mere inquiry. The expression which I certainly used, and which I think other Members of the Government have employed, was “inquiry and discussion.” What was announced by Mr. Chamberlain was that, having laid certain views before the country, he invited discussion upon those views. That which is to take place must be partly in the nature of an inquiry, but, to a still greater extent, of a discussion. I endeavoured to state what would be the nature of the inquiry. I said it could not be an inquiry by Royal Commission, still less by Departmental Committee. It must be an inquiry by the members of the Government for themselves. The Government are endeavouring, not so much to obtain information, because all the necessary information, I believe, exists, but to arrange it in a manner which they will be able to consider themselves; and the results

of the examination of that information will, no doubt, be communicated as soon as possible to Parliament and the country.

The noble Viscount wishes to know what are to be the subjects of inquiry. He asks whether they are to include old-age pensions. Well, my Lords, how can they be excluded? It has been mentioned, and it must be taken into consideration, if not in the inquiry, in the discussion that must take place on the subject. No doubt it is clear enough that under certain contingencies, if effect is given to the views which have lately been put forward, there may be a considerable sum of revenue raised which might be devoted to old-age pensions. How can such a matter be excluded from the discussion if not from the inquiry? Then the noble Viscount asks whether the discussion was to include a 5s. duty on corn. That would be a definite proposition. That would not be in the nature of an inquiry at all. How can my noble friend ask us to state what definite proposals we are going to make after our inquiry before the inquiry has taken place?

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: I do not think my noble friend quite appreciates my meaning.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: No, I do not.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: If you wish to collect statistics as part of the inquiry, if you wish to get information from the parties interested, which is part of the inquiry, it would be entirely otiose if you were to inquire into any matters which were not within the practical range of the suggestions of Mr. Chamberlain; and what I was anxious to know was whether, not only in the discussion, but in the inquiry, such a question as that lay within the area of discussion.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: I am afraid I do not apprehend my noble friend's point even now. No doubt suggestions have been made that for certain political and economical reasons it may be wise to propose a tax upon food. That tax upon food must be, I

suppose, in the nature of a duty of 1s. or 2s., or say 5s., on corn ; and whatever statistics are obtained on the subject, it seems to me that, whether it be 1s., 2s., or 5s., does not very much matter, and my noble friend will be able to draw his own conclusions from whatever statistics on that subject are produced. However, I quite admit I may not have apprehended the scope of my noble friend's Question, and if I have not, I can only say I very much regret my incapacity to do so. These are the only instances he gave of subjects in regard to which he wished to know whether they were to form part of the inquiry or not. I think I can, without attempting to go into any exhaustive list of subjects which are to form part of the inquiry or discussion, refer my noble friend to the two speeches which were made the other night. I think the noble Viscount objected to the speeches which were made on Friday last by the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain because he thought that in them argument was preceding and taking the place of inquiry and discussion. I read both speeches with very great care ; and although, as noble Lords may have gathered from the speech I made the other night, I am not, as at present advised, entirely in agreement with those who think that inquiry and discussion may lead to a very wide departure from the fiscal policy which has hitherto guided the counsels of this nation, I am bound to say that I cannot find in either of those speeches anything whatever of which I can complain. Each of those speeches was in the main devoted to indicating, and further explaining, the objects to which this inquiry and discussion should be addressed.

The Prime Minister enumerated specifically four dangers which he anticipated from the existing state of things, or four points to the consequences of which in the future our attention ought to be directed. I have not got those four points with me, and I cannot enumerate them now. Then Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech, devoted himself to another part of the question, and specifically mentioned three other points which ought to form the subject of inquiry. I cannot conceive how anyone, assenting to the proposition that there is to be inquiry and discussion, can take exception

to speeches such as those in which the statesmen who delivered them have gone as far as they could go in defining the subjects for inquiry. I do not say that the subjects enumerated in those speeches cover the whole ground. I do not say that they are the most material points. But they are elements of inquiry, and, so far as the instruction of the public mind is concerned, I cannot conceive speeches more calculated to add to the public knowledge of the nature of the inquiry which is suggested than those two speeches. That is all the answer I can give to the Questions addressed to me on this occasion ; but if any noble Lords think that there are other subjects which ought to form part of the inquiry and discussion, and which have not received attention, it is perfectly competent for them to bring them before the House and to obtain such further information as they require.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH : I am sorry the noble Duke has not seized the point of the noble Viscount opposite. What the noble Viscount specially asked was : Is this inquiry to be directed to the question of whether a tax of 5s. a quarter is to be laid upon corn coming into this country ? In other words : Is the inquiry to be directed, in the first instance, to whether the food of the people is to be taxed ?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE : I have said that that question has been raised, and that it must form part of the inquiry.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH : It seems to me that it must not form part of the inquiry but the very foundation of the inquiry. After all, this is to be an inquiry into a policy raised by the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Chamberlain has stated that policy in the most explicit manner. He has said in one speech that a system of preferential tariffs was the only system by which this Empire could be kept together, and in another speech he said that if we were to give a preference to the colonies we must put a tax on food. The very essence, therefore, of Mr. Chamberlain's policy is a tax on food, and I urge that

it ought to form the very foundation of the inquiry whether it is desirable that a tax should be put on the food of the people.

THE EARL OF JERSEY : I do not rise to continue this discussion, but to ask the noble Duke a Question. It has been stated, and not contradicted, that the campaign in favour of preferential tariffs is to begin in October. That presupposes that by October the inquiry on the part of the Government will have come to an end; and I therefore trust that before that campaign begins the supporters of the Government in Parliament will have the opportunity of hearing from the Prime Minister or the noble Duke himself what course the Cabinet are determined to adopt in this matter.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE : It would be impossible for me to state at present what course the Government will take in regard to making any announcement before the close of the session.

THE EARL OF JERSEY : Before the campaign begins?

[No answer was given.]

The subject then dropped.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES BILL (H.L.).

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (the Earl of ONSLOW) said the object of the new sub-section standing in his name was to give to the Board of Agriculture the same powers in regard to prosecutions under the Merchandise Marks Act for any misdescription of fish as it now possessed in regard to other articles.

Amendment moved—

"In line 17, at end, to insert as a new sub-section, 'The Merchandise Marks (Prosecutions) Act, 1894 (which relates to the undertaking by the Board of Agriculture of prosecu-

Lord Tweedmouth.

tions under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, in certain cases), shall apply to the produce of any fishing industry as it applies to agricultural or horticultural produce.'"—(*The Earl of Omslow.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2 agreed to.

Clause 3.

LORD HENEAGE explained that the object of his Amendment was to definitely fix October 1 next as the date on which the Act should come into operation.

Amendment moved.

"In page 2, line 39, to leave out from ('three') to the end of the sub-section."—(*Lord Heneage.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 140.)

THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY.

***LORD HARRIS** : My Lords, I desire to ask His Majesty's Government for what reason eligibility for promotion to warrant rank is withheld from the permanent staff of the Imperial Yeomanry, having regard to the statement of the Secretary of State for War on 10th February, 1902, viz. :—

"Warrant rank is confined to the Regular Army and Militia who are liable to be embodied for long periods,"

and to the fact that the Yeomanry force is now also liable to be embodied under the Militia and Yeomanry Act, 1902. I put this Question on behalf of a very deserving body of men, who are placed in positions of considerable responsibility in the Yeomanry force—men who are selected for their efficiency and conduct, and who are only retained in the force as long as they are efficient and well behaved. Their comrades holding a similar position in the Militia are eligible for warrant rank, whilst they have been hitherto refused it. It is unnecessary for me to state on what grounds it has

been refused. I believe every Committee that has sat at the War Office on Yeomanry matters has invariably recommended that the non-commissioned officers on the permanent staff of the Yeomanry should be eligible for this promotion. This privilege, however, has been invariably refused. Last year, as your Lordships will see from the quotation in my Question, the Secretary of State stated distinctly that "warrant rank was confined to the Regular Army and the Militia, who are liable to be embodied for long periods." Since that time, however, the Militia and Yeomanry Act has been passed, and the Yeomanry are now liable for a long period of embodiment. Therefore I am unable to see why eligibility to promotion should any longer be refused to these permanent sergeants in the Yeomanry. So far as the reasons given by the Secretary of State are concerned, it is inconsistent any longer to refuse this privilege; and therefore I ask the Question in the hope that His Majesty's Government will at length admit the reasonableness of this claim.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of HARDWICKE): I have no reason to take exception to anything which the noble Lord has stated in asking this Question, nor can I dispute any of the facts he has mentioned, but I will call attention to the extract from the answer that my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War gave in the House of Commons and which appears in the Question. That extract was part of a reply to a Question addressed on the subject of the Volunteers, and not in connection with the Yeomanry at all; and the Secretary of State, in stating that warrant rank was confined to the Regular Army and the Militia, who were liable to be embodied for long periods, merely stated a fact as the facts were at the time. Had the Yeomanry been under the same conditions as the Militia at that time he doubtless would not have made that answer to the Question, because if he did not feel disposed to grant warrant rank to the Yeomanry he would not have stated that it was merely confined to the Militia who were liable to embodiment for long periods. I would like to point out that the conditions of service in the

Militia and Yeomanry are very different. The Militia non-commissioned officers are eligible for warrant rank, but they are employed practically the whole year.

*LORD HARRIS : So are the Yeomanry officers.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: But the Militia sergeants are actively employed the whole year.

*LORD HARRIS : So are the Yeomanry.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: The recruits are at the depots for forty-nine days preliminary drill in addition to the training of one month, and Militiamen are allowed to, and do, go up for preliminary drill, at all periods of the year. Therefore I state, without fear of contradiction, that Militia sergeants are actively employed the whole year round. As regards the Yeomanry sergeants the case is different. The training is only sixteen days. The preliminary drill of a Yeoman consists of twenty drills only, and for an efficient Yeoman ten drills, and the only work that a non-commissioned officer in the Yeomanry has to do during the rest of the year is to instruct Yeomen when they come up for that instruction. I do not think the noble Lord can deny that for the greater part of the year the Yeomanry non-commissioned officer has not a great deal to do. I would also point out to the noble Lord that at present many Yeomanry regiments are under strength; and though I do not wish to shut the door to granting warrant rank to Yeomanry non-commissioned officers, I fear I cannot hold out any immediate prospect of warrant rank being granted. When the Yeomanry regiments are up to strength the matter will be again considered, and it is possible that the Secretary of State may then be able to take a more favourable view of the matter than he is able to do at present.

LORD WENLOCK: Might I ask the noble Earl how many regiments are below strength? There are regiments to whom neither of the reasons given for withholding warrant rank would apply, and I should like to ask how long it will

be before those who are already up to their full strength will have the privilege. The noble Earl seemed to consider that Yeomanry non-commissioned officers have very little to do as compared with the Militia, but I believe they have far more work in uncompleted regiments than they would have if the regiments were up to their full strength.

LORD MONKSWELL: The noble Earl the Under-Secretary tells the House that the Secretary of State will reconsider the question when the Yeomanry regiments are up to strength. I fail to follow the bearing of the answer. Does warrant rank depend on the strength?

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: The simple fact is that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, this is not the moment to grant this warrant rank; and for this reason, that when once you have given warrant rank you cannot take it away. You have, therefore, to be very careful in choosing your sergeants for that position. As Yeomanry non-commissioned officers are not always actively employed, and have a great deal of leisure on their hands, it is necessary that care should be exercised not to grant this rank to officers when we have not had sufficient experience of their capacity.

EARL CARRINGTON: I should like to ask how many Yeomanry regiments are below strength. In many counties I know they are above strength. I hardly think that the answer given by the noble Earl is satisfactory to the Imperial Yeomanry, which fine fighting force ought to be encouraged. They feel that an unmerited snub has been administered to the non-commissioned officers of the Imperial Yeomanry in not putting them on the same footing as Militia non-commissioned officers, especially as the new Act has now come into force.

***LORD HARRIS:** I cannot help expressing regret that I have not received a more favourable answer. The fact is that there are many regiments of Yeomanry at the present moment up to strength, and if it is legitimate some time or other that regiments on full strength should have this privilege

Lord Wenlock.

accorded to them, why should it not be granted now to those regiments which are up to strength? But I think it is unwise to apply that test. The strength of the Yeomanry is a purely arbitrary standard. I can assure my noble friend, who has not had quite so much experience of the Yeomanry as I have had——

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: I have had none.

***LORD HARRIS:** I thought so from what the noble Earl said, but I can assure him that a Yeomanry sergeant-major has quite as much work to do as a Militia sergeant-major.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: I have nothing to add to the reasons that my noble friend has given, but I do not like the remark of my noble friend opposite, that a snub had been administered to Yeomanry non-commissioned officers, to pass unnoticed. It is only quite recently that the Militia have been given warrant officers. They were given warrant officers during the war, and I do not think there is any necessity to institute a comparison between the particular work done by the two classes of officers. The cases of the Yeomanry and the Militia non-commissioned officer are so dissimilar that I greatly doubt whether any just parallel could be drawn between the two. I strongly deprecate the view that any snub has been administered.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: I am sorry the noble Lord considers my answer unsatisfactory. I told him distinctly that I did not wish to shut the door to giving this warrant rank, but that it could not be done at the present moment.

STAFF SERVICE.

LORD HENEAGE: My Lords, I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what is the total number of regimental majors and lieutenant-colonels now serving on the Staff and on extra-regimental duty unseconded under Regulation 26 of the Royal Warrant of 1903, and if he can state the actual number of squadron majors in the

Cavalry, and battery majors in the Artillery respectively on the Staff and extra regimental duty, and the difference in the annual pay of those officers, and that of the captains responsible for their duties during their absence from the regiments.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE: There are no regimental lieutenant-colonels, and there are 322 regimental majors serving on the Staff and on extra regimental duty unseconded under Regulation 26 of the Royal Warrant of 1903. The actual number of squadron majors in the cavalry on Staff and extra regimental duty is 18, and of battery majors in the Artillery 108. The differences between the pay of these squadron majors and battery majors and that of the captains responsible for their duties during their absence from their regiments are £75 and £107 respectively.

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half - past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 29th June, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :— Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the

case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Southampton Harbour Bill [Lords] (King's consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill. Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [Lords]; Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill; Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth and District Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill; Bournemouth Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]; Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Derby Gas Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Manchester Southern Tramways Bill [Lords]; Rochester Corporation Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [Lords]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (by Order). As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time and committed.

Pontypridd Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Finance Bill; Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation Bill; Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation Bill; Forth Navigation Order Confirmation Bill; Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill; Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter Houses, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill; Gorleston and Southtown Gas Bill, without Amendment.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill, with an Amendment.

New Hunstanton Improvement Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to Belfast Water Bill [Lords]; Shephed Urban District Gas Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870, relating to Aldershot Gas and Water, Amersham, Beaconsfield, and District Water, St. David's Water and Gas, St. Neot's Water, and Wexford Gas." [Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for rendering valid certain Letters Patent granted to William Phillips Thompson in respect of inventions communicated to him from abroad by Frederick Ellsworth Kip (1) for improvements in stop-motions for looms, warping machines, and the like; and (2) for improvements in electrical stop-motions for warps." [Kip's Patents Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable the City of Birmingham Tramways Company, Limited, to construct

additional tramways; and for other purposes." [Birmingham District Tramways Bill (Lords).]

And, also, a Bill intituled, "An Act to confer powers on the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford with respect to tramways, waterworks, and gas supply; to enable the Corporation and Urban District Council of Shipley to exchange portions of their respective gas undertakings; and to make further provisions with respect to rating and various matters of local administration and management." [Bradford Corporation Bill (Lords).]

Kip's Patents Bill [Lords]; Birmingham District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Bradford Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 260.]

Hexham Gas Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

BURGH POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Grangemouth, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petition from Seaton, against; to lie upon the Table.

COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION EXTENSION BILL.

Petition from Durham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Cumnock, against; to lie upon the Table.

LAND REGISTERS (SCOTLAND).

Petition from Perth, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL.

Petition from Malton, against ; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from West Cumberland, against ; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Malton, against ; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.

Petition of the National Chamber of Trade, in favour ; to lie upon the Table.

MOTOR-CARS.

Petition from Renfrewshire, for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (AUDIT) BILL.

Petition from Abergavenny, in favour ; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Petition from Wood Green, for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.**URBAN DISTRICTS (IRELAND).**

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 10th March—*Mr. O'Shee*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 228.]

MERCHANT SEAMEN'S FUND.

Account presented, of the Receipt and Expenditure under the Seamen's Fund Winding-up Act from 1st January to 31st December, 1902 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 229.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3009 to 3015 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

SAVINGS BANKS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Accounts presented, showing the Interest accrued in respect of the Securities standing in the names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the credit of the Post Office Savings Banks Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1902, and of the Fund for the Banks for Savings and the Fund for Friendly Societies for the year ended 20th November, 1902 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 230.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, declaring that Paul Powell, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table.

Paper laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House :—

LUNACY.

Copy of Fifty-seventh Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor, with Appendix [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 231.]

NAVAL EXPENDITURE AND MERCANTILE MARINE (GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.).

Return ordered, "showing aggregate Naval Expenditure on seagoing force ; aggregate revenue ; aggregate tonnage of Mercantile Marine ; annual clearances of shipping in the foreign trade ; annual clearances of shipping in the coasting trade ; annual value of imports by sea, including bullion and specie ; and annual value of exports by sea, including bullion and specie, of various countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British Self-governing Colonies, for the year 1902 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 373, of Session 1902)." —(*Sir John Colomb.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Labourers in Ireland.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how many

agricultural labourers and general labourers respectively are included in the Census returns of 1901 for the four provinces of Ireland, and how many were returned under the Census of 1891.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.)

	Agricultural Labourers.						General Labourers.					
	1901.			1891.			1901.			1891.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Leinster - - -	42,557	1,765	44,322	45,663	2,368	48,031	41,045	1,233	42,278	40,961	2,358	43,319
Munster - - -	40,937	1,107	42,044	47,093	2,563	49,656	29,638	580	30,168	32,269	1,208	33,477
Ulster - - -	39,082	1,347	40,429	41,069	2,541	43,610	37,834	415	38,249	32,021	910	32,931
Connaught - - -	12,773	748	13,521	13,448	1,233	14,681	7,023	145	7,168	8,370	523	9,353
Total for Ireland }	135,349	4,967	140,316	147,273	9,205	156,478	115,540	2,323	117,863	113,981	4,999	118,980

NOTE.—A large Number of the General Labourers may be assumed to be Agricultural Labourers, although not having returned themselves as such in the Census forms.

Experiments on Dogs.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the certificate given to Professor Schafer, in accordance with the provisions of the Act 39 and 40 Vic., c. 77, permits him partially to drown and then resuscitate the same dog without any anæsthetics more than once; and, if so, how many times; or permits him partially to drown and then resuscitate the same dog without any anæsthetics only once; and, if so, how many dogs has he permission so partially to drown and resuscitate.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.) The certificates obtained by Professor Schafer for the purpose of testing the best means of effecting resuscitation in cases of apparent drowning are limited to ten experiments. It is not stated whether the experiments shall be on ten separate dogs, or whether the same dog will be used for more than one experiment; but I have ascertained that Professor Schafer does not propose

to submerge any unanæsthetised animal more than once.

Prices of Sugar.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade what has been the average price of sugar for each year during the last five years, what has been the average bounty paid by Germany, Austria, and France during that period, what is the present price of sugar, and what is the quoted price for sugar for delivery twelve months from date.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The average declared import values of sugar imported into the United Kingdom in the last five years have been—

Years.	Of Refined Sugar.			Of Unrefined Sugar.	
	Per cwt.			Per cwt.	
	s.	d.		s.	d.
1898 -	12	3½	-	9	7½
1899 -	12	6½	-	10	5½
1900 -	12	10	-	10	5½
1901 -	12	2½	-	9	6½
1902 -	10	7½	-	7	7½

The average bounties on sugar paid by Germany, Austria, and France in each of the same years, as fixed by the United States Government for the purpose of levying countervailing duties, were—

	Per cwt.
	s. d.
For Austria-Hungary—	
During 1898 and 1899—	
Under 93 and at least 88 polarisation	1 3½
Under 99·5 and at least 93 polarisation	1 4½
At least 99·5 polarisation	1 11½
During 1900–1902—	
Under 99·3 and not less than 90 polarisation	1 0
At least 99·3 polarisation	1 5½
For Germany—	
Raw, at least 90	1 2½
Refined, under 98 and at least 90	1 3½
Candy, and sugar in white, hard loaves, blocks, crystals, etc., testing at least 99·5	1 9½
All other, at least 98	1 6
For France—	
Raw, 65 to 98 for beet, and 65 to 97 for French Colonial sugars	4 3½
Candy, and refined sugar in loaves or crushed	4 8½
Raw or refined, in grains or crystals, polarising at least 98	4 5½

The above estimates of bounties do not include any indirect bounties that may have arisen from the operations of cartels. The price of “88 per cent.” beet sugar, f.o.b. Hamburg, was reported about the middle of June, 1903, to be from 7s. 10d. to 8s. 0½d. per cwt. The price quoted at the same time for delivery in January–March next was from 8s. 9½d. to 8s. 11½d. per cwt.

Procedure under the Light Railways Act, 1896.

MR. BIGWOOD (Middlesex, Brentford): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether anything can be done to expedite the procedure under the Light Railways Act, 1896; whether he is aware that an interval of two, three, and more years has in some cases elapsed between the date of the application for the Order and the date of its confirmation by the Board of Trade; and whether there is any prospect of the County of Middlesex Light Railways Order, 1903, for which application was made in May, 1901, being confirmed by the Board of Trade before the prorogation of Parliament.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) Such delays as have occasionally occurred in

proceedings upon applications for Light Railway Orders have been due to postponements of stages for the benefit of parties where conflicting interests have had to be reconciled by agreement. In the majority of such cases these delays have occurred before the Light Railway Commissioners have been in a position to settle the Orders and submit them to the Board of Trade. The only way of preventing such delays would be to fix precise limits of time for the several stages, and rigorously to enforce them by the rejection of applications upon failure to proceed within those limits. I do not think this would be advantageous. In the case of the Order mentioned by the hon. Member, it is to be pointed out that it consolidates Orders applied for in November, 1901, and May, 1902, with the Orders applied for in May, 1901. The total length of lines proposed to be authorised by these combined Orders is over twenty miles. The Consolidated Order was submitted to the Board for confirmation on the 23rd of last month; the time limited for lodging objections to confirmation expired on the 20th instant; and the hearing of these objections has been fixed for the 8th of next month. The consideration of conflicting claims and the settlement of the Order will thereafter be proceeded with without delay, but it is quite impossible to fix a date by which confirmation can be given.

Supply of Poisonous Gases—Suggested Legislation.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill this session similar to the one of last year regulating the supply of water-gas and other poisonous gases.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The answer is in the negative.

Metropolitan Poor Law Schools—Expenditure on Buildings.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the President of the Local Government Board in which of the Poor Law Schools of the Metropolis expenditure on the buildings has been sanctioned since 1896; what, in each case, is the amount of such expenditure; for what purpose was it sanctioned;

and what is the reduction in the number of children to be accommodated ?

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) I append a statement showing the amounts which have been sanctioned by the Local Government Board since March, 1896, in connection with the buildings of the Metropolitan Poor Law Schools, and in each case the purpose

for which it was sanctioned. The statement does not include the schools belonging to the South Metropolitan school district which is now dissolved. In 1896 the total accommodation of the schools referred to in the statement was, according to the Report of the Poor Law Schools Committee, 8,655. The present accommodation, as fixed by the Board, is 7,702.

School.	Amounts sanctioned.	Purpose.
Bethnal Green - - -	£ 683	Additions to infants' schoolrooms.
St. George in the East - -	2,463 354 120 552 3,489	Day room and lavatory accommodation. Additions to Superintendent's rooms. Boundary walls.
Hackney - - - - -	60 450 450 235 300 62 1,100 2,250 5,764 10,671	Screens in schoolrooms. Laundry machinery. Sanitary works. Hot water supply, etc.. Water tanks. Alterations. Store rooms and servants' accommodation. Sanitary works, etc. Workshops, boiler house, etc.
Holborn - - - - -	9,803 1,560 62 11,425	Laundry, etc. Waiting room and engineer's house. Drainage works.
Islington - - - - -	269	Lavatory accommodation.
Lambeth - - - - -	60 226 2,043 800 3,129	Play shed for boys. Bathrooms. Boundary walls. Fire escape stairs.
St. Marylebone - - - -	180 400 13,107 2,291 15,978	Workshop. Fencing. Receiving wards, etc. Boilers, etc.
St. Pancras - - - - -	332 1,342 340 2,060 4,074	Fire escape stairs. Probation wards. Drainage works. Laundry buildings.
Poplar - - - - -	984	Receiving wards.

School.	Amounts sanctioned.	Purpose.
Shoreditch - - - -	200 28 177 <hr/> 405	Alterations in infirmary. Paving yards. Tar paving.
Strand - - - - -	475 230 <hr/> 705	Receiving house. Lavatory accommodation.
Central London - -	5,690 133 2,975 <hr/> 8,798	Infants' school. Repairing gable. Rainwater storage, etc.
Kensington and Chelsea (Ban- stead) - - - - -	400 2,000 <hr/> 2,400	Lavatory accommodation. Drill hall, etc.
Kensington and Chelsea (Ham- mersmith) - - - -	792 2,250 3,300 550 <hr/> 6,892	Superintendent's house. Enlarging schoolrooms. Class rooms and infants' dormitories. Entrance lodge.
West London - - - -	5,365 330 1,830 170 11,182 1,000 <hr/> 19,877	Boilers, etc. Lavatory accommodation. Electric lighting. Enlarging committee room. Schoolrooms. Water supply.

Glycerinated Calf Lymph for Scotland.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state why glycerinated calf lymph prepared at the Board's laboratory is not supplied free of charge to the Local Government Board for Scotland for the use of parochial vaccinators in Scotland, having regard to the fact that last year the Scottish Board paid to Dr. Blaxall, a salaried officer of the London Board, the sum of £105 for lymph which was prepared in the Board's laboratory and produced from the Board's calves; and will he explain why Dr. Blaxall is allowed to sell for his own profit lymph prepared in an establishment supported out of Imperial funds.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) Under an arrangement of a provisional character made in 1899, with the consent of the Treasury, the Local Government Board for Scotland pay Dr. Blaxall £105 per annum for a certain quantity of lymph. The lymph is prepared at the laboratory at Chelsea, but as I have previously stated, the cost of its production and preparation is borne by Dr. Blaxall. He is not required to devote his whole time to his duties under my Department, and as the arrangement above referred to does not interfere with those duties and was desired by the Local Government Board for Scotland, my Department offered no objection to it.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Lord Advocate in view of the fact that the Local Government Board for Scotland have paid Dr. Cadell of Edinburgh £15 14s. 3d. for 419 tubes of vaccine lymph, will he state what facilities Dr. Cadell has for its production; and why glycerinated calf lymph is not used for the whole of the work of parochial vaccinators.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) I am informed that Dr. Cadell, as superintendent of vaccination at the New Town Dispensary, Edinburgh, collects vaccine lymph from the arms of children vaccinated by him, and hitherto has had no difficulty in supplying all the lymph required by the Central Vaccine Institution for Scotland. To the second part of the hon. Member's Question the answer is that there are a few parochial vaccinators who prefer humanised vaccine lymph, and they are supplied with it accordingly.

Weekly Returns of Infectious Diseases.

MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, seeing the advantages that have been derived from the weekly returns of infectious diseases now made in many districts in England, he will make it compulsory on all medical officers of health to make such returns.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) The returns on this subject at present furnished to me are made voluntarily by certain urban district councils every week. These councils receive from me weekly a tabulated statement containing the particulars supplied by the returns. It is open to other urban councils to join in the scheme; but the proposal to make it generally compulsory would require careful consideration, and I could not at present promise that this shall be done.

Wandsworth Infirmary—Death of Michael Sadler.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what has been the result of the communication

with the guardians which he proposed to make as to the death of Michael Sadler in the Wandsworth Infirmary on 20th April; and what action does he propose to take in the matter.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) The guardians desired that an official inquiry should be held on this subject, and this course appeared to me to be desirable. I have accordingly directed a local inquiry to be held, and it will take place to-morrow.

New Post Office at Southampton—Danger to the Public.

MR. TANKERVILLE CHAMBERLAYNE (Southampton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the site selected for a new post office at Southampton is within 12 feet of railway lines, over which trains are running at all hours of the day and night; and, seeing that in order to reach it it will be necessary to cross these lines, and, in the opinion of the County Borough Council, who are the local authority, and the Southampton Harbour Board, who are the owners of the railways, such an arrangement will be fraught with danger and inconvenience to the public, will he state what steps he proposes to take.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The new head telegraph office at Southampton, to which is attached a branch post office, is being built, together with a new Custom House, on a site on the south side of Canute Road, acquired for the purpose under the powers of the Post Office Sites Acts of 1897 and 1900, with the assistance of the Corporation. I am informed that that side of the road is already used for foot traffic, and the fact that trains are allowed to pass along the road, which is a main road of the town, seems to show that not much danger is attributed to their presence.

Telephone Licences to Municipalities.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): To ask the Postmaster-General to what municipalities have licences been

granted under the Telephone Act of 1899; and whether he can specify the duration of the licence in each case.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)
The information asked for by the hon. Member is as follows—

Licencees.	Date of Licence.	Date of Expiration of Licence.
Glasgow Corporation - - -	1 and 6 March, 1900	31 December, 1913
Tunbridge Wells Corporation - -	30 April, 1900	(see note)
Belfast Corporation - - -	28 February, 1901	31 December, 1911
Brighton Corporation - - -	30 April, 1901	30 April, 1926
Chard Corporation - - -	13 December, 1901	24 June, 1922
Grantham Corporation - - -	18 September, 1900	31 December, 1911
Huddersfield Corporation - -	22 February, 1901	28 February, 1926
Portsmouth Corporation - -	21 September, 1901	31 June, 1926
Hull Corporation - - -	8 August, 1902	31 December, 1911
Swansea Corporation - - -	27 September, 1902	31 December, 1920
West Hartlepool Corporation -	30 September, 1902	30 September, 1927
Oldham Corporation - - -	31 December, 1902	31 December, 1920
Scarborough Corporation - -	31 December, 1902	31 December, 1911

NOTE.—The system of the Tunbridge Wells Corporation was transferred by consent to the National Telephone Company in November, 1902.

Promotion in the Customs Service.

COLONEL SADLER (Middlesbrough): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if it is the intention of the Board of Customs to pursue the same policy in the selection of officers for the upper section of preventive officers and the higher posts of the waterguard department as in the case of the junior boatmen candidates for preventive officerships, viz.: a percentage being given to young and meritorious men possessing marked administrative qualities; and if he will have regard in making such a selection to the local knowledge an officer may have of the port where a vacancy occurs.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) No change is proposed in the method of selection of officers for the upper section of preventive officers and the higher posts of the waterguard department. The selection is made on the combined grounds of length of service and special qualifications.

Girgenti Inebriates Reformatory.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Lord Advocate, having regard to the fact that the reformatory at Girgenti, in Ayrshire, is the only institution certified by the Secretary for Scotland under the provisions of the Inebriates Acts, will he state the amount which this institution received out of the Vote for last year, the number of inmates, and the names

of any similar institutions which have applied for certification or pecuniary assistance.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) The fact as stated by the hon. Member is not accurate. There are now two such certificated institutions in Scotland, a licence having been granted to the Greenock House of Refuge since the date of the hon. Member's previous question on the subject.† The payments to the managers of the certified inebriate reformatory at Girgenti, in Ayrshire, out of the Vote for the financial year to 31st March, 1903, amounted to £1,285 2s. 6d. Since the opening of the institution in January, 1901, seventy-one inmates have been treated here, and the average number in residence is about forty-three. The correspondence with other authorities has not reached the stage of a formal application for certification.

International Fisheries Investigation.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Lord Advocate, having regard to the fact that the Fishery Board for Scotland will participate in the International Fisheries Investigation in the North Sea, to the extent of superintending the expenditure of half the amount voted, will he state the name of the boat which will be at the Board's disposal; and whether she

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxi., 1515.

will follow up the scientific researches made by the "Garland" in the Moray Firth.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The name of the vessel engaged in the investigations referred to by the hon. Member is the "Goldseeker." The answer to the latter part of the Question is in the affirmative.

Brussels Sugar Convention—Proceedings of Permanent Commission.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can now inform the House what decisions have been arrived at by the Permanent Commission sitting at Brussels; whether the Austro-Hungarian allotment system has been approved; whether the sugar legislation of any other countries has been considered and any orders issued with regard to the treatment of these countries by the nations which are parties to the Convention; and whether arrangements have been made for the publication of the proceedings.

(*Answered by Lord Cranborne.*) This inquiry is met by the answer to the Question put by the hon. Member for King's Lynn to the First Lord of the Treasury this afternoon.

Action of Southport Bench.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney, and Shetland): To ask Mr. Attorney-General if his attention has been called to the conduct of the Bench at Southport; and if he proposes to take any action in consequence.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) My attention has been called, by the courtesy of my hon. friend, to the circumstances referred to. The case is not one in which I can take any action.

Wages in Dockyards.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can hold out hope of an early decision concerning the wages of certain dockyard trades which were recently specified as deserving consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) It is hoped that the decisions in these cases will be announced at a very early date.

Irish Land Bill—Return of Advances for Purchase of Holdings.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the alteration in the amount of annuities to be payable under the provisions of the Land Purchase Bill due to the dropping of the perpetual rent-charge, he can arrange for the re-issue of the Return showing particulars with respect to the advances for the purchase of holdings and repayments to Land Commission under Clauses 1 and 40 (No. 183) giving the figures of that Return in italics and the new figures in ordinary type.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Return in question has been issued.

Irish National Education—Superintendents of Examinations.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Intermediate Commissioners give a preference to intermediate teachers applying for the position of superintendents of examinations; whether in the appointments length of service is taken into consideration, and whether the Commissioners will give the names and length of service of the intermediate teachers appointed for the first time this year to these positions.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The reply to the first Question is in the negative. In making appointments the Commissioners proceed on the principle of selecting those who, in their opinion, are the best qualified. A list containing the names of centre superintendents will be supplied to the hon. Member on application in writing to the office of the Commissioners.

Irish Resident Magistrates—Action of Mr. C. P. Crane.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. C. P. Crane, resident magistrate,

interfered with the solicitor for one of the parties in a case at Killarney Petty Sessions on last Tuesday, that three other magistrates protested against his action, and all the solicitors practising in the Court also protested in writing against his action; and seeing that Mr. Crane was formerly a police officer in Killarney, where he has now been sent to exercise judicial functions, and having regard to the action taken by him on this occasion, and the relations existing between the people of Killarney and Mr. Crane, he will prevent Mr. Crane adjudicating in future at Killarney.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) Mr. Crane is not the resident magistrate of the Killarney district. On the occasion referred to he was acting as *locum tenens* for the local resident magistrate, who was absent. The interference of Mr. Crane with the local solicitor merely consisted in his objecting to certain questions being put by the latter to witnesses, on the ground that they were irrelevant to the charge under investigation. The other magistrates disagreed with Mr. Crane on this point of practice, and the questions were accordingly allowed to be put. Mr. Crane, who is a most efficient magistrate, acted within his rights, and has done nothing to disqualify him from acting in future as a resident magistrate at Killarney or any other petty sessions.

Terminable Leases in Towns—Compensation for Improvements.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the holders of terminable leases in towns are subject to eviction or increase of rent without any compensation for buildings or improvements made at their expense; and whether he can hold out any hope of introducing a Bill to deal with this matter at an early date.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I cannot hold out any hope of legislation in the direction suggested.

Erection of Pier at Ballyconnell, County Sligo.

MR. WILLIAM M'KILLOP (Sligo, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the people of Ballyconnell, a congested district on the north coast of Sligo, are at present unable to pursue their calling as fishermen owing to the want of a sheltering pier; and, if so, will he consider the advisability of having a small pier erected for their accommodation.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) If the County Council should propose a reasonable scheme for a useful work at this place, and will show their confidence in the work by voting a sum of money towards it, the Congested Districts Board will be prepared to contribute an equal amount.

Roughly Congested District (Sligo).

MR. WILLIAM M'KILLOP: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the population of the congested district of Roughly, county Sligo, situate on the north coast of Sligo, are not permitted at present to gather seaweed unless on payment of 1s. per cart for same; that they are unable to take vehicles to the fishing pier erected for their accommodation owing to the want of a road sixty perches in extent; and, if so, whether he will have inquiries instituted with the view of having this state of affairs remedied.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The Government has no power to interfere with any private arrangements existing in respect to seaweed. Inquiry will be made as to the alleged want of an accommodation road to the pier.

Ragging in the Army.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what steps he proposes to take to prevent the repetition of civilians being tried by so-called Court-martials; and if any General Orders are to be issued by him, or by his authority, to prevent any further ill-treatment of unpopular officers or civilians by commissioned officers in His Majesty's Army.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The Army Act and existing Regulations

are considered sufficient to deal with the matters alluded to.

Evasion of Fair Wage Clause by Army Clothing Contractor.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to an alleged evasion of the current wage clause by a firm of clothing contractors; and, if so, what action has been, or is being taken, in the matter.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) Will the hon. and gallant Member be good enough to give fuller details, including the name of the firm, to enable the case to be traced.

Field Allowance to Officers in South Africa.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War, whether his attention has been directed to the fact that field allowances usually given to officers under canvas are at present disallowed to officers in South Africa in temporary huts of corrugated iron or similar material; and, if so, what steps he will take to remedy this state of affairs.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) Field allowance is granted in cases when the hut is non-equipped or partially equipped; but in South Africa a large number of superior equipped huts have been provided, in which cases the grant is inadmissible under present regulations.

Population of Rhodesia.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the present estimated white population of Buluwayo, Salisbury, and the districts of Rhodesia outside those towns, respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.) The results of an informal census taken 31st May, 1901, gave the white population of Buluwayo as 4,694; of Salisbury, 1,395; of the rest of Southern Rhodesia, 4,943. These are the latest figures which I am able to give.

Colonial Tariffs.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in any of the communications that have taken place between all or any of the self-governing colonies, they, or any one of them, have expressed their willingness to surrender their complete tariff autonomy, or to forego the recognition of the custom that has arisen in all recent commercial treaties concluded between this country and any foreign State of inserting an article empowering the self-governing colonies to adhere or not at will to the treaty; whether the self-governing colonies have been informed if it is in contemplation to grant preferential treatment to their natural products or only their food products by the United Kingdom; whether the view expressed in the Report of the Colonial Conference between the Colonial Secretary and the Premiers of the self-governing colonies that, if the colonies cease to be granted most-favoured-nation treatment by any foreign country owing to such country giving a preference to our goods, they have a remedy in their own hands, is still that of the Colonial Secretary and of the Colonial Premiers; and, if so, whether he will state what are these remedies; and whether the self-governing colonies have ever, in any communication addressed to the Colonial Office, suggested that they should be protected against hostile action on the part of any foreign State in regard to their imports into that State, by the imposition of duties on its imports into the United Kingdom.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.) No suggestion has been made by His Majesty's Government or by any of the colonies that the self-governing colonies should surrender their liberty of framing their own Customs tariffs, or that any alteration should be made in the existing practice in the negotiation of commercial treaties, of leaving it to them to decide whether or not notice of adherence on their behalf should be given by His Majesty's Government. The nature of the remedy which the colonies have in their own hands in the event of their being penalised by a foreign country for granting tariff preference to British

produce and manufactures is sufficiently indicated by the paragraph of the Report of the Colonial Conference to which the hon. Member refers. There have been no communications with any colony on the subject since the Conference, nor has any colony at any time considered it necessary to indicate to His Majesty's Government the manner in which they should protect the fiscal freedom of the Empire.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The Cape Ragging Court-Martial.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the evidence submitted before the Court-martial at Wellington Barracks for the trial of seven officers in reference to the incident at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town, and of the fact that the verdict was given solely on the charges of indecency and blasphemy, what action is going to be taken by the War Office in respect to the admitted conduct of the aforesaid officers towards a civilian at Cape Town.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No further action will be taken by the War Office in respect of these officers. They have been tried and acquitted on the charges advanced by Mr. Stanford subsequently to the verdict of the civil Court, and it would not be in accordance with justice or precedent to go back on other charges for which compensation has been paid in a civil Court, and since which the officers have been re-employed in the field.

Army Post—Missing Registered Letter.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a registered letter, addressed to Private Thomas Edens, 7,059, B Company, 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Field Force, South Africa, was despatched from the Army Post Office, Middleburg, Transvaal, on the 21st July, 1901, to the Officer Commanding, Benson's Column; and that the registered letter list was returned signed J. Hardmarsh, lance-corporal; whether he can state what has become of

this letter; and, if not, will the person who registered the letter be compensated.

MR. BRODRICK: The loss of this letter has been the subject of communications with the War Office. The letter cannot be traced. No responsibility whatever can be accepted by the War Department for the non-delivery of letters on active service.

MR. WOOD (Down, E.): Seeing that the lance-corporal is still in the service have any inquiries been made of him?

MR. BRODRICK: It is of no use making inquiries now.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): This was a registered letter. Do the War Office absolutely refuse all responsibility for registered letters?

MR. BRODRICK: We can only use our best endeavours to trace them.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Was any champagne consigned to officers lost?

Mediterranean Fleet—Gunnery Practice.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty has he now received the further Report from the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet containing the further details required to show to what extent the gunnery practice ordered by the Commander-in-Chief on 29th April last failed to conform to the Admiralty regulations, or what were the reasons for any variation in the regulation practice; and can he now say in what respects this practice departed from the Admiralty regulations for the attainment of good shooting and proficiency in gunnery.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The Report referred to has now been received. The practice conformed in all respects with the Admiralty regulations, except that, for the purpose of practising the crews in rapid firing with several guns at the same time, a certain number of rounds of aiming rifle ammunition were fired simultaneously, and not separately, and the shots, though

observed, were not individually marked. The practice is one which has frequently been carried out in the Mediterranean Fleet, and, though it is not prescribed by the regulations, it is entirely within the province of the Commander-in-Chief to sanction it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Then am I to understand that the Admiralty approve the practice of firing shots without marking?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, under these circumstances.

Aden Boundary Commission.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what is the state of the proceedings at Aden as regards the Boundary Commission, and what progress is being made; who is responsible for its proceedings; and when will it be possible to lay Papers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): The proceedings of our Boundary Commission in delimiting the frontier between the tribes under our protection and the territory of the Ottoman Empire have not been as rapid as could be wished, as the Commission have had to contend with difficulties of an altogether exceptional character and with obstruction against which His Majesty's Government have been compelled more than once to protest. The survey of the territory of the Amir of Dthali has, however, now been completed, and the Report of the British Commissioners on that survey is under the consideration of His Majesty's Government. I hope that an agreement will shortly be arrived at with the Turkish Government as to the general direction of the line to be adopted for the frontier, which will then be demarcated on the spot by the Turkish and British Commissioners. The proceedings of the British Commission on the spot are primarily under the control of the Government of India, while the negotiations with the Turkish Government are in the hands of His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and under the conduct of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Every effort will be made by His Majesty's

Government to expedite the conclusion of the work upon which the Commission are engaged, but until it is concluded, I cannot undertake to lay Papers on the Table of the House.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: How long will it be necessary to retain the extra troops there?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I cannot say. They are kept there as a matter of precaution, and will, I suppose, stay as long as the Commission is there.

Registration of Clubs.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is now in a position to state the number of clubs registered in compliance with the provisions of the Licensing Act of 1902 in England and in Wales?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): 6,174 clubs have been registered in England up to the 27th of May last, and 178 in Wales.

Motor-Cars in Hyde Park.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether in view of the speed at which motor-cars are driven through Hyde Park, he will authorise the police to prevent them entering the park until such time as the law is competent to restrain them?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH (Derbyshire, W.): The First Commissioner of Works asks me to invite the hon. Member's attention to the statement made on behalf of the Government in another place on Thursday last,† that the Government intend to proceed with their Bill for the regulation of motor traffic, and hope to introduce it this week. But the First Commissioner is also considering in concert with the police authorities what steps can best be taken to regulate the speed of vehicles in Hyde Park, Constitution-hill, and St. James's Park.

† See page 538.

The Maltese Language Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether communications have passed between the British and Italian Governments with reference to the attempt to suppress the teaching or the use of the Italian language in Malta, and with reference to the change in the Council at Malta by constituting the official members the majority of that Council, or placing the elected members, who had formerly been in a majority, in a permanent minority; and whether he is prepared to state the purport of these communications.

THE UNDER - SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (LORD CRANBORNE, Rochester): No communications have passed between the two Governments since the beginning of last year, when we were informed by the Italian Ambassador of the satisfaction with which he had read the speech of my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary, delivered in this House on the 28th January of that year.†

Alleged Kurdish Atrocities near Erzeroum.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the fact that a convent near Erzeroum has recently been pillaged by Kurds, who killed a number of priests, and the village of Benn also pillaged about the same time; also that the Turkish troops afforded no protection during this action of the Kurds; and what steps the Foreign Office are prepared to take in regard to these occurrences.

LORD CRANBORNE: His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has received no report from the Acting British Consul at Erzeroum of any outrages of this kind having occurred near that place. He is, however, making inquiries. The Porte denies that there is any foundation for the reports.

† See (4) *Debates*, ci., 1182.

MR. FLYNN: Is it not the fact that the telegraphic account of these outrages came from Constantinople on the 23rd June? How is it the Foreign Office is unable to get any information there?

LORD CRANBORNE: We have information there that there is no truth in the report.

MR. FLYNN: Will further inquiries be made?

LORD CRANBORNE: We are making further inquiries.

Yangtse River Railway.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the negotiations commenced four years ago by the Peking Syndicate to obtain permission to construct a railway to the Yangtse River have advanced beyond the recognition of the claim twelve months ago by Prince Ching to Sir Ernest Satow; if so, what is the present state of the negotiations.

LORD CRANBORNE: The reply to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative, but the negotiations which are proceeding with the Chinese Government in regard to this as well as to other railway questions are not yet concluded. I am afraid I am not able at this juncture to give any particulars as to the present state of the negotiations.

Shantung Railways.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the German Government claim the monopoly of railway construction in the valley of the Yellow River on account of its being within the Hinterland of the Province of Shantung; if so, whether His Majesty's Government recognise such right.

LORD CRANBORNE: The position of the British and German Syndicates interested in the development of the valley of the Yellow River and its communications towards the south is described in the Parliamentary Paper, China, No. 1, 1899, p. 214. I have

nothing to add in explanation of the attitude of the German Government and of His Majesty's Government to what is contained in these Papers.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: What connection has the syndicate with the Government of Germany?

LORD CRANBORNE: If my hon. friend will read the Paper he will see.

British Vice-Consuls in Switzerland.

MR. WOOD: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will explain why the appointment to the office of Vice-Consul which has recently been made at St. Gall, Switzerland, has been given to a foreigner, in view of the fact that British residents with large business interests there were passed over.

LORD CRANBORNE: The Secretary of State was advised that there was no suitable British subject at St. Gall who could be recommended for the appointment of Vice-Consul. He therefore sanctioned the appointment of a Swiss gentleman, whose business is chiefly connected with this country.

Congo Free State.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government have yet communicated with Foreign Governments on the subject of the Congo Free State in accordance with the Resolution passed by this House on 20th May; and, if so, whether he will state to which countries the despatch has been addressed.

LORD CRANBORNE: The question of the terms of the communication to be addressed to the signatories of the Act of Berlin on the subject of the Congo Free State is one which requires careful consideration. The terms, however, of one part of this communication are settled, and, in regard to the other part, it is hoped that a decision may be arrived at shortly.

Ophthalmia in Metropolitan Schools.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his Department will cause a medical examination to be undertaken of the children attending elementary schools in the Metropolis, with a view to a Report showing how many children are working in the schools suffering from ophthalmia, and what means may be adopted to prevent this disease spreading to other children.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board of Education are not, as at present advised, prepared to undertake the inquiry suggested in the Question. A circular was issued in October 1901 to managers and teachers of urban elementary schools on the subject of the children's eyesight. In this circular attention was particularly called to the symptoms of ophthalmia, to the necessity for immediate and continuous treatment, and to the importance of excluding the children affected from school until a medical certificate of their fitness for re-admission had been obtained.

Assistant Matrons in Irish Prisons.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department to state the scale of salaries, dietary, rules of boarding, etc., at present applying to assistant matrons employed in English prisons; and will he say why, in case these conditions do not apply to Ireland, a uniform scale should not be adopted applicable to the assistant prison matrons of both countries.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: The scale of pay for assistant female warders in English prisons is £50, rising by £1 10s. a year to £65 in convict prisons and £45, rising by £1 to £50 in local prisons. Official quarters are provided in the prisons, with a fixed amount of free washing, and fuel and light. The officers board themselves, though they are allowed to have their food cooked by female prisoners. I can give no opinion with regard to Ireland, where the prisons are not under my control; but I can understand that the circumstances may differ so much as to make uniform rules as to these matters in the two countries unnecessary, if not impossible.

Audit of Irish Public Accounts.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): On behalf of the hon. Member for the St. Patrick's Division of Dublin I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that all the Irish public accounts are mainly audited in London and a few of them partially for a few weeks in Dublin, he will state what is the cost of the work in London and Dublin respectively; and whether he will arrange to have the work done entirely in Dublin, in order to avoid the additional cost of travelling and maintenance, which the partial audit in Dublin at present entails.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. ELLIOT, Durham): The additional annual cost incurred in travelling to and from Dublin, and in maintenance while there, usually amounts to less than £500. It is not possible to state what is the cost of the audit of Irish public accounts in London, as the officers engaged on it are also employed on other duties. The saving which would accrue from such a change as is suggested would not compensate for the public inconvenience which would result from the impossibility of exercising direct supervision of the work performed and of personal conference with the officers engaged upon it.

MR. LUNDON: On behalf of the hon. Member for the St. Patrick's Division of Dublin I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that audit office officials are permanently employed at Devonport Dockyard and at other places outside of the audit office, he will, with a view to economy and efficiency, have a permanent audit office staff at Dublin.

MR. ELLIOT: The character of the work at Devonport and the other dockyards is peculiar, and is necessarily carried out on the spot, as the books and documents could not possibly be spared for transmission to London. The establishment of a permanent audit office staff in Dublin would not lead to greater economy and efficiency.

MR. LUNDON: On behalf of the hon. Member for the St. Patrick's

Division of Dublin I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to the fact that the present system of mainly auditing all Irish accounts in London causes additional work in keeping duplicate records of payments in London, and that if the work were done entirely in Dublin some of this duplicating could be avoided, that books and documents essential to audit cannot be sent to London for examination, and that reference to these books and documents has to be postponed for months; and, seeing that correspondence between London and Dublin could be avoided if the audit were carried out entirely in Dublin, whether he will make arrangements to have the audit carried out entirely in Dublin.

MR. ELLIOT: Any additional work in keeping duplicate records is more than compensated for by the opportunities afforded to the Comptroller and Auditor-General of personal access to his officers. No inconvenience arises from the postponement until the annual visit of reference to the books and documents kept in Dublin. The amount of correspondence would in any case not be diminished, but would probably be increased, by the necessity for written instead of personal communication between the officers of the Exchequer and Audit Department and the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

Tobacco Growing in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the experiments being made in tobacco growing in Ireland, he could arrange for an abatement of the duty on Irish-grown tobacco in order to encourage the industry.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): While the matter has been in an experimental stage I understand that arrangements have been made by the Department of Agriculture to prevent the burden of the duty falling upon individual growers. I need hardly say that I shall watch the result of the experiments with great interest, but I cannot hold out any hope

that in the event of the industry developing beyond the experimental stage a lower duty could be charged on home-grown than on imported tobacco.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: In view of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman I beg to say that I will put another Question on the Paper on the same subject, but addressed to the Colonial Secretary.

Salaries of Irish Medical Officers.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can undertake that, in case the existing salaries of Irish medical officers are raised, the Treasury recoupment in aid of those salaries shall be proportionally increased.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): This is a hypothetical Question to which no definite answer can be given. The limits within which recoupment can be made out of the local taxation account are defined by Section 58 of the Local Government Act, 1898, and Section 6 of the Amending Act of last year, to which I would refer the hon. Member.

Maryborough Prison Staff.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the report of an inquiry held recently at Maryborough Prison; and, if so, will he state whether the decision then announced has since been reversed; and whether, in view of the discontent existing in the Maryborough prison service, he would consider the advisability of establishing a regular Court, independent of the officers of the Prisons Board, for trial of breaches of prison rules on the same lines as that provided for the Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. WYNDHAM: Inquiries have been held at this prison from time to time. No decisions of the Prisons Board have been reversed, and no discontent exists as alleged. Breaches of prison rules are investigated in the manner provided by Statute, and the system is the same in Ireland as in England.

Irish Dispensary Appointments.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that resolutions have been forwarded from the Queen's County Branch of the Irish Medical Association to the board of guardians of each union in the county declaring that no qualified practitioner should apply for or accept a dispensary appointment vacated by a doctor who has not received suitable superannuation, or at a lesser salary than £200 per annum, and declining to do duty for or meet in consultation any colleague who contravenes the proposals contained in the resolutions, and further stating that they should use their best endeavours to dissuade any medical practitioner from becoming a candidate for a dispensary or workhouse appointment for which the salary is less than the amount fixed by the Association; and, if so, will he state what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; a resolution to this effect was adopted. The matters referred to cannot properly be discussed within the limits of a reply to a Question.

Maryborough Prison—Chief Warder Walsh.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the circumstances under which Chief Warder Walsh, of Maryborough Gaol, was recently transferred to Cork, and whether that officer has been reduced in rank or salary; and whether, seeing that the alleged irregularities for which he has been held responsible have been in existence for over three years, and before this officer came to Maryborough, will he state whether the alleged irregularities were known to the Prisons Board or their inspectors; and, if not, what explanation have they to offer for their failure to detect them.

MR. WYNDHAM: The chief warder was not reduced in rank or salary on his transfer to Cork Local Prison. He was unequal to the physical strain at Maryborough Convict Prison, and on his own

application he was retired, on pension, on grounds of health.

Maryborough Prison and Warders' Cottages.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what was the cost of building the new prison at Maryborough; whether the contract for the same was satisfactorily executed; whether, seeing that a number of cottages had been built for warders recently in the vicinity of the prison, he will state the cost of each cottage and if advertisements were inserted in any newspapers inviting tenders for the carrying on of this work; and whether, in view of the character of these cottages, he will grant an inquiry into this matter.

MR. WYNNDHAM: The cost of the new prison, when completed, will be £27,060. The contract has been satisfactorily executed. The average cost of each of the warders' cottages is £225. Tenders were not invited by advertisement for the erection of the cottages. The work was carried out by the new prison contractor at his contract rates. No complaints have been made in respect to the cottages, which are reported to be suitable and comfortable.

Maryborough Prison—Traffic with Prisoners.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state by what authority the Governor of Maryborough Prison informed the warders there on parade that the Chairman of the Prisons Board had told him that if he submitted the name of any warder for removal such warder would be immediately removed from the service; and whether, in view of the fact that a number of young men serving at Maryborough Gaol have been discharged from the service without any allegation of incompetency, he will state whether these men will be granted compensation for abolition of office, or inquiry be made by some independent authority into the causes of their removal.

MR. WYNNDHAM: The Governor did not make the statement attributed to him. But he did point out to the warders the serious consequences that would result from engaging in traffic with prisoners. This was done with the authority of the Prisons Board. The prison officers who were recently retired consequent on the re-organisation of the Prison Staff, were awarded pensions calculated on actual service. The facts were fully investigated by Government, who approved of the retirement of these officials. It is not proposed to make any further inquiry in the matter.

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a number of tenants on the Cusack Estate, County Longford, are being deprived of their future tenancies by reason of the failure of the receiver to agree with them as to terms of purchase; and whether he can undertake to make representations to the receiver not to deprive these tenants of their crops and grazing pending the passage of the present Land Bill.

MR. WYNNDHAM: Proceedings for the sale of this estate are pending in the Land Judge's Court. The rental is in course of settlement. No tenant who is legally entitled to the advantages of the Land Purchase Acts is, or can be, deprived of these by the action of the receiver, or any other official.

Granard Union Nursing Nuns.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in consequence of the decision of the Local Government Board for Ireland in the matter of the recent inquiry held in Granard Union on the subject of the nursing system in that union, the nursing nuns are being withdrawn from the institution; and whether, in view of the importance to the sick poor of the retention of their services, and the fact that the main question of the inquiry was ignored in the Report, he will direct the Local Government Board to take immediate steps to retain the services of these ladies.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board regrets that the nuns have severed their official connection with the Granard Union Hospital. The appointment of nurses rests with the guardians and not with the Board. If the guardians decide to re-elect these ladies or to appoint other qualified nuns to the vacant posts it is very unlikely that the board will raise any objection.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) asked if the right hon. Gentleman himself would look into the matter. As he understood it the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman would hardly meet the difficulty.

MR. J. P. FARRELL asked, as the matter was of great importance to the locality, would the right hon. Gentleman, in case the nuns were not re-elected, give an undertaking that an opportunity should be afforded at an early date to discuss it on the Vote for the Local Government Board.

MR. WYNDHAM said that it rested with the First Lord of the Treasury, and not with him, to decide when the Vote would be taken.

Derelict Evicted Farms in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to state the number of derelict evicted farms in County Longford to which Clause 2 of the Land Bill, as amended, would apply.

MR. WYNDHAM: There were six untenanted evicted farms in County Longford on the 1st April last.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Will the right hon. Gentleman take any steps to prevent these farms being occupied before the passing of the Land Bill.

MR. WYNDHAM replied that it was not convenient to anticipate any discussion on the Land Bill by way of Questions. The hon. Member knew the position of affairs and if he was not satisfied he would have an opportunity of raising his point.

Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the fact that the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in the cities of Londonderry, Cork, Waterford, and Belfast have numbers on their uniforms, he will direct the wearing of numbers on their uniforms by members of the Royal Irish Constabulary stationed in country districts.

MR. WYNDHAM: This question has repeatedly been raised in the House, and, as at present advised, I see no reasons for arriving at a different conclusion from that come to by my predecessors—namely, that the proposed change is inexpedient and undesirable.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: What is the police objection?

MR. WYNDHAM: Officers of the force may be employed in any part of Ireland, and there would be difficulty in working out the scheme.

Cork Model Schools.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now state what was the result of the last meeting of the Commissioners of National Education in respect to the occupation of a portion of the Cork Model Schools by the local Technical Committee; whether in regard to the difference between the Commissioners and the Committee as to certain alterations, the Commissioners will send a competent surveyor or inspector to meet the Committee with a view to an arrangement of the existing dispute.

MR. WYNDHAM: The matter was reconsidered by the Commissioners at their special meeting held on the 26th May. The arrangement under which certain rooms of the Model Schools were placed at the disposal of the Technical Committee was expressly stated to be a temporary one. In November last the Board of Works reported to the Commissioners that very serious structural changes in the premises were being proposed by the Committee. In giving

their sanction to the temporary use of the school rooms the Commissioners had no idea whatever that the premises were to be interfered with to the extent contemplated, or that arrangements would be made that would interfere with the health of the pupils of the school, or the efficiency of the teaching. It has been found that the school work has been already very adversely affected by the holding of the technical classes in the school, and the encroachments of the Committee on the playgrounds and premises. The Resident Commissioner visited the schools last month and has reported on the defects in the arrangements which he observed at the date of his visit. The Commissioners are of opinion that the full and clear possession of the schools is absolutely necessary for the efficient carrying out of their own work, and they are unable to vary the decision already arrived at, namely, that the temporary arrangement with the Technical Committee should terminate on the 30th instant. Acting on the undertaking given by me on a previous occasion, I communicated with the Commissioners, bringing under their notice the suggestion which had been made that final action be postponed until after the Estimates had been discussed. It appears to me, however, that the Commissioners, for the reasons explained by me, have made out a strong case for the decision at which they have arrived.

MR. FLYNN: On the strength of the arrangement the local Technical Committee spent a large sum of money.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) said the right hon. Gentleman seemed to favour a friendly arrangement, and he hoped he would communicate that view to the Commissioners.

MR. WYNDHAM: They are the sole authorities in the matter.

Kilcormac.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the County Council of King's County have restored the ancient name of Kilcormac to the town

named Frankford; will he state what authority the Local Government Board have for refusing to accept this restoration; and by what authority the ancient name was changed by an English officer less than 100 years ago from Kilcormac to Frankford.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board merely pointed out that there was no authority enabling the County Council to make the proposed change. This was decided by the case of *Anderson v. The Corporation of Dublin* (Law Reports, Ireland, Vol. 15). I am not aware of the circumstances under which the name of Frankford was given to this town.

MR. REDDY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Frankford is a German name?

Cork Assizes—*Rex v. Moore*.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has received a memorial forwarded to His Excellency by the medical witnesses for the Crown in the case of *Rex v. Moore*, which ended in a capital conviction at the Cork Spring Assizes, the death sentence being commuted into a sentence of penal servitude for life, praying the exercise of the prerogative of pardon in the case of the prisoner, and expressing their belief that the wound on the body of the deceased was compatible with accidental causes, and the evidence insufficient to warrant a conviction; and whether, having regard to the doubt as to whether a murder was committed at all, and as to whether, if committed, Moore was the perpetrator, His Excellency will be pleased to consider favourably the prayer of the memorial.

MR. WYNDHAM: A memorial of the nature referred to was received by the Lord Lieutenant during the time the condemned man was under sentence of death. It was carefully considered by the Lord Lieutenant with the assistance of the Lord Chancellor, with the result that the capital sentence was commuted to one of penal servitude for life.

Carrigeen National Schools.

MR. O'MARA (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain why nine months' arrears of salary of the teachers of the Carrigeen (county Kilkenny) National Schools are withheld; and at what date and under what conditions these arrears will be payable.

MR. WYNDHAM: Salary has been withheld owing to the delay in completing the erection of a suitable schoolhouse. The Commissioners state the salaries will be paid upon the completion of the building.

Irish Model Schools.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the inquiry promised some time ago into the working of Irish Model Schools has been held; and, if so, what is the result, and has it been published.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed that the inquiry is in progress, but that it cannot at present be stated when it will be completed.

Bankruptcy Administration in Armagh.

MR. WOOD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the County of Armagh is not included in the bankruptcy jurisdiction of the Recorder of Belfast, notwithstanding that the county of Armagh is much nearer to Belfast than the portion of county Down where the said jurisdiction extends; will he say if any resolutions have been received in favour thereof; and whether the necessary steps will be taken to include county Armagh within the said jurisdiction.

MR. WYNDHAM: The jurisdiction of the Belfast Court does not extend to Armagh. No representations in favour of the suggested extension have been received. If made they will be considered.

Irish Motor Car Race.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if the Government

have obtained a guarantee from the promoters of the Gordon-Bennett race for the expenses of extra police over the sum of £1,000 which the Treasury is willing to contribute; if any communication has passed between the police authorities and the Kildare County Council on the subject; if he is aware that the Kildare County Council consented to hand over the county roads for the race on the expressed understanding that the county should not be called on to pay for the extra police; and, if so, if it is the intention of the Government to levy any part of the expense on the county of Kildare.

MR. WYNDHAM: No such guarantee has been obtained. The County Council inquired as to the incidence of the expenses of the extra police, and was informed by the Inspector-General that the matter was receiving attention. The opinion of the Treasury has since been announced, and is at present before the Irish Government. The whole question is one requiring most careful consideration in relation to the interpretation and application of Acts of Parliament, as well as to the other circumstances connected with the race.

MR. LEAMY: Can we be satisfied that the Kildare County Council will not be called upon by the Irish Government to pay any portion of the cost of the extra police?

Irish Income Tax Collectors and the Land Bill.

MR. CAREW (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the amount of the loss of emoluments that will accrue to the income tax collectors under the operations of the Irish Land Bill; and whether he is prepared to introduce a scheme for compensation to these officials on the same lines as that adopted in the case of the county cess collectors under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898.

MR. WYNDHAM: The amount of the loss of emoluments to income tax collectors is not calculable, and their case is not on all fours with that of the county

cess collectors. The Government is not aware of any sufficient reason for entertaining the claims of the former officers.

Irish Local Government Board Report.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland when the annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, now due, will be issued to Members.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Report will be laid on the Table in the course of a few days.

Labourers in Ireland.

MR. O'SHEE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how many agricultural labourers and general labourers respectively are included in the Census Returns of 1901 for the four provinces of Ireland, and how many were returned under the Census of 1891.

MR. WYNDHAM: The figures, which are very numerous, cannot conveniently be given in answer to an oral Question. In anticipation of the hon. Member's approval, I have sent them to the Journal Office to be printed with the unstarred Questions.

Tenant Purchaser, Mr. S. Gillmor.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the petty sessions clerk of Dromahair, county Leitrim, Mr. Stewart Gillmor, on the 24th July, 1902, swore an affidavit before the local commissioner for taking oaths, to the effect that he was tenant of lands in Dromahair known as The Acres since 1880; that at the Manorhamilton Quarter Sessions on 2nd June inst., Mr. Gillmor admitted having made this affidavit with the object of obtaining from the Land Commission an advance of £480, but that he was not the tenant then or previously; and that Judge Waters ruled that Mr. Gillmor was not the tenant, and gave a decree for the grazing rent to another man who was in possession of The Acres after the date of Mr. Gillmor's affidavit; and, if so, will he say what action the Law Officers of the Crown intend to take in

the matter; and whether the advance obtained under such circumstances will be refunded.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): As far as I have been able to ascertain, the facts are as follows: That the vendor of The Acres, Mr. Fox, had previous to the 24th July, 1902, taken in grazing cattle, and put them on this field and another adjoining. On that day he let the field to Mr. Gillmor as he was clearly entitled to do, an arrangement having been made that later he should receive a certain proportion of the grazing money. The inspector of the Land Commission was fully informed of the circumstances. Mr. Gillmor was then negotiating for the purchase of The Acres, together with that of two other fields formerly in his possession. He described himself in an affidavit made after the letting, as tenant of The Acres, which in fact he was. The County Court Judge did not decide that Gillmor was not tenant or that he had sworn falsely, but merely that the grazing contract had been made with Mr. Fox, and the amount due for the grazing could only be received by him. Nothing has occurred, therefore, calling for the intervention of the Crown, nor should the advance be refunded.

County Down Crown Solicitor.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he can state who has been or is about to be appointed to the post of Crown Solicitor for County Down, what local knowledge he possesses, and what experience he has had in criminal law.

The following Question on the same subject also appeared on the Paper.

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the secretary of the Belfast Unionist Registration Society has been recommended for the appointment of Crown Solicitor for County Down; and whether he can state if it is intended to give effect to this recommendation.

MR. ATKINSON: I will at the same time reply to the Question on the

same subject addressed to my right hon. friend. No appointment has yet been made, and it would be contrary to precedent to announce who the candidates are, or who it is proposed to appoint.

MR. MACVEAGH: When is the appointment likely to be made?

MR. ATKINSON: I cannot say.

Wexford Train Service.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that persons travelling from Wexford desirous of arriving in London on Monday must leave Wexford on Saturday; and will he make inquiries regarding the arrangements of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company, with a view to provide a Sunday evening train leaving Wexford in time to catch the Kingstown or North Wall steamboat.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I do not think that this is a case where the Board of Trade could usefully interfere with the discretion of the railway company concerned.

The Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. BRAND (Cambridgeshire, Wisbech): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether in the inquiry which the Government propose to conduct into the fiscal arrangements of this country, the Prime Ministers of the various colonies will be asked to submit in detail their views in regard to each of the colonies they represent; and, if so, whether the Government will communicate the replies so received to the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My right hon. friend has asked me to reply to this Question, which I need only do by referring to an answer which I gave to a Question couched in practically identical terms on the 23rd inst.† I then pointed out that the Question, though no doubt an important one, was premature, and that as regards the

second branch of it it dealt with a hypothetical matter.

MR. M'KENNA (Monmouthshire, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the inquiry into the fiscal policy of the Empire has yet reached the stage of inquiry into the changes proposed by the Colonial Secretary; and, if so, whether he can state precisely what those changes are.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in the inquiry to be instituted into our present fiscal arrangements, representatives of the classes who live on fixed incomes will be heard, in view of the effect on their interests of increases in the price of food, or of articles which they have been able to purchase heretofore in the cheapest markets.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can only repeat what I have said before. I have no information to give the House on these subjects, and I do not think they are proper subjects for cross-examination across the floor of the House.

Brussels Sugar Convention.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury is he aware that the Permanent Sugar Commission has decided that the Austro-Hungarian Contingent Law is not in accordance with the Sugar Convention, and that a scale of countervailing duties shall be applied by the Signatory Powers to sugar from the United States, and that this decision has been published in a semi-official newspaper in Brussels, as well as in the European Press generally; can he state what are the countervailing duties against sugars from the United States which, in the exercise of its powers under Article VII., the Permanent Commission has required Great Britain to impose; and do His Majesty's Government propose to impose these countervailing duties on sugars from the United States, or to prohibit altogether the importation of such sugars.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The time has arrived when the findings of the Commission should be communicated to His Majesty's Government fully, and they

† See page 268.

will be received shortly. The Report is accurate so far as the Austro-Hungarian Contingent Law is concerned. The remainder of the Report appears to be unfounded.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: That is in regard to the United States?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Is there any intention to proceed with the Bill before the information is circulated?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not at all convinced that the information desired is relevant to the Second Reading or the discussion. That we shall be anxious to give all the information we can to the House I need not say.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury is he aware that Article VII. of the Brussels Sugar Convention imposes on the Permanent Commission the duty of publishing information of all kinds respecting legislation on and statistics of sugar, as well in the contracting States as in other States; has this Commission, nevertheless, decided to keep its own proceedings and findings secret; if so, will they remain permanently secret; and, if not, when will these proceedings and findings, so far as they relate to British and colonial sugars, or require British action with reference to foreign sugars, be communicated to Parliament; and do His Majesty's Government propose only to communicate them so far as in each case the Commission may permit; is he aware that the findings of the Commission with regard to the Austro-Hungarian contingent system have been generally published in the European Press, with the votes thereon of each delegate to the Commission; and will His Majesty's Government consider the expediency of exercising through their delegate their influence with the Commission to induce it to publish its proceedings and findings in authoritative form.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The answer to the first Question from my hon. friend is in the affirmative. I can best answer

Questions two, three, four, and five by informing him that it is the duty of the Commission to draw up a Report upon all the questions submitted to it, and to forward that Report to the Belgian Government for communication to the States interested. As to the sixth Question, I am aware that many unauthorised statements have been made in the Press as to the findings of the Commission; as to the seventh Question, I have to say the decisions of the Commission will be furnished in due course in an authoritative form.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: When will the findings of the Commission be communicated to Parliament so far as they affect British and colonial sugars, or have reference to British action in relation to foreign sugar?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As my hon. friend will see, it is impossible to give the findings of the Commission until we receive official information of their character, which will be when the Belgian Government communicate them to us. When they communicate the findings to us I see no reason why they should not as soon as possible be laid before the House and the country.

Employment of Children Bill.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when he proposes to take the remaining portion of the Report stage of the Employment of Children Bill; and whether any notice will be given.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot fix a date at present.

Private Members Bills.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will grant facilities for the remaining stages of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Church Discipline Bill; and whether he is now prepared to state what steps, if any, he will take to enable private Members, who have obtained Second Readings for Bills by decisive majorities of the House, to carry such Bills through their subsequent stages.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member asks me two Questions, and as to the first I can only repeat what I have often had to say before, and I believe have always said it with the general approval of both sides of the House, that it is quite impossible, and would bring Parliamentary business into hopeless confusion, to attempt to give special facilities to Bills of a highly controversial character promoted by private Members. That has hardly ever been done, and the only case I can remember did not conduce to legislation or the general interest of House of Commons business. The second Question is whether the Government contemplate any fundamental alteration in the rules of the House to give facilities for the later stages of private Members' Bills; and to that I can only say that in my judgment the consideration of that question cannot begin until such Bills are on the same footing with Government Bills.

MR. CHANNING: Are we to understand that the majority have no remedy against the organised obstruction of a small group of Members?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, the hon. Gentleman is not to understand that.

MR. CHANNING: Will no remedy be given to the majority of the House against the organised obstruction of a small group of Members?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Will the right hon. Gentleman state the business for Thursday and Friday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is proposed to take Vote 8 of the Navy Estimates on Thursday, following which other Naval Votes will be set down in their order. It will not be desirable to take the Irish Land Bill on Friday; some smaller measure will be put down as first order, as to which I will give an answer to-morrow.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: May I ask when the Second Readings of the South African Loan Bill and the Sugar Convention will be taken, and whether the House will have an opportunity of considering the agreements with the Morgan Combination and the Cunard Shipping Company.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is impossible to make a correct calendar of our proceedings, and I am unwilling to make any statement, as to business next week, at this moment.

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 4—

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) moved to insert after "purchase" the words "by any County or District Council or." This clause, he said, raised very important questions—viz., turbary, pasturage, afforestation, and allotments, and the object of the Amendment was to introduce some element of popular control into the dealing of the Land Commission with these subjects. It was of supreme importance that something should be done in an organised way to provide for tree planting. He had known cases in which landlords, before selling their estates to the tenants, had cut down all the timber in order to get ready cash, and in other cases tenants, immediately on buying their holdings, had cut down all the ornamental trees. The question of tree planting was of vital importance, especially on the western sea-board. In 1885 a very important Committee of that House inquired into the subject of the denudation of Irish forests and plantations, and the failure to take any steps to replace the trees that were cut down. Very important evidence was given as to the effect produced by trees on climatic conditions, and the cases of other countries were cited to show that afforestation prevented the wasting of fertile soil. It was pointed out how,

in the Basque provinces of France, large and absolutely valueless tracts of country had, thanks to tree-planting inspired by the first Napoleon, been made most prosperous; climatic conditions had been altered, and new industries introduced. Why could not Ireland profit by that example? His suggestion was that the County or District Councils should take this matter in hand. The right hon. Gentleman might suggest that those bodies already had quite enough work on their hands. If so, there were plenty of other means by which the work could be undertaken. Their experience was that when officials were appointed by Dublin Castle, their sole object was to draw their salaries, and they feared that if the Land Commission were appointed the trustees they would not do the work efficiently. Hence the desire to secure the appointment of someone in whom the public had confidence. With regard to the question of turbary, it was a well-known fact that there were large quantities of peat in Ireland which were practically valueless because they were not scientifically worked. There should be some means of eliciting the views of the people with regard to dealing with the large blocks of peat bogs which, under the operation of this Act, were bound to come into the hands of the Land Commission. The trustees would probably be discarded receivers who hung on in the landed interest. With regard to the pastures it must be remembered that many of the pasturage farms were an economic necessity; some even if cut up would not be suitable for tillage purposes, especially those on limestone soils, and if these pasturage farms were cut up into small holdings the small farmers would have nowhere to send their young stock. He suggested that those pasturage farms which were not suitable for tillage should be held by the farmers of the district on the co-operative principle, each farmer having a share of the land equal to the number of cows he possessed. If that were done the objections of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite would be got over. This clause also gave power to trustees to acquire land for the purposes of the Labourers Acts. He would give that power to the County or the District Councils. They should have a right to go into the

public market and purchase land to be devoted to that purpose. He begged to move.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) asked on a point of order that only a certain portion of the words should be put; so much of the words as "or any county" because the other words did not appear to be put in the proper place.

*THE CHAIRMAN said the proper course would be to move, to strike out "District Councils."

MR. CLANCY said that would not suit his purpose because he believed in these powers being given to the District Councils.

*THE CHAIRMAN said he still thought the proper course for the hon. Member for Dublin County was to move to strike out those words if he thought they ought not to come in there, and move to insert them at a later stage. He was bound to put the Amendment as moved.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 28, after the word 'purchase,' to insert the words 'by any County or District Council, or.'"—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, DOVER) said he was far from saying that the suggestions of the hon. Member were not worthy of consideration. His answer was that they had been fully considered, and after full consideration it was felt that, owing to the financial difficulty intervening, the Government could not bring District Councils into this Bill. The very fact that one hon. Member desired to amend the Amendment showed how hard it would be to engraft on to the Land Purchase Bill a new departure in local government for Ireland. This clause dealt with advances to be made for the purchase of parcels of land. If those advances were to be made to County Councils and District Councils then, of course, in another part of the Bill a clause would have to be inserted giving these public

bodies power to borrow. "Trustees" would be sufficient for many of the objects the hon. Gentleman had put before the Committee as laudable, and trustees coming forward would naturally be persons who had the confidence of the district as being proper persons to deal with this matter. One hundred tenants might elect to be represented by six or seven men, and, in that case, the financial difficulty would not arise. Those six or seven men might or might not be members of the District Council but if the District Council was put in by name the financial difficulty would arise.

MR. CLANCY said that under the circumstances as the right hon. Gentleman had made up his mind on this subject it would only be a waste of time to move his Amendment, or the consequential Amendments on the Amendment. At the same time he might say he was not impressed very much by the right hon. Gentleman's speech. He did not see where the financial difficulty arose. At present the Rural District Councils administered the Labourers Acts and the Amendment, so far as that point was concerned, had only the effect of giving them power to purchase land for the purposes of the Labourers Acts. Now, instead of the Rural District Councils, who had the administration of the Labourers Acts, getting property for the purpose of housing labourers, somebody else who did not represent them at all would acquire it and thus they would have two bodies administering the same Acts. He did not understand how that was to be worked out. All that it was desired to do by the Amendment was to give these Rural District Councils power to buy land with the aid of public money. He urged on the Chief Secretary the desirability of considering this question.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) suggested that if the right hon. Gentleman made "trustees" to include any local authority this difficulty would be got over. He pointed out that this was also a clause for the purchase of a parcel of land for the planting of trees. Who was to plant them, and where was the

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money to come from? There was no advance to be made for that purpose but only to buy the land to plant the trees on. If the trustees did not plant the trees would it not be sufficient answer for them to say they had no money, and there was no fund from which they could obtain money with which to plant trees. And if there was to be tree planting, they must contemplate the time when there would be tree cutting, and the question was a serious one. The clause, though it mentioned the planting of trees, was really a nullity. Who was to have a property in the trees when planted? It must be in the gentleman who had the advance for the purpose of buying the land. He suggested the insertion, after "Land Commission," of the words "including any local authority." The clause would not then shut out any local authority.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) thought there ought to be a representative of the local authority on any board of trustees.

MR. WYNDHAM said there was nothing to prevent that. No sensible body would neglect public opinion in such a matter. It was impossible to provide against every point that might arise in the administration of an Act of the nature and size of the measure under discussion. The objection to inserting the Amendment was that it would mean that these local bodies were to be lent money by the State and to repay it by rate. The Government were not prepared to entertain such a proposal. It was no doubt a suggestion for which a great deal might be said, but it would lead to larger questions. He believed the preservation of trees could be effected without any of the difficulties suggested by the hon. and learned Member for North Louth. The trustees would be persons holding the confidence of the district, and they could get the money to plant the trees by entering into an arrangement with the Congested Districts Board or the Board of Agriculture. On that basis, if money was forthcoming from private sources, the County Council might find it within its power to supplement the fund. If not, let there be an Amendment of the Local Government Act later on, giving wider latitude in the matter of the objects for which

money could be spent; but he was not prepared to enter upon so large a new province at the present stage of the Bill under discussion.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.) suggested that, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated that money for the planting of trees might be advanced by the Board of Agriculture, the words "from the Board of Agriculture" should be inserted.

MR. WYNDHAM said the new Department would be a Department of the Irish Government, and they would work in harmony in the endeavour to effect desirable objects, including the planting of trees, turbary, and so forth. All this clause did was to enable the land on which the trees might be planted to be acquired by an advance under the Act in the name of trustees. That gave a platform from which to commence operations.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) pointed out that the words of the Amendment practically embraced the intentions of the Government as stated by the right hon. Gentleman. The insertion of the words would not fetter the discretion of the Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM said there was nothing to prevent the trustees being the District or County Council.

MR. CLANCY asked whether one body of trustees for the whole of Ireland, or for each county, was contemplated.

MR. WYNDHAM: Oh, no! You might have a body of trustees for one bunch of trees.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) said that powers somewhat cognate to those here involved were carried out in England by public bodies. What had moved the right hon. Gentleman was probably the abuse of turbary in some parts of Ireland, and the disappearance of forests to the prejudice, not of individuals, but of the public at large. It seemed to him that these were *quasi* public duties, which might properly be discharged by public officials. He

presumed that the trustees were not to be paid; that being so, surely the most effective people for the duty were the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the district.

MR. TULLY pointed out that, inasmuch as the District Councils had power to spend money for the purposes of the Labourers Act, and the County Council were able to spend money on re-afforestation, the objections of the Chief Secretary on those points fell to the ground. He hoped the Chief Secretary would make a graceful concession in this matter.

Question put, and negatived.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said the Amendment he desired to move raised the whole question of the necessity of the provision of labourers' allotments in Ireland. As far back as 1884 a Resolution, contending that facilities for securing allotments similar to those existing in England should obtain in Ireland, was supported by representatives of all parties and unanimously carried. Nothing had been done to give effect to that Resolution. As to the present Bill, in the course of the discussion on the Second Reading, leading members of the Liberal Party had declared it would be unwise to pass the measure without some effort being made to meet the wishes of the labouring classes in this respect. The question was a large one, of which the Amendment, inasmuch as it dealt only with untenanted land, touched but the fringe. In many districts, if the demand for allotments was to be fairly met, provision would have to be made for dealing with tenanted land also. In England the Local Government Act of 1894 gave parish councils power to provide allotments up to four acres, and the reason the power had not been largely availed of was that in England there were many other industries besides agriculture. In Ireland, where the only industry was agriculture, and, practically, all the young men were trained in that industry only, no facilities existed for allotments except under the Labourers Acts. The provisions of those Acts as regarded the labourers in villages and towns had not been largely availed of, and the reason

for this was the form of procedure which had to be adopted, which was very costly, tedious and wearisome. In connection with this provision for allotments at the same time as the house was provided, up to the present only 15,000 houses had been erected under the Labourers Acts. The result of the operation of the Labourers Acts meant a charge on the local rate. In every case of a house and an allotment provided there was a charge of about £5 upon the ratepayers of the district, and although they could point with pride to the fact that throughout Leinster and Munster the ratepayers had generously and liberally taxed themselves to provide houses and allotments for the labourers, still their powers were necessarily restricted by the fact that each additional cottage meant a taxation of the ratepayers of their district to the extent of £5 per house. It was unreasonable to hope that the Labourers Acts would enable the labourers of Ireland generally, who desired allotments and who might have fairly decent and comfortable houses, to obtain them in view of the costly method of procedure that had to be followed, and the heavy charge on the local rates which the operation of these Acts entailed. Under these circumstances they could not expect that many District Councils would go much further than they had done in the direction of providing allotments. He had gone through the census returns for 1901, which divided those engaged in agriculture into three heads—viz., the number of agricultural labourers, indoor farm servants, and general labourers, the majority of the latter being assumed to be agricultural labourers although not returned as such. Taking these three classes together the total number of males engaged in agriculture in Munster was 87,375. To show the importance of the problem he would compare the numbers of this class with the number of farmers engaged in agricultural work. The number of farmers and their sons and relatives in Munster numbered 127,000. Therefore the proportion was about three farmers to two agricultural labourers. The clause under discussion did not propose in any way to deal with the demand of this vast body of persons engaged in agricultural work, or provide

them with any means of getting a portion of the land.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not think it was necessary to discuss the whole of the Labourers Acts upon this clause.

MR. O'SHEE said if this demand could be met under the Labourers Acts he would not, of course, be justified in bringing forward this Amendment. His argument was that this demand could not be met under the Labourers Acts, and he desired to insert a new provision extending the same facilities as now existed in England to Ireland. Without such a provision they could not hope for any great extension of the operations of these Acts in Ireland, because the ratepayers had already taxed themselves very heavily indeed for the benefit of the labourers. In order to justify his claim that further allotments should be provided he had to show that under the Labourers Acts they could not at present provide sufficient allotments. In Munster the labourers were eagerly looking forward to getting their share of the untenanted lands. The figures he had quoted showed the impossibility of hoping that at any time the District Councils would be able to provide for all those persons under the Labourers Acts because the cost would be so enormous that local taxation could not possibly bear it. He did not suggest that in providing these allotments any charge was to be made on the locality, because in England the policy had been to get from the tenant such an amount of rent as would repay to the parochial authorities the entire cost, and if these untenanted lands were to be vested in trustees to provide allotments for the labourers, there was no reason whatever why the labourers should not pay a rent sufficient to recompense the trustees for the capital cost. The figures he would quote were very remarkable. He had taken out the figures for five counties—viz., Londonderry, Antrim, Monaghan, Cavan and Down. In Londonderry the labourers numbered 9,427 and the farmers 16,064. In Antrim the labourers totalled 14,000 as against 20,000; in Monaghan there were 4,400 labourers and 15,000 farmers; and, taking the five counties together, the labourers totalled 50,901 and the farmers 94,000. In five counties

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in Leinster persons of the labouring classes numbered 37,742, while persons of the farming classes were 47,823. Speaking generally, the Returns indicated that persons of the labouring classes were as two against three of the farming classes. In Ulster the proportion was about 55 per cent. The figures showed that the question of allotments was a large one, which, if it was to be met, would require extensive provisions which would operate widely. He did not mean to suggest that all the persons included in these numbers would require an allotment of land, but assuming that one out of four demanded an allotment the question would be a very large one. In this matter Irish public opinion was unanimous. The experience of England, with reference to the allotments system, was one to which they could point as justifying the contention that the giving of an allotment of land to a labourer always meant increased comfort to him. It meant an incentive to thrift which he otherwise had not. There were several reasons why, at the present time, it was desirable that the demand of the labourers of Ireland for allotments should be satisfied. They had looked forward anxiously to this Bill which was to settle the farmers of Ireland as owners of the land they occupied. They had also looked forward to it as a means of obtaining for themselves some aid in seasons when they could not obtain work and were unable to earn wages. In the County of Cork the figures were very remarkable. The number of persons in the labouring classes was 31,000, and in the farming classes 38,000. In Waterford the figures were even more remarkable. There the number in the labouring classes was 7,437, and in the farming classes 7,443. In Wexford the numbers were, labouring classes 11,700, and farming classes 12,700. In the County of Waterford the persons included in the labouring classes engaged in agriculture under thirty years of age were according to the last census returns, 3,500 out of a total of 7,743. Unless some adequate provision was made whereby they might be retained in the country a great majority of those 3,500 would have to go and seek a livelihood in America or elsewhere. The diminution in the area of cultivated land in Ireland during the last ten years was close upon 200,000 acres, and while the process of diminution

had been going on the population of Ireland had been dwindling year by year. During the same ten years 400,000 persons, in round numbers, had left Ireland and gone to other countries to seek a means of subsistence.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) rose to a point of order, and asked whether these figures were relevant to the Amendment.

*THE CHAIRMAN said they seemed to him to be a great deal beyond the scope of the Amendment, which was limited in character. The hon. Member seemed to think that he could build some elaborate superstructure upon these figures which would be relevant. He thought the hon. Member might compress into a short space that part which was really relevant to this Amendment.

MR. O'SHEE said he would endeavour to comply with that ruling. He did not think the hon. and gallant Member for Great Yarmouth had given that amount of attention to the problem of the labourer which it deserved. He contended that the emigration from Ireland during the past ten years was largely due to the diminution in the area of tilled land. Another justification for the Amendment was that farmers throughout the country complained in many places that they could not get labourers at the time when they were wanted, and that those labourers who were in the country were not so well skilled in agriculture as they used to be. The strong and vigorous labourers went away in the stream of emigration, and those who remained in the country were to a large extent men suffering from some physical or mental affliction. The demand now put forward was accepted by the Convention held in Ireland. The assumption of this Bill was that the landlords were to give the untenanted lands to somebody. The landlords, therefore, had no concern in preventing the labourers of Ireland from getting those untenanted lands. This was a vital question for the labourers of Ireland. When an Irish labourer who had a patch of land went to another country to work, he returned with the earnings he had been able to accumulate, but when a young labourer who had no land went away

he never came back. It was only reasonable that they should have regard for the interests of the young man, who under present conditions had no tie that bound him to the land of his birth and who went away never to return.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 30, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words, 'for the purpose of providing allotments of land for labourers as defined by the Labourers' (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, or.'—(*Mr. O'Shee.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (*Mr. ATKINSON*, London-derry, N.) said the Amendment was really altogether outside the question. There were certain powers in the Bill regarding the acquisition of land for labourers' allotments. The hon. Member wished, as he understood, to empower trustees to buy land for the provision of allotments which would be larger and of a different kind. There was, however, no statute in existence at present which enabled local authorities to do anything of the kind; and if the Amendment were passed and the Bill retained its present form the provision of the hon. Member would remain perfectly inoperative.

MR. O'SHEE said that when they were discussing Clause 2 the Chief Secretary referred him to Clause 4.

MR. WYNDHAM said that he had not indicated that Clause 4 was the proper place for dealing with the question of labourers' allotments. In a Bill of eighty-five clauses dealing with Irish land almost any question could be raised in this way without being out of order. In speaking the other day and referring to Clause 4, he had not intended to indicate that this was the proper or possible place to amend the Irish Agricultural Labourers Acts.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (*Clare, E.*) said he supposed that they were to take it from the Chief Secretary that when they came to Part 4 of the Bill,

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which dealt specifically with the labourers, the question raised by his hon. friend of extending the power of the local authorities to give in certain cases more than one acre to labourers could be discussed. He had a great deal of sympathy with what had been said by his hon. friend, because he believed that the provisions for giving allotments to labourers were altogether inadequate, and he should like to see the subject dealt with in this Bill or in an early Bill.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not give a pledge on that point. When the labourers' portion of the Bill was reached, it would not be possible if this was to be a Land Bill to go in great extent and detail into the Labourers Acts. They might by so doing miss the substance of the Land Bill. It was a matter for consideration whether, when they reached the labourers' portions of the Bill, it would be worth while to go on with them, if hon. Members deemed them inadequate, and if hon. Members thought that it would prejudice the proper consideration of so important a question. He had only put this matter into the Bill in order to help the situation of the labourers in Ireland until the Government could deal more fully with them at another time.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he was to understand that if there should not be an opportunity during the passing of the Bill to deal adequately with the labourers question, the right hon. Gentleman would undertake to deal with it soon?

MR. WYNDHAM said that, of course, he could not undertake to carry another Irish Bill this session; but he expressed the opinion that if the Bill was passed substantially as it stood now, the question of dealing with the labourers would arise, and would be a pressing question. If he were Chief Secretary he would try to deal with it soon. What he had tried to do in this Bill was to ease the situation when there was a certain amount of untenanted land available which could be dealt with.

MR. J. S. FARRELL (Longford, N.) asked if the right hon. Gentleman would guarantee that he would be Chief Secretary next year, or that the same quantity of land would be available next year, and that the labourers would not be shut out altogether from a share of that land. The right hon. Gentleman had given his hon. friend, or some hon. Member, distinctly to understand that when Clause 4 was reached the question of the labourers might be raised.

MR. WYNDHAM said he appealed to the hon. and learned Member for Waterford to say whether the course which he had proposed was not the most reasonable course. He was prepared to put a clause on the Paper to shorten and simplify the acquisition of land for labourers' allotments, but he wished it to be distinctly understood that he was not prepared to imperil the Bill, in an attempt which he was sure would be defeated, to deal with every point which could be raised on the labourers question.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he thought the right hon. Gentleman's position was reasonable to this extent, that it was not desirable to discuss these labourers questions twice at different parts of the Bill. It would be better to reserve the discussion until it could be effective. He was not expressing any opinion as to the desirability, at this stage, at any rate, of dropping the labourers question out of the Bill. He thought it would be a great misfortune if it were not possible within the four corners of the Bill to deal with the labourers, and to deal with them in a satisfactory way.

MR. TULLY said he strongly protested against any attempt to drop the labourers out of the Bill.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that there was a very difficult labourers question in Ulster, although the cottage system did not largely prevail there. He only intervened lest his silence might be misunderstood. He was entirely in favour of the position of the Chief Secretary. What was the use of wasting time on an Amendment which could not be effective? Too much time had already

been wasted. He was not prepared to waste another moment when the Chief Secretary said he proposed to introduce another clause.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Waterford. It would be a great mistake to contemplate for a moment the possibility of dropping the labourers' case. He did not think time had been wasted in the present discussion, because it was necessary to show that there was great feeling in Ireland as to the necessity of dealing with the labourers' case. The Chief Secretary should put down his proposed new clause on the Paper. They ought to endeavour to arrive at a harmonious settlement, as there was practically no difference of opinion on the question. The representatives of the landlords were as anxious to have the question settled as the representatives of the tenants, and there was no reason why it should require a long, acrimonious discussion. He thought it was extremely likely that a scheme might be agreed upon, which would be unanimously supported, and which would pass through the House after a brief discussion.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said he wished to associate himself with the protest against the idea that the interests of the labourers should be dropped out of the Bill. He realised, however, that the labourers question could not be well discussed at that stage of the Bill. All the representatives of the labourers were more or less agreed as to the direction which Amendments should take, and if they were put down and discussed on Clause 82 and the subsequent clauses, there need be no waste of time. He felt very strongly that a large section of the agricultural population in Ireland would hear with the very greatest regret even the hint given by the Chief Secretary that the labourers question should be dropped.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not at all accept the interpretation which was being put upon what he had said. He agreed that they ought to do as much as they could in this Bill for the labourers, but it would be impossible to

deal incidentally with the question, and, therefore, it might be well to save this Bill and have another Bill devoted to the labourers. He took the view that the Committee could not discuss the labourers question on a clause which had nothing to do with the Labourers Acts. Let them do what was possible in this Bill, and have a second Bill if necessary.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) said as they were about to have a great national settlement in Ireland, he wished that the labourers should get an allotment of land. When Clause 2, with reference to untenanted land was under discussion, the question of the labourers was brought forward and was shelved, the Committee being told that it should be raised on Clause 4; now apparently it was to be shelved again. He wished to point out that they were not looking for another Labourers Act; they were endeavouring to secure that labourers should get a larger allotment of untenanted land than they were able to get under the present Labourers Acts. Every labourer should have at least five acres of untenanted land; and, if the new clause of the Chief Secretary would provide that, he thought it would give very great satisfaction. Any other arrangement would not be regarded as satisfactory.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory) said that one of the greatest difficulties which was experienced in Ireland in the administration of the Labourers Acts was that when allotments were provided near towns or villages, workers in towns entered into competition with agricultural labourers for them. It would facilitate and expedite the work of the Labourers Acts if there were proper provision for allotting land to artisans and labourers in small towns and villages. He spoke in the matter from his experience as chairman of a large District Council.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) said that some hon. Members might be inclined to blame his hon. friend for raising this matter; but, in his opinion, his hon. friend was not only justified but called upon to bring the matter forward, having regard

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to the interest he displayed on behalf of the labourers. The hon. Member for South Tyrone seemed to look at the discussion as so much time thrown away; but the discussion manifestly impressed the Committee and the Government. He believed that 80 per cent. of emigrants from Ireland belonged to the labouring classes, and something would be done to stop that emigration if land were provided for labourers. As he understood the Amendment, his hon. friend was anxious to earmark some of the land which might be available for that purpose; and if the right hon. Gentleman would bear that in mind when framing his new clause it would be of the greatest advantage. He could corroborate what had been said by his hon. friend for the Ossory Division with regard to the allotment question. There was no power in Ireland to provide workers in towns with allotments. He asked a few years ago whether the Allotments Act of this country could not be extended to Ireland; and if something were done in that direction it would, to a certain extent lessen the competition which at present existed. He trusted that the clause to be introduced by the right hon. Gentleman would be satisfactory; and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to bear in mind that the districts where labourers most needed land were the very districts where the Labourers Acts were inoperative, simply because the rate-payers were almost as poor as the labourers.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he hoped that whatever Amendment was moved by an Irish Member would have some sense and would carry something with it. There was nothing whatever in the Amendment now before the Committee which was not in the Bill; yet an hour had been occupied in discussing a sham Amendment.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said that with reference to the suggestion that the labourers should be dropped altogether, he desired to say that the question might and ought to be dealt with to a certain extent in this Bill, but he did not think it was possible to deal wholly with it. It was a question sufficiently large to be dealt with by itself. He thought, however, it was a very important thing in the interests of

labourers in Ireland that they had now got from the Chief Secretary a statement—which would not have been got were it not for this discussion—that although to a certain extent something would be done in Part 4 of the Bill to deal with the labourers problem, there would yet remain a great deal to be done for the labourers—so much so that the right hon. Gentleman himself suggested that the question should be dealt with in its entirety in a Bill specially introduced for that purpose.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) said they were all aware that to deal properly with the labourers question would require a complicated and extended Bill. They were led, however, to believe that something would be done in this Bill for the labourers. Hon. Members like himself, who represented labour constituencies, were anxious to be in a position to tell the labourers in their constituencies that their case would be considered on a proper opportunity. If the Chief Secretary, after consultation with the leaders of opinion on both sides of the House, would put down a simple and effective clause dealing with the labourers as far as the present Bill was concerned, that would remove any doubt that might exist in the minds of the labourers.

MR. O'SHEE said he recognised that it would be inconvenient to have several discussions on the same subject. If the present Amendment were carried, it would, of course, be necessary to have subsequent Amendments in Clause 18 providing that legal operation should be given to it. As he understood that the claim of the labourers to share the untenanted lands of Ireland would not be in any way jeopardised by the withdrawal of the Amendment he would ask leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*THE CHAIRMAN said that an Amendment which had been handed in by the hon. Member for West Kerry with reference to school playgrounds was outside the scope of the present Bill.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB desired to insert, in line 32, after the word "of" "game,

fish." His object, he said, was to enable trustees to acquire small portions of land for rearing purposes. The clause would then read "or the preservation of game, fish, woods, or plantations." This was a matter of great importance to both landlords and tenants in Ireland, and the land sought to be acquired would not be either agricultural land or pasturage. He begged to move.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked was it fair, at this stage, to raise this question, when the hon. and gallant Member had the House of Lords to raise it in.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 32, after the word 'of' to insert the words 'game, fish.'"—(Sir John Colomb.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said, although it was somewhat difficult to follow the Amendment, he thought he had grasped the desire of the hon. Member. This clause dealt with the purchase of land, and the proposal of the hon. Member was to enable trustees to buy such portions as were necessary for hatcheries and so forth, so that persons might be able to get a rood of land for that purpose. It might be a desirable thing, but it was a matter which he would prefer the Committee to decide. It was not advancing money for the preservation of game or fish, but to purchase land. The whole question of sporting rights came up later.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said it appeared to him to be rather like a bull to talk of fish in connection with purchasing land, and he did not think they should expose themselves to ridicule by accepting the Amendment.

SIR ROBERT FITZGERALD (Cambridge) said the Report of the Committee on Salmon Fisheries in Ireland strongly advocated the creation of hatcheries on every river in Ireland. It was only a very small parcel of land that was required to form a hatchery, and it must be remembered that out of small hatcheries great rivers could be stocked.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5.

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding) said the object of his Amendment was that two-thirds of the tenants on an estate should have the same rights as the landlord. The tenant right in the land was in many instances quite as important as that of the landlord. He thought the tenants should have a right to set in motion the machinery for the sale of an estate. He would not labour the point, because nothing could be gained except by an inquiry into the circumstances of the case. But if it was found that the landlord objected to sell because he was hanging back for a better price, the tenants ought to have a right to have the matter decided. Speaking from an English agricultural point of view, he might say that English agriculturists were anxious that this Bill should have some degree of finality; and speaking as one whose opinions in opposition to this Bill had been greatly modified by the concessions which the right hon. Gentleman had made, he urged the right hon. Gentleman to carry those concessions a little further and accept this Amendment. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 36, after the word 'makes,' to insert the words 'or not less than two-thirds of the tenants of an estate make.'"—(Mr. Mansfield.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY said it was very desirable to enable tenants to make some representation as to the state of their minds with regard to purchase. Although the tenants had no right the Land Judge's Court had always tolerated, under the Land Acts, large bodies of tenants coming forward and making applications, and those applications had a most salutary effect on the landlords and encumbrancers. This Bill gave no such opportunity as was given by the Land Court for tenants generally to stir up owners. In many cases it was to the interest of men interested in the management of the estates of absentee landlords to prevent the sale of

an estate. If this actinic process which was suggested by the Amendment were allowed he thought it would have a very salutary effect.

MR. ATKINSON said it was impossible to accept the Amendment. It would change the whole character of the Bill, and make it a compulsory instead of a voluntary Bill, unless the Land Commissioners embarked in an absolutely useless inquiry. There were two systems of land purchase under the Bill, the first being where the landlord first agreed with his tenants and then came to the Court, and the other system under which he dealt with the Court direct. And it seemed to him to be absolutely useless for the Land Court to make an inquiry unless they knew the landlord was willing to sell.

MR. TULLY said he thought the Amendment was a most important one. As the clause stood at present, a landlord could go without his tenants knowing a thing about it, and sell direct to the Land Commission.

MR. ATKINSON, said if the hon. Gentleman looked at the section he would find that three-fourths of the tenants must agree before the landlord could sell.

MR. TULLY said that he wished to give the tenants an opportunity to apply for the sale. When the landlords were getting such princely terms it was only right that the tenants should have such an opportunity. Why should all the compulsion be against the tenants? In addition to getting thirty-two years purchase from the tenants, the landlords were to get a bonus, which meant that Lord de Freyne would get a present of £40,000 for holding out against his tenants. Another serious matter was that if a landlord applied to the Land Commission to have his estate sold, his tenants would be deprived of the right of going into Court to have a fair rent fixed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND hoped hon. Members would have more sense than to embark on an utterly impracticable discussion such as that to which they were now invited. They all had their own views on compulsory purchase, and if

it could have been secured many would have preferred it to the present Bill. But anything more unbusinesslike or absurd than to attempt at the present stage to interpose a discussion on the merits of compulsory purchase he could not imagine.

MR. TULLY said all he proposed to do was to give the tenants an option.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said the Committee were approaching Amendments which raised questions of great importance, including that of the evicted tenants. He hoped, therefore, the discussion on other matters would not be prolonged.

Question put, and negatived.

MR. TULLY, in moving to insert the word "compulsory" before "sale," said he had often heard the hon. Member for Waterford make the rafters ring with his demand for compulsory sale, and he ought not to turn round and say it was absurd and lacking in common-sense to raise the cry now. The members of the Dunraven Conference made a bad bargain for the tenants, one of the worst features being the surrender of the principle of compulsory sale. If the forces outside had been properly organised he believed a compulsory Bill could have been secured. He had no desire to occupy time unnecessarily, and therefore would formally move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 38, after the third word 'the' to insert the word 'compulsory.'"—(Mr. Tully.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'compulsory' be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY said that while he sympathised with his hon. friend he thought it was not in the interests of business that Members should propose Amendments which had no chance of being accepted, or Amendments which were essentially "shams." He had been appalled to see an hon. Member come down, armed with a long manuscript, and move an Amendment which occupied nearly an hour in discussion. Let there be fair play all round. While

he agreed with the hon. Member for Waterford in the suggestion that they should make progress with the Bill, he would suggest that the hon. Member also should take care that some of his own friends did not occupy time by the hour pressing points which were already in the Bill.

Question put, and negatived.

MR. DILLON moved to insert after the word "inquiry" the words "as to the prices which tenants are prepared to pay for their holdings and such other matters as they deem necessary." His object in proposing the Amendment was to give the Government an opportunity of explaining to the Committee the nature of the inquiry.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 40, after the word 'inquiry' to insert the words 'as to the prices which tenants are prepared to pay for their holdings, and such other matters as they deem necessary.'"—(Mr. Dillon.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said that this clause dealt with the relations between the Estates Commissioners and the would-be vendor, and then went on to deal with their relations with the would-be purchaser. It was enacted that there could be no bargain unless three-fourths of the tenants agreed; it followed that the Estates Commissioners, in approaching the landlord, must be assured that three-fourths of the tenants were willing to buy on certain terms. But whether it would be wise for the Commissioners to carry on the discussion with the landlord up to a certain point and then go to the tenant, or *vice versa*, was a matter which must be left to the discretion of the parties concerned. It was certain that no sale could take place unless three-fourths of the tenants, without any pressure whatever, were agreed. It was impossible to lay down in an Act of Parliament all the steps *de die in diem* which the parties to such a transaction were to take and the order in which they were to be taken. All that preliminary reconnoitring must take place under any voluntary Bill, and it would be futile to

attempt to foresee the conditions of every landlord and tenant in Ireland. This the Bill, being a voluntary measure, did provide—that the landlord should not be forced to take less than he was prepared to accept, or the tenant to pay more than he was willing to give.

MR. DILLON said the importance of the Amendment lay in the fact that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to omit not only a portion of Sub-section (1) but the whole of Sub-section (2) which directed the Estates Commissioners, before fixing the price, to make some inquiry as to what the tenants were prepared to give. By omitting Sub-section 2, that power given to the Land Commission was gone. By Sub-section 3 they could not be compelled to buy at the prices mentioned, but by omitting Clause 2, the procedure contemplated was that the Estates Commissioners might fix the price and communicate with the landlord without consulting the tenants. Therefore the tenants might have a price fixed against them by the Land Commissioners. He was aware that the tenants need not buy, but if they did not they would not afterwards have a chance of buying at all, and that would produce a deadlock. He wished to secure that no right which the tenants had under the Bill should be lost, and the Estates Commissioners should have an indication that before fixing the price they must make some inquiry from the tenants. He did not think the words he suggested would impose any unreasonable restriction on the Estates Commissioners.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL thought there was some necessity for a provision like that contained in the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo.

MR. WYNDHAM said the Amendment he had on the Paper would meet the case.

MR. DILLON: I beg leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. BUTCHER (York) said he wished to move an Amendment after the word

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"estate" in line 40 to insert "including any demesne or other land in the occupation of the owner." As he read Clause 5, there was considerable doubt whether the Land Commission had power to purchase any land in the occupation of the owner.

MR. WYNDHAM pointed out that the word "estate" meant any land which the Estates Commissioners agreed to regard as a settled estate. How his hon. friend made out that that did not mean the demesne or other land in the occupation of the owner he could not understand.

MR. BUTCHER said that in the previous clauses of this Bill the word "estate" had been used in connection with tenanted land only, and he thought a clear distinction should be drawn between tenanted land and demesne land. They did not desire to have litigation, and if he was assured that "estate" included "demesne and other lands" he would withdraw his Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said that was so.

MR. BUTCHER said under those circumstances he would not move his Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said that Sub-section 2 of this clause provided that in respect of holdings upon which judicial reuts had been fixed, the Commissioners were to be guided by the price within the zone. They had to find out what the tenants wished to give, and if the price fell within the zone then that was the price. Clause 2 laid down a number of provisions guiding the sale of additional land, and Sub-section 2 was brought in to see that the Land Commission should not put up the higher competition price upon the assumption that all the untenanted land was sold to one grazier. In fixing the price they must have regard to the conditions of Clause 2. He did not think the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo was at all necessary, because in estimating the price they were to be guided by the foregoing provisions of the Act. He begged to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 40, to leave out from the word 'estate,' to end of sub-section, and insert the words 'and in estimating the price shall have regard to the foregoing provisions of this Act in respect of advances.'—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DILLON said this was a very important matter, for it dealt with the first clause which specifically controlled and directed the action of the Land Commission. This was an enormously important portion of the Bill, for it was the clause under which the whole of the machinery would work. As he read the Bill the provisions of Clause 1 made it a sort of covering clause governing all proceedings under the Act with regard to the price. One sub-section applied to cases where a bargain had been made already between the tenant and the landlord. The Amendment was of great importance because it proposed to substitute an entirely new method of estimating the price for the one that now stood in the Bill. The Attorney-General thought he had removed their objections completely by pointing out that Clause 3 provided that the tenants were safeguarded against all risks because before a bargain could be concluded they had to be consenting parties to the price. He contended that that did not safeguard the tenants, and he desired to safeguard them in the process of estimating the cost. Sub-section 3 only came into operation after the price had been estimated and communicated to the landlord. It was a very poor protection to the tenant, after the public department had estimated the price and communicated it to the landlord, to allow the tenant to say that he would not buy. If the tenant did that he would not get a chance of buying at all afterwards. Consequently Sub-section 3 did not meet his objection. What was the effect of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment? As the clause originally stood Clause 5 provided that—

"The Land Commission may, after due inquiry, propose to purchase the estate at a price to be estimated as hereinafter mentioned."

Sub-section 2 proceeded to lay down, in his opinion, very vaguely the ground on

which the Land Commission were to lay stress in estimating. It provided that—

"The price of the estate shall be estimated on the assumption that each tenant of a holding thereon will purchase his holding or some other designated parcel of land in lieu thereof, for an amount for which an advance under the Land Purchase Acts can be made.

How could they assume that unless they had asked the tenants what they were willing to give? Did the Chief Secretary mean that the words "due inquiry" were to be taken to mean that before the price was estimated and communicated to the landlord inquiry must be made from the tenant?

MR. WYNDHAM: Certainly.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said there was nothing in the Act to indicate it.

MR. ATKINSON said that the words "shall have regard to the foregoing provision of this Act in respect of advances" covered the object of the hon. Member. "Advances" were sums which might be advanced where the landlord and tenant agreed to purchase.

MR. DILLON said he did not read it in that way at all. His proposal was to substitute the words "to the price which the tenants on the estate are willing to give for their holdings." He did not think the words proposed by the Chief Secretary gave the Commissioners guidance as to what the tenants were going to pay. The interpretation could be put on the words that the Commissioners, where there was no agreed price, were to be driven back to the zones. The new section gave the Commissioners no guidance because there was no agreed price. He had given careful study to the words, and he believed there was great risk if they stood in the way they were put down on the Paper, that the Commissioners might be forced to the conclusion that the intention was to drive them back to Clause 1, and to the consideration of the zones. This was an important question, because the Amendment proposed by the Chief Secretary substituted a totally new method of estimating the price. He did not see why the words of his Amendment should not be inserted in the clause in order to make the intention of the Government quite

clear. What he proposed was to insert the words which would make the Amendment read as follows—

“And in estimating the price shall have regard to the price which the tenants on the estates are willing to give for their holdings.”

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

“In line 2, to leave out from the word ‘foregoing’ to the end and to insert the words ‘price which the tenants on the estates are willing to give for their holdings.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment.”

MR. WYNDHAM said the words which the hon. Member had moved were really narrower than his own words, and did not carry out what the intention of this clause was. He thought the words proposed by the hon. Member were mere surplusage, and he was not prepared to accept them without rather more careful consideration. What would be the real effect of the words proposed by the hon. Member? Did they mean that the Estates Commissioners were not to form a general view of the value of the land sold under the conditions of Clause 2? It appeared to him that if they accepted the Amendment of the hon. Member they would impose on three-fourths of the tenants definite terms which were not to be modified. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] But that was the danger. He thought that his own words covered the whole intention of the hon. Member, and covered the cases under Clause 2, while at the same time leaving some latitude which there must be if any business was to be done. The question of turbary would present great difficulty. He did not see that any danger would arise from adopting the words he had proposed. If the hon. Member could find any words that would not give rise to the danger he referred to he would be prepared to consider them.

MR. T. M. HEALY suggested that the Chief Secretary might consider whether he could alter his Amendment to read as follows—

“And in estimating the price shall have regard to the foregoing provisions of this Act in respect of advances, and any other conditions that may be prescribed.”

It was quite impossible to suppose that

Mr. Dillon.

under the words of the clause as they stood the Commissioners would not have regard to the price. At the same time the suggestion of the hon. Member for East Mayo would no doubt be an additional safeguard. He took it that as a matter of course the Commissioners would inquire into the circumstances of the price the tenant was willing to offer. But it was not unnatural that the hon. Member for East Mayo should endeavour to obtain some other safeguard. At all events this was a matter that might well be considered at some later stage of the Bill.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said it seemed to him that the whole thing was to be conducted on the principle of estimate. He was not a lawyer, but he was trying to imagine what the Estates Commissioners would do if the clause were passed as it stood. It appeared to him that the whole thing might be done without consulting a single tenant on the estate. He believed things would be brought to a deadlock unless the words proposed by the hon. Member for East Mayo were put in.

MR. ATKINSON said it would be perfectly impossible for the Land Commission to fulfil these conditions unless they did it in a business-like way. The Commission were to make an offer at which they proposed to purchase, and they were at the same time to see that the proposed scheme would involve no loss, because there was the provision in Section 4, whereby if there was a contemplated loss special permission would have to be obtained from the Lord Lieutenant. How was it conceivable that they could do that without having ascertained what the tenants were willing to give?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Why not put in plain words to that effect?

MR. ATKINSON said that unless the Land Commission ascertained first what the tenants were willing to give, they would be at the mercy of the tenants, and the whole thing would be futile.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that more than once within the last few days

the right hon. Gentleman had appealed to the Committee not to waste time on points on which there was really substantial agreement. Here was an opportunity for him to set a good example. The right hon. Gentleman was apparently in complete agreement with what the hon. Member for East Mayo had in view, but said that the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo was mere surplusage. Surely it was a waste of time to go on opposing what was surplusage.

MR. WYNDHAM said that although he agreed with all that the hon. Member for East Mayo meant and said that he meant, he was afraid that the words of the Amendment meant more than the hon. Member meant. What he said in his Amendment, quite shortly and simply, was, that in getting a preliminary undertaking from the tenants as to the price they were prepared to pay that was in conformity with Clause 1 as it stood. The Land Commission must find out from the tenants what they were prepared to pay in respect to their different categories of holdings.

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) said they were all agreed as to what the Amendment should mean, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he was not prepared to consider words, to be introduced at a later stage, which would carry into effect the object on which all were agreed?

MR. WYNDHAM said he was quite ready to accept the object of the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo, but he was not prepared to accept the hon. Member's words.

MR. HEMPHILL asked if the right hon. Gentleman would bring up the amended Amendment on the Report stage.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said he considered this Amendment vitally important. He urged on the right hon. Gentleman that there was an enormous difference between first consulting the tenants and

then, having ascertained their views, fairly offering them the land at the price they were willing to give, and coming to the tenants with a price fixed, because the tenants were then placed in the enormously difficult position of demanding a rebate. The right hon. Gentleman said that if the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo were adopted the tenants would be masters of the situation; but if the original Amendment were accepted they would be the slaves of the situation. Again, if the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment were adopted the danger was that the Land Commission would be driven back to the zones—and he was sure that the Chief Secretary did not intend that. He strongly urged on the right hon. Gentleman that it was not his good intentions that would regulate the interpretation of this Bill when it became an Act. Neither the intention nor the speeches of Ministers who carried a Bill had any effect on the decision of the gentlemen who would interpret the Act. He did not want to use language approaching controversy; but they had heard of the subtlety of gentlemen who gave judicial interpretations in Ireland, and that if there were means by which the language of an Act of Parliament could be diverted even from the honest purpose of the framers of a Bill, that means would be found. He saw no reason why the Committee should not agree to the words of the hon. Member for East Mayo's Amendment. They could be corrected on the Report stage if the right hon. Gentleman found that they went beyond what he himself meant. The clause, more than any other, left the tenants at the mercy of the Land Commission; and he regarded it as most important that the right hon. Gentleman should adopt some form of words which would dissipate any misapprehension.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would suggest that the end in view might be met by the addition of a few words to his Amendment, so that it would read "and in estimating the price shall have regard to the foregoing provisions of this Act in respect of advances and to the price which tenants and other persons are willing to give for holdings and other portions of land comprised in the estate." He

would be prepared to move the Amendment in that form reserving freedom to reconsider the actual words on the Report stage.

MR. DILLON said he recognised that the offer of the right hon. Gentleman was a very liberal one, and also that the right hon. Gentleman reserved the right to consider the matter on Report. He would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw this Amendment.

Amendment to the Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB moved to insert in Clause 5, page 4, line 3, after "thereof" "or in addition thereto." He thought the words were necessary.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 3, after the word 'thereof' to insert the words 'or in addition to.'"—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he ventured to differ from his hon. and gallant friend. He did not think the words proposed were necessary.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) said the Amendment he now proposed to move brought the Committee to the most delicate point in connection with the settlement of the evicted tenants question, namely, how they were to deal with cases in which former holdings of evicted tenants had entered into the possession of new tenants. The Amendment touched the sorest point in connection with the evicted tenants; and for that reason he hoped that every hon. Member who desired tranquillity in Ireland would give the proposal a most careful and sympathetic consideration. He was sure he would not appeal in vain to men who had fought conscientiously on both sides during a long war extending over something like twenty-five years; and he trusted that all language of acrimony would be avoided, as he would endeavour to avoid it himself, and that hon. Members would give all their good sense and good feeling

to try if they could to eliminate one of the bitterest of all outstanding difficulties in Irish life at the present moment. The proposal which he would submit dealt really with an excessively small matter; but it was like a very small wound which might develop into a very dangerous one if left to mortify. He need not tell any Member of the Committee who knew Ireland how the Irish heart clung to the notion of the old home; and he quite concurred with his hon. friend the Member for East Mayo, that wherever it was possible to restore the evicted tenants to their old homes they would by doing that be doing more than could be accomplished by any other possible means to lay the foundations of peace, goodwill, and contentment in Ireland. He did not propose any hostile action, or any compulsory action whatever against the new occupiers. They accepted the position laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh the other night, that whatever was to be done was to be done by friendly arrangement and inducement. All that the Amendment purported to do was that wherever an estate was sold, and wherever the Commissioners found that there were feuds of this kind existing, that they should have the power of acting as mediators, and in a friendly way composing without any compulsion or injustice these feuds which, if left unsettled, would keep the entire community in a state of ferment. Clause 11 as it stood gave the Commissioners some such power as he now proposed. But his hon. friends and himself could not afford to have any possible doubt on the subject. Undoubtedly Clause 11 gave very wide powers as to estates vested in the Commissioners; but they knew from bitter experience what the Irish Law Courts could do in the way of whittling down powers of this kind unless they were most expressly laid down. In any case, Clause 11 dealt with land vested in the Estates Commissioners; and even if it did give the necessary power with reference to purchase, it would not provide any remedy whatever in the case of a direct transaction between landlord and tenant. He proposed to give similar power to the Commissioners in the case of an estate sold by direct negotiation

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between landlord and tenant. He did not prejudge the question as to whether Clause 11, with certain alterations, might not give the necessary powers; but he submitted that no hon. Member ought to have any objection to these powers being fully and definitely given; and no one could have any real interest in keeping this sore open.

He quite understood it was a point of honour with landlords not to abandon the men who enabled them to carry on the war. He could quite sympathise with that feeling. On the other hand, on their own side the notion of any terms or truce with men who were known as grabbers was so hateful, that when they proposed to enter into a friendly bargain with them they were running a considerable risk of unpopularity and misconception. They had run an abundance of risks of that kind already, in order to bring about a settlement which they believed would involve the happiness and contentment of the Irish people; and they had not the least fear that the result would justify them in this matter, as it had justified them in other matters. He went further, and said that they were not prepared to stand upon the exact limits of compensation that were indicated in the Amendment, but were quite willing to leave the Estates Commissioners perfectly free to exercise their own discretion and good sense in any case where they saw an opportunity of delivering the community from this most dangerous of all sources of heart-burning and disturbance in Ireland. The Committee would have to deal with two classes of new occupiers in connection with this clause. One class, which was extremely small, was what he might call without offence the political planters on the Plan of Campaign estates. The other class was more numerous, but it would be easy to strike up a bargain with them. There were isolated cases all over the country where derelict farms had been taken for mere temporary accommodation by shopkeepers and others who were not farmers, and who had no intention of becoming farmers. As to the political planters on the Plan of Campaign estates, he did not believe that they numbered more than thirty or forty; and he believed no hon. Gentleman opposite would quarrel with the statement that they were planted more with a view to fighting than to agriculture. Mr. Trench, a famous land

agent, used to say that when he went to Ulster to find planters for the Luggacurran Estate he found plenty of men with capital and no courage, and also plenty of men with courage but no capital. He had a great deal of sympathy with fighting men on whatever side they fought; and he recognised that some of these new occupiers had substantial interests in their holdings, and that it was possible that they might elect to remain in them. In such cases there was nothing more to be said; but as to the greater number of the new occupiers he believed that a friendly hint from the landlord and the judicial interposition of the Estates Commissioners would solve the whole difficulty. There were cases in which more than half the holdings were under £10 valuation, and from which the tenants were evicted not for joining any political combination, but because of poverty, of arrears of rent, and the failure of the Land Acts. That was the most numerous class of evicted tenants; and there should be no difficulty in dealing with the new occupiers in such cases. They might safely trust to the new spirit of goodwill, hopefulness, and buoyancy to bring about a friendly settlement in all such cases without any friction or expense whatever. The process would, however, be greatly accelerated if this Amendment were carried; and if the Estates Commissioners had power to intervene in a friendly way whenever they found it desirable.

As to the amount of money that would be involved, it was so insignificant a part of a huge transaction that he did not anticipate that either the Government or any hon. Member would offer any objection to it. The Act would provide the reserve fund which would furnish the Estates Commissioners with ample means to bring about this settlement. The tenants' representatives had not been churlish in dealing with the men who had suffered among the landlords, and he hoped and believed no leader of hon. Gentlemen opposite would raise any objection to this Amendment. The Land Conference unanimously declared that the settlement of this question equitably was indispensable to the success of this Bill, and what more equitable basis could there be than this. The

right hon. Gentleman had already shown that he fully realised the importance of this question as a means of getting the goodwill which would have to be the great driving force of this measure. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 18, at the end, to insert the words, '(4) Where the Estates Commissioners purchase an estate under the provisions of this Act, or where the landlord is selling his estate to the tenants or former tenants thereof under the Land Purchase Acts, and there are upon such estate tenants in occupation of holdings from which other tenants were evicted within twenty-five years before the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to arrange for the surrender to them or to the landlord, as the case may be, of such holdings by the tenants in occupation thereof, on such terms as may be agreed upon, including the transfer of such tenants to other holdings or the payment of such sums of money as compensation for such surrenders as they may think fit, not exceeding in any one case twice the amount of the annual rent payable by each such tenant. And, upon such surrender as aforesaid being made, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to reinstate in their holdings the former tenants thereof, and thereupon such former tenants so reinstated shall have the same rights under the Land Purchase Acts as they would have had if they had never been evicted from such holdings.'"
—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said the hon. Member for Cork had asked that his Amendment should be considered in a careful and sympathetic spirit. He had considered it carefully, but he could not say sympathetically. The hon. Member for Cork had made very drastic proposals in a very moderate speech, but he had carefully avoided figures. The proposal was about as wide as any he had ever heard proposed in the House. It covered every eviction that had taken place in Ireland in the last twenty-five years. He would like to have heard how many thousand tenants had been evicted for one cause or another in that time. The hon. Member could not seriously propose that the tenants who had been turned out of their farms absolutely, hopelessly impecunious, and unable to work them, should be gathered together from all parts of the world and reinstated, and the tenants who occupied the farms

and cultivated them to advantage were to go out. If the Committee desired to create in Ireland the most hopeless confusion the mind of man could conceive, they should accept the Amendment. Hon. Members made very mild speeches in this House, but they went to Ireland and gave advice in a very different tone. What would happen if the Amendment were accepted would be that when the Bill was passed a man who held an evicted farm would be "advised" to give up the farm to his predecessor. He recollected the time of the Plan of Campaign when the advice given had sometimes a very unpleasant effect on the person advised.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: That is all old history.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: It was true it was old history, but it was history he did not wish to see repeated. A leopard could not change his spots so easily. (Ironical NATIONALIST cheers). He was glad hon. Members agreed with him. Hon. Members wished these things to be forgotten, and he was willing to forget them, but the acceptance of this Amendment would bring to light these things they wished to forget. He hoped the Government would reject the clause.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he would not allow himself to be drawn by the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite into indulging in any kind of recriminations. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman, who could hardly be expected to make a speech on this question without giving utterance to irritating remarks, had restrained himself fairly well, but he had made one mistake—viz, that when speaking of what had happened during the last twenty-five years, and the strong speeches that had been made, he had forgotten that whereas then they were trying to make war they were now endeavouring to make peace. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not be the man to stand in the way of a sincere effort to remove, as far as it could be done, all traces of the bitter conflict of the past. He wished he could impress upon the Chief Secretary an adequate idea of the importance attached to this matter in Ireland. In extent the question was a very

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small one. The picture which had been drawn of all the evicted tenants of the last twenty-five years rushing from the ends of the earth to regain their old homes was absurd. The real object of the Amendment was to enable tenants to be restored to their homes in cases where the new tenants were willing to give up the farms and make other arrangements, and that power for that purpose should be placed in the hands of the Commission. There was no intention to put into the Bill any provision by which pressure, direct or indirect, could be brought to bear upon existing tenants. The number of these new tenants who were real *bona fide* agriculturists, working their farms as ordinary farmers, was comparatively few; and if they desired to continue in their holdings he would not give his sanction to any attempt compulsorily to get them out. That was as things were now. In the last twenty-five years they had tried compulsion, and failed in these cases. But this Amendment was proposed to deal not with these cases but with the others, which for the most part concerned men who were not agriculturists at all, but who had been put into the farms to carry on the war on the part of the landlords, and had probably never been happy or comfortable in their surroundings. The Amendment asked that in these cases the Estates Commissioners should have power to bring out the existing tenants for the purpose of putting others in their places. Was that a revolutionary or improper provision? It would be an absolutely voluntary proceeding, as nothing could be done without the consent of the tenant; and if it was true, as he understood it was, that the Congested Districts Board already possessed a similar power, it would be ridiculous to deny it to this new Commission. The Amendment asked also that the Estates Commissioners should have power in these cases, as they had in the case of all new tenants under the Bill, to spend money for the purpose of rebuilding, restocking, and giving the men a fresh start in life. The necessary money was already in the Bill, as it was provided that what was called the "reserve fund," amounting to £240,000 or £250,000, should be placed at the disposal of the

Commissioners for this very work. Could it be contended that the unfortunate evicted tenants were to be excluded from that provision? They must be dealt with in the same way as other tenants, and he would be greatly astonished if the Chief Secretary was not forced to take that view. If the right hon. Gentleman went so far, all that remained was that the Estates Commissioners should have the power to buy out existing tenants in order to put in others, and as it was purely a matter of voluntary agreement, but one upon which so much depended for the promotion of the good feeling which all desired in Ireland, he hoped the Chief Secretary would favourably consider the proposal.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Armagh had suggested that the Nationalist Members were playing a part in this matter, their real object being to return to Ireland and rekindle the land war if possible. That was an unworthy suspicion. Any intelligent man who had noted their acts and words for months past must know that it was impossible for them to cherish any such design, unless, indeed, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman and his followers drove them into adopting that course. He entertained no such suspicion of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman and his friends. He frankly admitted that the present position would have been utterly impossible had it not been for the conciliatory and generous spirit shown by men like Lord Dunraven and others. The least the Nationalist Members could claim was that they should be given credit for equal sincerity. It was in the interests of peace, and of peace alone, they pressed this Amendment, which he hoped the Chief Secretary would deal with in a spirit very different from that of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB sincerely wished this question had been left untouched, but the matter having been raised he was anxious not to impart any heat or rancour into the discussion. He credited hon. Gentlemen opposite with all sincerity, but while they were doubtless anxious that

there should be no further land war they could not be regarded as absolutely controlling the Irish people. They had rivals in every constituency, and they might not be able to carry their wishes into effect. The hon. Member for Waterford had used words which seemed to imply that if a man was a good agriculturist he was all right.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said his argument was that there were certain classes of these men who would be most anxious to give up their holdings, while others would not. Why should those who were willing to give them up be prevented from doing so?

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that hon. Members opposite claimed the evicted tenants as the wounded in the war because they took a certain line politically. Those tenants allowed themselves to be evicted not because their rents were unfair but because they thought it was good for the national cause. He was not going to be drawn into saying anything that would produce heat, but he claimed that if compensation was given to the wounded it should be given to the wounded on both sides. What about the shopkeepers and other people who had been ruined in this land war, and who were neither landlords nor tenants? He thought the best course to pursue would be to consider this war closed and let each side bury its own dead and cure its own wounded. The proposition which had been put forward was one which the Government ought not to accept. It had been said that the British taxpayer had nothing to do with this question, but it appeared to him that he had a great deal to do with it. They must remember the broad fact that the British taxpayer was practically going to be the landlord in the future, and the British taxpayers would ask why these extra facilities should be given to put on to farms the men who, for political purposes, had allowed themselves to be evicted. There was a body of opinion in the House of Commons which regarded this Bill with apprehension.

Sir John Colomb.

At this point, Mr. WYNDHAM moved to the end of the Treasury bench and whispered an observation to Sir John Colomb.

SIR JOHN COLOMB, resuming his remarks, said the Chief Secretary did not agree with him, but that was his view, and he had felt it his duty to state it. He had restrained himself in dealing with this question and had tried to deal with a great and a really grave subject with moderation, with reason, and with quietness. He should listen with great interest to what the Chief Secretary had to say.

MR. WYNDHAM said that perhaps he ought to intervene in the debate at this moment. He should like from the first to take the whole Committee into his confidence as to what was the bearing of the observation he had ventured to make to his hon. and gallant friend. Otherwise they might be mystified, and the hon. Member for South Molton might go so far as to say that it was not fair to restrain his hon. and gallant friend from showing, what the British taxpayer might not be aware of, what was a real danger to him. The reason why he interrupted his hon. and gallant friend was this, that any money used under Clause 11, whether for this or for any other purpose, was not only Irish money, but, to the extent of £250,000, was money which had been earned by land purchase in Ireland in excess of all that was required to pay interest on the Sinking Fund. Therefore the hon. Member for South Molton should not begrudge them this nest egg, which belonged to Ireland. What they were to do with it, and whether they could use it beneficially without breaking it or spilling its contents on the floor, was another matter; but that it belonged to Ireland and to land purchase in Ireland was beyond dispute. His hon. and gallant friend had said that he had exercised great restraint in speaking on this subject. He thought he had, and he himself rose with trepidation. It was almost impossible to discuss the question of the evicted tenants without finding surging memories rising up in one's mind.

Upon this subject they were carried back to the Act of 1891. It might be remembered that in the year 1891, just after the Plan of Campaign, when his right hon. friend the Leader of the House had been throwing a good deal of spirit and enterprise into his Irish Government, this House by a large majority put a clause into the Land Bill which opened the door for a period of six months, so that there could be no objection now to the principle of 1891 in regard to a temporary chance of a settlement. Since 1891 a certain number of men had occupied those holdings, and, therefore, although the occasion was a more favourable one now owing to the lapse of time and to the efforts of both sides signing the Conference Report, there were now persons occupying those farms from which others had been evicted. The hon. and learned member for Waterford had said more than once that he and his party had no intention of touching again that part of the question themselves or, so far as they could, of permitting it to be touched by compulsion, direct or indirect, that illegitimately—there could be no legitimate pressure—by any form of pressure at all, no man who owned a holding in Ireland which was once occupied by another was to be led to leave that holding if he desired to remain on it. That was what the hon. and learned Member said, and he accepted his word.

It might be said that the hon. and learned Member for Waterford could not govern the future, but how high had he put up the standard at this moment? How high was it put up in 1894? In the year 1894 his right hon. friend the Prime Minister and himself were resisting a Bill brought in by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose Burghs dealing with this question, and they resisted it to the best of their power. What was the tenor of their remarks upon that occasion? He would not quote what he himself said, but he would quote the remarks of the Prime Minister. His right hon. friend, after rehearsing some of the bitter memories of the past, which they did not wish to allude to that day, said—

“ But no hope is held out to us by those *ip* whose hands rests the decision of the question. They tell us in plain terms that when it suits them they will use the old methods for the old objects; and, in face of declarations of that kind, I confess that this House will be obliged

to pause before it uses public funds and public legislation for the purpose of succouring the wounded soldiers in this species of civil war.”

The Prime Minister went on to say—

“ If that section or party would hold out to us any hope that we have seen an end of these things, and that we need not look for a repetition of them in future, I for one would not look too closely either into the amount of money which we are asked to vote or into the merits of those who are to receive it.”

(NATIONALIST Cheers.) Hon. Members must not cheer too soon. He admitted that that did not dispose of the difficulty. It only emphasised the fact to which his right hon. friend and other hon. Members had borne witness—that they did wish to settle this question. He took it from the speeches made the other night that they all wished to settle it and they did not mean to leave it, unless they were obliged to do so, outstanding from the four corners of the Bill. It was difficult to bring this question in without using some means which might be held to put some form of pressure upon the men who had taken those farms. It would be his duty to see that the form of words used in the Bill was not capable of being abused in the direction of pressure on those men who had taken these farms—not by the hon. Member for Waterford and his followers, but by persons who might disappoint their intentions. He thought the hon. Member would agree with him that in so difficult a matter—a matter which he found it very difficult to handle without disturbing the happy conditions that had hitherto prevailed—the mere phraseology adopted became a matter of importance. They were all agreed that there must be no compulsion but that, on the other hand, they wanted to settle the evicted tenants question.

The other night he laid down three principles for dealing with this question. The first was that there should be no compulsion; the second, that they must give equal treatment to all classes of persons with whom the Act would deal; the third, that there must be no special mention of evicted tenants. It might be a question of proper administration, that the evicted tenants difficulty was a thing to be easily settled in one part of Ireland to the satisfaction of all parties, including the landlords; while in another part of

Ireland such a question as, for example, the labourers' question, might be so acute that no one would suggest that the first and most obvious thing to do was to find farms for the evicted tenants. He held, therefore, that, while they ought not to exclude anything from the Bill which might conduce to the settlement of this question, they ought not to push into the very forefront of the Bill a contentious matter in such a form of words as to leave posterity to think that they held this to be the most vital question of all. It might be so not unnaturally in the minds of some, but in the minds of others other questions were equally vital; and he thought the matter must be left to the tact and good sense of those who had to administer the Bill, and to the absolute harmony of conviction prevailing amongst all classes in Ireland that the sore ought to be healed. In Clause 11 of the Bill, it was undoubted that the Commission had powers to take steps for benefiting and improving an estate. According to the interpretation of the Statutes Act the word "estate" carried the plural and meant estates generally. The first sub-section of Clause 2 was as follows—

"The Land Commission may, where an estate, or untenanted land, is vested in them, take such steps and execute, or cause to be executed, such works as may appear expedient for the benefit or improvement of the estate, or untenanted land."

In making provisions for improvement of estates under the clause the Commissioners were not pinned down within the limits of one estate. There was under that clause a fund, which might be used as a roving fund, of £250,000, which was the working capital necessary to fructify the financing of the sum of £5,000,000. He held that they ought not to lay it down that the Commissioners should at once turn their attention to this question of the evicted tenants, and use a large slice of this working capital for that purpose; but it was indubitable that under Clause 11 the working capital might be used for the benefit and improvement of a congerie of estates on which the Estates Commissioners were at work, and in many cases it would be the very object which everybody would wish to carry out. He was convinced that if what he now said was accepted on both sides within a very short time an

example of peace and harmony given in one place would be rapidly followed in other parts of Ireland. The basis of the whole discussion was that there should be no compulsion; but on the other hand he could not disguise from the Committee that if these words were put in here, drawing such pointed attention to a particular class, then there would be speeches from this side of the House throwing doubt on the possibility of the hon. Members for Waterford and Cork being able to carry out their intention. They would throw down an apple of discord. It would be better to take the clause as it stood, and make no invidious selection, which was bound to throw them back into the futile controversies of the past.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the right hon. Gentleman had spoken in the spirit of a statesman. He recognised the delicacy of the question and his own great responsibility. Might he say to hon. Gentlemen opposite, on the landlords' side, one or two things. The hon. and gallant Member for Great Yarmouth said that there were wounded soldiers on both sides, but had he forgotten that the landlords were to get £12,000,000 to bury their dead? That was a good contribution to the funeral expenses. Certainly on this side of the House they were not so well provided. Let him remind hon. Members opposite that, as the hon. Member for Cork had truly said, they were open to much misrepresentation for proposing what was in reality a grabbers' compensation clause. Then the Government were going to propose by-and-by a land agents' compensation and bailiffs' compensation clause, and even the income tax collectors were to get some consideration. Was it unreasonable for the Irish Members on their part to claim something for the ragged fringes in this question, while they were fully willing to give those men who had taken the farms full compensation, and to provide at the same time the possibility of reinstating the former occupiers of the land? His hon. friend the Member for Waterford, had made to-night as remarkable a declaration as he had ever heard in this House, and the speech of the hon. Member for Cork was couched in the same tone. He did think that Members

on this side of the House, speaking on their responsibility for their people, regarded their words as good coin in Ireland, and would not be gone back on by those alleged competitors which an hon. Member had said he had in his own constituency. Well, he himself had no competitor in his own constituency except himself. The hon. Member for Waterford had stated that he would guarantee to this House, if this Amendment were accepted, on behalf of his Party and on behalf of his organisation, that those who had taken farms and were not willing to surrender them should be left unmolested in their holdings. The hon. and gallant Member for Great Yarmouth referred to the clause as one which did not cover the case of shopkeepers. No doubt he had in his mind the Tallow case. The clause did cover that case. It applied to the case of Mr. O'Keefe, who took a farm, and it would enable him to get compensation if he surrendered, or, upon the other hand, the very significant promise of the hon. Member for Waterford guaranteed to him, if he failed to surrender the farm, quiet and peaceable possession for the remainder of his days. He thought this capitulation—he did not use the word offensively but in its strict legal meaning—on the part of the hon. Members for Cork and Waterford was well worthy of being entertained by this House. It had been accepted in that sense by the Chief Secretary, and he thought they had a guarantee in the situation created by these declarations, and in the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, which made as much for permanent peace in the country as the Dunraven Treaty itself.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he could add a word or two which might be of use to the Committee. Many years ago, when the land war was at its height, he took an active part in forming what was called the Derelict Land Trust, which raised thousands of pounds for the purpose of planting men on the evicted tenants' farms. That being so, he did not think he ought to remain silent altogether on this occasion. The first thing he wished to say was that that was done as an act of war. He had followed the course of these planters

since. He knew many of them, and was brought into contact with them personally. Their career had not been a happy one. They had not achieved any success. As a simple matter of fact, he believed this question was not a large one in the sense the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh said. He thought it was a very small and narrow one, and that, with very little arrangement and inducement, these men would gladly go out of their holdings and make room for those who had lost them, not from bankruptcy, or thriftlessness, or drunkenness, but only because of the land war, and because they stood in the front of the firing line. Very few of these men had succeeded. How could they? He was not very sure but that the people to be most benefited by this Amendment, and who would rejoice most if it were carried, were the planters. He thought it right to say that because he spoke from personal knowledge of many of the planters and their circumstances. The Committee might take it from him that these men were not fixtures as farmers were; they were put in as an act of war, and they would be glad to go out on terms now that peace had been proclaimed. It had been said that hon. Members opposite were very keen upon this question, and some members of the Committee had made comments on that fact. He would think very much worse of hon. Members opposite if they were not keenly and desperately in earnest in trying to get the best terms for these men who had fought with them and for them, and who had suffered the consequences of the war.

MR. DILLON said he had always held that this question was one of the most vital connected with the Bill, and that on its solution would depend in large measure the spirit in which this Act was administered in Ireland, and the attitude of the Irish landlords towards its administration. But, when the right hon. Gentleman asked the Irish Members to accept his fair and agreeable words, his assurance that these men would be humanely and generously dealt with in accordance with the agreement of the Land Conference, he listened in vain to obtain from the representatives of the

Irish landlords the slightest degree of hope that their voice would be raised in the same direction. What was the use of the right hon. Gentleman's fair and agreeable words if it was stated from the benches opposite that vengeance was still to be the doctrine preached in the administration of this Act. He had hoped that the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh would have shown a willingness to make it possible for them to work for peace in Ireland. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman talked about forgetting the past; but how were they to forget the past if the evicted tenants were to be treated in the spirit which had been shown that night?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: What spirit?

MR. DILLON said he did not want to use strong words; he meant the spirit of want of forgiveness, want of generosity, and want of any genuine desire for peace in Ireland.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said he had already stated in the House that he was ready, and he believed that the landlords in Ireland were ready, as far as possible, to see the evicted tenants reinstated, so long as that did not involve the eviction of the present holders.

MR. DILLON said that the eviction of the present holders had not been demanded by the Nationalist Members. Had they made no concession, when they retired from the position which the whole people of Ireland had taken up in saying that these men should be evicted? The right hon. and gallant Member had the singular want of taste and judgment to say that the Nationalist Members might find rivals in their constituencies who would make it hot for them. Yes; that might be true if the right hon. and gallant Member pursued the policy in which he was engaged. If the right hon. and gallant Member wanted them to redeem the pledge sincerely given by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that these men would be secure from all molestation in the future, then he had taken a very bad way to do it. Did he imagine that the Nationalist Members

were to be sent home to Ireland absolutely empty-handed in this matter? The right hon. and gallant Member must give them something. He had thought that the whole of these discussions were to go on on new lines, that both sides were desirous of seeking peace by mutual concessions, and above all, that both sides were desirous of showing and proving that they had no wish to inflict injury in respect of what was past. What would this concession involve? That no pressure would be put upon any tenant in Ireland who now occupied a holding to go out of it. The only way in which there could be security against pressure was to meet them fairly. He supposed that the amount of money involved would perhaps amount to £100,000. He had listened with curiosity and surprise to the extreme anxiety displayed by the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth in behalf of the British taxpayer, when it came to a gift of £100,000 to the tenants to heal this sore; but there was no anxiety on the hon. and gallant Gentleman's part for the British taxpayer when it came to giving a bonus of £12,000,000 to the Irish landlords, and when he was claiming twenty-five years purchase for his own estate. He was sorry to be obliged to say it, but there seemed to be a feeling on the part of some hon. Gentlemen opposite to accept all the good terms offered to the landlords, and still to retain the base and unworthy pleasure of punishing the evicted tenants. That was not the spirit in which the landlords could bring this question to a peaceful and happy conclusion. In his opinion the landlords were making a very great mistake in that attitude, even from a money point of view. Hon. Members opposite thought it good policy to hint at this particular stage—though it was never heard of at an earlier stage—that the influence of the Nationalist Members in Ireland might disappear, and that other great forces might arise which would set them aside, and carry on the land war. His answer to that was that hon. Gentlemen opposite were taking the very best possible way to make that new fight inevitable and formidable. The passage of the Bill went smoothly and quietly

Mr. Dillon.

until some concessions were asked for the tenants. Then, forgetting the generous terms obtained for themselves, the landlords' representatives immediately showed their teeth, and opposed every concession to the tenants whatever. He put it to these hon. Members opposite, who only appeared to be accessible to the pocket argument, did they think that such a temper as they had displayed would facilitate the bargains which they were to make with the tenants? It was one of the characteristics of the Irish people that they would go a long way to make concessions if these were carried out in an atmosphere of general reconciliation and goodwill; and he believed that in such an atmosphere the landlords would get a higher price for their land than they would if they gave to the tenantry of Ireland, and the general public of Ireland, the impression that they were still animated by bitterness and a spirit of vengeance.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he wished to ask the Chief Secretary whether he was correct in understanding the right hon. Gentleman to say that, under Clause 11, the Estates Commissioners were to have all the powers of the Congested Districts Board, and would have the power to use money at their disposal for rebuilding and restocking any new holdings to be created under the Act. Had the Congested Districts Board the power to buy out the interests of existing tenants in order to put the evicted tenants in; and if so, had the Estate Commissioners that power under Clause 11? Secondly, he wished to know whether the money under Clause 11, which was at the disposal of the Estate Commissioners, was available under the Bill as it stood for the purpose of restocking and rebuilding farms, such as these eviction farms?

MR. WYNDHAM said that his answer to these two questions was certainly in the affirmative. The use of the powers of the Estates Commissioners was to be governed by all he had said that night, and the other night.

MR. JOHN REDMOND asked if the right hon. Gentleman would put words in the Bill which would make that plain.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said it was unfortunate that when the proceedings had gone so harmoniously this heat had been generated. He thought there had been a distinct misunderstanding by the hon. Member for East Mayo as to the position of the Irish landlords on this occasion. The hon. Gentleman had stated that in his opinion the Irish landlords were actuated by hostility to the evicted tenants.

MR. DILLON : The two representatives who spoke.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he understood that the hon. Gentleman had referred to the general body of Irish landlords; and he could assure the hon. Gentleman that the Irish landlords, including the two Gentlemen pointed at, did not retain the least hostility to the evicted tenants. Every landlord in Ireland desired that all cause of trouble and dispute should be buried. Their point was simply that the present tenants should not be coerced, either indirectly or directly, to give up their rights. On the other hand, they had no hostility to the evicted tenants, and were glad to see them placed in the best position consistent with the absence of any coercion towards the present tenants. Under this Bill various powers were given. Money was promised to enable these evicted tenants to secure other holdings. Power was also given to deal with these particular lands; estates might be bought, and tenants' interests might be purchased, and there was nothing whatsoever in the Bill to prevent even the exact scheme drawn up by the Amendment from being carried out. The only exception, perhaps, was that of money. This question could not be settled by mere money. But the Bill gave ample powers for the shifting of tenants. If a tenant was in possession of an evicted holding there was nothing to prevent his changing his holding. The whole of these estates were in the hands of the Land Commission. They might be dealt with as one estate, and it was perfectly possible under the Bill to make a shifting arrangement. The Amendment appeared, to a certain extent, to limit the powers of the Commission rather than to extend them. It said, in fact, they might not make arrangements with

the tenant of an evicted holding, except under certain limited terms. That was not the way to deal with these tenants. The Commissioners had the power to give them another holding, and the evicted tenant could be replaced by means of the money grant to be given under the Bill. It had been admitted that the Chief Secretary had sympathetically asserted that it was his wish and desire that this question should be settled; but it had been said by the hon. Member for East Mayo that the Irish landlords had not delivered themselves in the same sense. On behalf of the Irish landlords, however, he begged to say that they took exactly the same view as that entertained by the Chief Secretary; they were just as anxious to pour oil on these troubled waters. He felt certain that the object would be better secured by relying on the declarations that had been made than by inserting in the Bill anything to limit rather than increase its powers. He made these observations with a view to, and in the hope of, securing a spirit of tranquillity in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to state whether, in a case where a farm was occupied by a new tenant, and the latter was willing to go to another farm, or to receive a certain sum as compensation for relinquishing his holding, the Land Commissioners, if they thought it fit an arrangement should be made, would have the power to make such arrangement under Clause 11.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, certainly.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND thought the question was very largely met. He believed, in spite of what had been said to the contrary, that a great majority of the landlords would be glad to have some arrangement by which new tenants of evicted farms would give them up and allow the old tenants to be reinstated. He had been approached by friends of landlords in the county of Clare with regard to bringing about a settlement of that nature. In one case the new tenant had carried on the farm without profit either to himself or the landlord, and they were extremely anxious for an arrangement to be made. A resale was arrived at,

Mr. Herbert Robertson.

the new tenant surrendered the farm voluntarily, and the old tenant was restored.

MR. FLYNN (Cork Co. N.) said all they desired was to include in the four corners of the Bill the reinstatement of the evicted tenants so far as possible on an equitable basis. There could not be the difficulty that some hon. Members had tried to make out, because he knew of a considerable number of evicted farms which were being worked at the present time by the occupants at a loss, and which were rented at much lower sums than had been paid by the former tenants.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— EVENING SITTING. —

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith, in the Chair.]

Clause 5:—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 4, line 18, at the end, to insert the words, (4) ‘Where the Estates Commissioners purchase an estate under the provisions of this Act, or where the landlord is selling his estate to the tenants or former tenants thereof under the Land Purchase Acts, and there are upon such estate tenants in occupation of holdings from which other tenants were evicted within twenty-five years before the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to arrange for the surrender to them or to the landlord, as the case may be, of such holdings by the tenants in occupation thereof, on such terms as may be agreed upon, including the transfer of such tenants to other holdings or the payment of such sums of money as compensation for such surrenders as they may think fit, not exceeding in any one case twice the amount of the annual rent payable by each such tenant. And, upon such surrender as aforesaid being made, it shall be lawful for the said Estates Commissioners to reinstate in their holdings the former tenants thereof, and thereupon such former tenants so reinstated shall have the same rights under

the Land Purchase Acts as they would have had if they had never been evicted from such holdings."—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. FLYNN, continuing his remarks, said he thought on this occasion the representatives of the landlords might have acted more generously. Whatever objections the Irish Nationalists had to the Bill those objections had nothing to do with what the landlords would get out of it, and it was disappointing to find hon. Gentlemen opposite coming forward now and invoking the sacred name of the British taxpayer who, in the language of hon. Members, had been for many years a by-word and reproach, but who, whether they had been right or wrong in their action, were entitled to be considered. This clause would only come into operation when the landlord sold direct to the Land Commission and not when he and his tenants agreed together. He would not prolong the discussion, because he was in hopes that the Government had not really said the last word on this matter. He hoped that before the discussion came to an end they would have a communication from the Government that they were prepared to go somewhat further, or, at any rate, to make Clause 11 more comprehensive. No self-respecting body of public men in Ireland would ever consent to the deliberate abandonment of the evicted tenants of Ireland, who had made those great sacrifices for principle, without trying to do something to prevent them being a by-word and a reproach.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to consider whether before they came to Clause 11 he could not introduce some words that would save them from the possibility of the failure of the object they had so much at heart. He also asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he would enlarge the powers of the Commissioners under Clause 11, so that those powers should apply to the case of direct transactions between landlord and tenant, as well as to cases in which the land was vested in the Commissioners.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was quite ready in respect of this question and other questions which might arise to see before Report whether it was possible in all cases to deal with estates, which the landlord sold to his tenants by private arrangement, on all fours with the procedure applicable to estates held by the Commissioners. He was bound to say, however, that there were great practical difficulties, particularly when the expenditure of public money was being dealt with. That did not preclude an arrangement being come to on many of these questions, because where the employment of public funds was proper and desirable the simple plan was for the landlord to sell that part of his property to the Estates Commissioners. He did not think that, as far as principle was concerned, there was any difference between himself and hon. Gentlemen opposite. As far as the easy administration of the Act was concerned, there was a good deal between them however, but they were in far closer agreement than many would have supposed. They practically came to agreement on the previous Wednesday, when he ventured to lay down three principles—(1) that it was desirable to settle the evicted tenants question—(2), that no pressure in favour of the evicted tenants should be put on those holdings now in the occupation of others, and (3) that in using the powers of this Bill to settle the land question they ought not to single out one class for preferential treatment to the detriment of another. All those principles were accepted without dissent. They were affirmed in Clause 2, and must be also affirmed in Clause 11, and if Clause 11 was not perspicuous it must be made so.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said the right hon. Gentleman's attitude towards this Amendment was, under difficult circumstances, a friendly and satisfactory one. No one regretted more than he did one or two passages in the rather unhappy speech of the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, but in a matter of this kind he was not disposed to magnify differences, and he preferred to remember the frank and friendly speech of the hon. Member for South Hackney. He could not forget

also that in this and other critical passages of the Bill those who had a right to speak for the majority of the Irish landlords had not failed to show their sympathy. They recognised that substantially the object of the Amendment was gained, and as they did not wish to fight for shadows he would ask leave to withdraw it; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would devise some means that would save him and them from the lawyers.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON moved the omission of Sub-section (4), which apparently gave to the Lord Lieutenant under certain circumstances the power to enable the Estates Commissioners to buy an estate without taking any steps to inquire what price the tenants were able to give.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 19, to leave out Sub-section (4)."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said the sub-
• section would be necessary to the proper working of the Act. On many properties in Ireland there were difficulties as to the arrangements for access to turbary and other easements, which were hard to overcome, and the landlord was hung up by quarrels, not between himself and his tenantry, but between two sections of his tenantry. It was to meet such cases that the sub-section was intended. But the matter was one which could perhaps be better discussed on Clause 17.

MR. DILLON said the advantage of freely discussing these points was shown by the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had completely converted him to the idea that the Amendment was unnecessary. He would therefore ask leave to withdraw it.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would like to point out that they were putting a great deal of responsibility on the

Mr. William O'Brien,

Estates Commissioners, and they could not undertake to give them minute instructions in all these small matters.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. TULLY moved an Amendment empowering the Lord Lieutenant, where necessary for the preservation of the peace, to dispense with the conditions as to voluntary sale, and to direct the application of the provisions of the Land Clauses Act to the purchase of an estate. He said that the Amendment was to provide for those cases where disturbance resulted from variation in the conditions of neighbouring tenants. He thought it would be very desirable for the Lord Lieutenant to have this power. The Amendment was suggested by hon. Members belonging to the Liberal Party, and he regretted that some were not present at that moment to advocate it. The concessions made by the right hon. Gentleman had practically wiped out the zone system, and he did not believe tenants would purchase unless under Schedule prices. In Galway in 1890 the average price of land was fourteen years purchase; in 1892 it was sixteen years purchase, and in 1894 it was ten years purchase. In 1896 it was eleven years, whereas in 1895 it was thirteen years. In Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo the averages had varied from six to sixteen years purchase, and it certainly would not be fair to compel new purchasers to purchase under a zone system which would make the price equal to thirty-two years purchase of second-term rents. It could only produce public disturbance. He begged to move—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 23, at end, to insert the words 'and the Lord Lieutenant shall, where it is necessary for the preservation of the peace, dispense with the conditions as to voluntary sale, and direct the provisions of the Land Clauses Act as shall apply to the purchase of an estate by the Land Commission and the resale to the tenants where it can be effected without prospect of loss.'"—(*Mr. Tully.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not see how voluntary purchase could lead to disturbance. The Amendment would rather defeat its own object of promoting the peace. All were agreed to give the present Bill a trial; and the whole of Ireland was united in putting compulsion on one side. [MR. DILLON: For the present.] Then why bring up this question of compulsion again and again when it had no chance of acceptance by any section of the House?

MR. TULLY said he brought it up because on the Second Reading he had no chance of stating his views on it. He would, however, ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON rose to move an Amendment to introduce a power of compulsion in dealing with these questions. He said they were making a really serious attempt to deal with the problem of re-settlement in the West of Ireland, and he thought it would be found to be the universal opinion that, unless some form of compulsion was introduced, it would not be possible to settle the question. He had on the Paper an Amendment to Clause 72, to give compulsory powers to the Congested Districts Board.

*THE CHAIRMAN ruled that the point could not be discussed at that stage, and the Amendment was not therefore proposed.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 29, to leave out from the word 'case' to end of line 30."—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. TULLY next moved an Amendment extending the definition of an estate under the clause. He pointed out that a large number of small tenants on the fringe of grazing farms were absolutely shut out by the definition given in the sub-section, and he said he was confident that the acceptance of his Amendment would give universal satisfaction in Ireland.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 34, to leave out the words 'an estate,' and to insert the words 'any estate in the province of Connaught, and counties of Donegal, Clare, Kerry, and Cork.'"—(Mr. Tully.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Gentleman could not have considered the matter very carefully. The Amendment would not effect the object which he had in view, and he ought to remember that congestion was sporadic.

Question put and agreed to.

MR. MURPHY pointed out that, according to Sub-section 4 of Clause 1, congested estates were excluded from the zones, and he thought it very necessary to add the words, "or part of an estate situated in a congested districts county." This Amendment would cover such cases as that of the Kenmare estate in the County of Kerry, the congested portion of which would be shut out by the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. He wanted to protect the tenants of the bad part of that estate.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 38, at end to insert the words 'or part of an estate situated in a congested districts county.'"

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM pointed out that the scheduling of congested districts was somewhat accidental and arbitrary, and it was notorious that in uncongested districts they might have a worse state of affairs than in congested districts. The Government came forward with this plan for defining congestion wherever it existed, and congestion so defined was outside any provision other than that it might be bought, while in order to carry out the improvements which might be necessary to improve the state of affairs, public money to the extent of 10 per cent. on the aggregate transactions might be expended.

MR. DILLON agreed that the definition ought to extend to all congestion, but the original definition of a congested district was preposterous. He had an Amendment lower on the Paper which he thought was of great importance; perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would accept that?

MR. WYNDHAM: The Amendment of the hon. Member is already in the Bill.

MR. DILLON doubted whether that was so, but it would be more convenient to explain the point when the Amendment was reached.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL said the Committee ought to know exactly where they stood with regard to the zones in congested districts. He was perfectly satisfied that the definition should apply outside the scheduled districts, but he desired to know whether congested parts of the country would be brought within the zones if they were not excluded by the exemptions already made. If so, the tenants, instead of twelve, fourteen, or sixteen years purchase, would have to pay twenty-two years purchase, which was an impossible price for such districts. In County Kerry alone there were 12,000 holdings of under £5 valuation, with a population living upon them of 67,000, or an average of 14s. per head. The same thing obtained in most of the other congested counties. But as they would not be congested under the present definition, they would be compelled to purchase within the zones, a fact which he feared would render the Bill inoperative so far as they were concerned.

MR. WYNDHAM said that in any case this Amendment would not carry out the objects of which hon. Members had spoken. The portion "or part of an estate" was covered by the provision that an estate was whatever the Commissioners defined as an estate. Districts were at present scheduled having regard to the relation of rateable value to population and various matters other than actual congestion. The Government might have said that the Congested Districts Board should deal with congestion wherever it occurred. They considered that plan and rejected it, because the

officers of the Board were known in the congested districts but not elsewhere, and there were other difficulties in the way. Another suggestion was to absorb the Board in the new Department, but that would have involved the loss of the valuable asset comprised in the fact that the members and officers of the Congested Districts Board were known in the congested districts. The Government aimed at preserving the Board in the areas where they could work most effectively, and then said that wherever the Land Commission certified it to be a right and proper district an estate should be defined as congested, and should get the advantage of the 10 per cent. for carrying out works and the bonus, but should not have to come within the zones. That plan combined the maximum of the advantages of the existing system with the maximum of the advantages of the system now to be brought in. Sub-section 6 must not be taken without Sub-section 5; the former was really only the Treasury check.

MR. MURPHY was afraid the right hon. Gentleman did not understand the point he desired to bring out. Three-fourths of the Kenmare estate, under Clause 1, was non-congested; the remaining one-fourth was scheduled as a congested district, and, judged from every point of view, deserved to be regarded as such. If the landlord wanted to sell to his tenants, would not the tenants on that remaining one-fourth—who would not come under the definition of this sub-section—have to make the same terms as those on the other three-fourths?

MR. WYNDHAM: Certainly not.

MR. MURPHY understood that as the whole estate would have to be sold the congested portion would have to come to the same terms as the uncongested portion, and remain within the zones.

MR. WYNDHAM said that was not the case. That matter was decided on Clause 1, upon which they could not go back.

MR. MURPHY said that as the Chief Secretary was so confident on the matter he would not press the Amendment

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL asked whether he understood that if tenants and landlord on an estate in a congested district as at present scheduled, desired to buy and sell, and the land did not come within the definition of this sub-section, they could do so outside the zones.

MR. WYNDHAM said they could do that under Clause 1, subject to the words he had inserted.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON said that if the Amendment he now desired to move was in the Bill already, as suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, the discussion would be very brief. He agreed that the definition ought to extend over the whole of Ireland. The Bagot estate might be taken as an example. More than half the area was grass land; it was an ideal estate for the purposes of migration; but under this definition it would not be a congested estate because less than half the area was occupied by holders of less than £5 valuation. There were many estates outside the scheduled congested districts, the greater part of the area of which was held by three or four large grass farmers, but they would not be classified as congested because less than half was held by the poorer people. If the right hon. Gentleman could show that that point was already covered by the Bill, he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 34, to leave out from the second word 'estate,' to the second word 'of,' in line 35, and to insert the words 'whether situated in a congested districts county or not, a substantial part.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN strongly urged the right hon. Gentleman to extend the definition in the sense proposed by the Amendment. He could scarcely call to mind a score of estates outside the

scheduled areas that would come under the definition of Sub-section 6. The general configuration of the country had to be borne in mind. In many places there were large stretches of magnificent land which would not come within this definition, but around which there was a regular ring of little villages of poor people who probably had been evicted from the richer land. These people were as congested as they could possibly be, but they would be shut out from the benefits of this clause because of the rich lands which were not theirs, but were in the occupation probably of some large grazier living in Dublin or London. This was really the kernel of the whole difficulty. Unless these rich lands were made available for the people, the Government were simply proposing to feed the dog with its own tail by making the very poverty of the land its disqualification. By accepting the Amendment the right hon. Gentleman would leave the Estates Commissioners the supreme judges of what constituted congestion, a question which could be settled only according to the particular local circumstances of each estate. Unless some such Amendment was accepted there would be a necessity to bring in a subsequent measure to amend the imperfections of this definition

MR. WYNDHAM said that this was a question of great complexity, and the Government had carefully considered all the alternatives before deciding on the plan in the Bill. The Commissioners were made the judges of what constituted congestion. The definition of congestion was not in Sub-section 6; that was the Treasury check on the definition of congestion. The greater part of the definition was in Sub-section 5, although possibly it was not admirably worded—

"If the Land Commission certify to the Lord Lieutenant that the purchase and resale of the estate are desirable in view of the wants and circumstances of the tenants thereon . . ."

that was the real essential definition of congestion. Then came the next point in this complex matter—What was an estate? According to the Bill, an estate was whatever the Estates Commissioners declared to be fit to be treated as an estate. The Bill, therefore, did what the hon. Member for Cork desired; the

Commissioners were to be the judges of what was congestion, but the Treasury placed a limit upon their judgment to the extent of saying that at least one-half of the holdings must be of such a character.

MR. DILLON said the question at issue was an exceedingly important one. Sub-section 5 gave a most important power to the Land Commission, but that power was controlled by Sub-section 6. The Treasury check was a very bad one, and it was just the kind of thing against which he and others had been struggling for the last seven or eight years. Three or four times he had been asked by the Chief Secretary to assist in getting through the House after midnight, as unopposed measures, Bills for amending the Congested Districts Act, and there were now seven or eight of those Acts simply because a complete job was not made of the matter at the beginning. What would be the effect of this Treasury check? Suppose an estate, such as the Bagot estate, came into the market, and the Commissioners reported that it was a suitable estate to be treated under this sub-section, they would be met by the Treasury check, and they would be unable so to deal with the estate, because half the area did not consist of bog holdings. Thus, some of the most beneficent work the Commissioners could do would be stopped by this absurd check. In the minds of many hon. Members, who could not follow the technicalities of the Bill, one of its great recommendations was that they had been led to believe that this measure would put an end to this wretched condition of poverty in the west of Ireland. Was it reasonable that the Committee should be asked to assent to this check, which could only have the effect of limiting the power of the Estates Commissioners. The Treasury had the protection of the discretion of a public department in Ireland and if they were not going to trust the Estates Commissioners the position was absurd. They had also the protection of the Lord Lieutenant. They were nevertheless told that this was not sufficient protection and that they must have this Treasury check. He hoped the Chief Secretary would accept this Amendment.

Mr. Wyndham.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would assume that there was an estate upon which a proportion of not less than one-half in value was badly congested and the rest was good land. This was not a compulsory Bill, and therefore they must assume that the landlord would be contemplating a sale of his property, either going to the tenants himself or to the Estates Commissioners. Let the Committee suppose that this landlord made his own arrangements with his tenants for all the good part of the land, and then proposed to sell only the very bad portion of his property. Supposing it was congested to the worst degree, it was clear that that property ought not to be passed forward under this Bill. The solution in this Bill was that under Clause 85 they would not define such property as an estate at all. As the amount of valuable land in Ireland was distinctly limited, he thought the proportion laid down of not less than half was a fair one. The clause as it stood was necessary to secure that the good land was sold with the bad land, and not separately; that there should be the proportion of good land stipulated in the clause was a necessary security.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that if a grazing farm surrounded by a large number of small holdings exceeded half the rateable value of the area, the Treasury check would prevent the land passing, although it was most desirable that it should be utilised by the neighbouring small holders.

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Member for South Tyrone was stating the reverse of what he had said. Such a property as the hon. Member had described was not an estate, and they would not define it as one.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that those who had seen these Treasury checks in operation knew precisely what they meant and the trouble they gave. This proposal might be clear to the right hon. Gentleman, but unless everything in this Bill was made as clear as possible they might rely upon it that any ambiguity in the intention of the clause would be construed against the tenants in the Irish Courts. Having had painful experience of this in the past, they were determined now to be

perfectly sure of what they were doing, because they were now dealing with the poorest class of Irish tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM contended that by the carrying of this Amendment they would effect nothing, for it did not touch the matter at issue. They touched it under Clause 85, Sub-section 5, and under Clause 7 by getting additional land.

MR. DILLON said that if a landlord was willing to dispose of his grass lands for the sake of the 10 per cent., by this clause they denied to the unfortunate small holders the opportunity of enlarging their holdings. The right hon. Gentleman had now let the cat out of the bag, and this provision was apparently to prevent the landlord from obtaining this 10 per cent. encouragement. He wished to point out the grotesque insufficiency of the Chief Secretary's reply. The right hon. Gentleman said that Clause 85 gave power to insist that the landlord should give a certain amount of the grass lands, or the Commissioners would not allow the estate to pass. Why should that power be confined to getting an area equal in extent to the congested area?

MR. WYNDHAM contended that there was nothing to prevent the Commissioners dealing with congestion by the ordinary process, and they could buy three times as much land as that contained in the congested holdings. They could enlarge the holdings and spend money under Clause 11, but they could not in addition to the bonus pay another 10 per cent. upon those transactions. They could put another 10 per cent. on the aggregate of those transactions when the probability of congestion reached a certain pitch.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said he had talked to a great many people in his own constituency, and the cry was "Enlarge your holdings." He suggested to the Chief Secretary that the area should be one-fourth instead of one-half. This was a matter of the most vital consequence to the West of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had been talking about doing a great deal for the

large tenants, but it was these miserable little holdings of £3 and £4 a year to which he ought to devote his attention.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said that if the Chief Secretary kept in the clause this limitation, he would deal with a number of estates which really were, to some extent, congested as not being congested at all, unless under the definition of "estate" in Clause 85 the congested portions would be treated as separate estates. This limit would give rise to a natural suspicion that an attempt might be made to deal with districts which were really not congested as if they were congested. There were districts which were not scheduled as congested districts where the limit mentioned in this clause was not reached, but where there was a great deal of congestion. In such cases care should be taken to treat those districts as though they were in every sense of the word congested districts. In the County of Clare and other districts there was a great deal of congestion, although perhaps it would be hard to find properties where the limit mentioned in this clause was reached. He suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that this limit should be left to the discretion of the Estates Commissioners, who would be sure to be men amply qualified to discharge their duties. Why should they draw a hard and fast line in this matter?

MR. WYNDHAM said they were really discussing particular cases in which it was proper that public money should be lost in ameliorating the condition of these unfortunate places in Ireland. In the congested districts the Congested Districts Board had the power of utilising certain credit transactions. When they got to a later clause hon. Members would see that it was proposed to increase the credit of the Congested Districts Board by adding another £20,000 a year which the Board might lose on its transactions. In addition to the bonus of £12,000,000, it was proposed that there should be an extra Treasury aid of 10 per cent. on the transactions they were dealing with. He thought that was very liberal, and in any case he could not enlarge it.

MR. TULLY said this clause would enable the landlords to dispose of the slum parts of their properties to the ratepayers, while retaining the grazing lands. He instanced the property of Lord De Freyne, in Roscommon, as a case where the congested portion of the estate could be sold and the price obtained out of the ratepayers, and the good land retained in his own possession, or that of his friends. This was one of the most insidious parts of the Bill, and a change should be made to obviate the danger to which he referred.

MR. ATKINSON said there was to his mind no difficulty about the matter. It was true in one sense that Lord De Freyne could sell the congested part of his estate, but on one condition—namely, that he got any man fool enough to buy it. He would assume that Lord De Freyne, or any other landlord, had 1,000 acres of grass land, and 400 acres in the congested portion of his property on which there were 100 families. What could he do with the 400 acres? The Commission would not buy it unless he added 300 acres of grass land. The hon. Member was mistaken as to the nature of the powers of the Land Commission in regard to the enlargement of holdings. The Treasury would only consent to lose money on the 400 acres *plus* the 300 grass acres. Supposing that the Estates Commissioners were restricted to 300 acres, as far as the enlarging of holdings was concerned, they might add land outside of the estate which had 400 acres in the congested portion.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said the addition of 300 acres would obviously not be enough for the 100 families living on the congested portion. The Attorney-General said this could be remedied by getting the land the Commissioners might think necessary to add, but they could not get that additional land on the same terms as the rest. They could not get it by using 10 per cent. of public money. That was their point. They were depriving themselves of the power that was necessary to deal with this problem in a proper and drastic manner. The Chief Secretary stated that this would involve a loss of public money. He admitted the force of that statement, but then

the whole of this Bill meant a loss of public money. If £12,000,000 were necessary to grease the wheels of the transactions in other parts of Ireland, he did not see why the Government should hesitate at the comparatively small sum that would be required to grease the wheels in dealing with the congested districts.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had in the consideration of the Amendments brought forward by hon. Members from Ireland done his best to meet their views. In this case he did not think there was anything to be gained by continuing the debate, and he hoped the hon. Member would withdraw the Amendment.

MR. DILLON said he would withdraw his Amendment, but he was still of opinion that the Government had made a very great mistake. The Attorney-General did not know very much about the question. He did not suppose the hon. and learned Gentleman ever crossed the Shannon in his life.

MR. ATKINSON: Oh, yes, I have.

MR. DILLON said the danger was that the grass lands would pass rapidly into the hands of wealthy graziers and be lost to the people for ever. He was very much surprised that some of the landlords did not back him up in the proposal he had made. The Government had thrown away one of the most powerful means at their command for carrying out the work they professed to be extremely anxious for.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. TULLY hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to accept his Amendment.

"In page 4, line 35, to leave out the word 'half,' and insert the words 'one-fourth.'"—*(Mr. Tully.)*

Question proposed, "That the word 'half' stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said this was practically the Amendment they had been discussing for an hour and a half.

MR. T. M. HEALY appealed to his hon. friend to withdraw the Amendment. This was really "tearing a passion to tatters." They heard that every Amendment was "vital," or "important," or "most solemn." They could all be "vital." The important thing was to pass the Bill.

MR. TULLY said he was jumped upon early in the evening for daring to speak of compulsory sale, but hon. Members who did not wish him to press this Amendment had been talking all the evening in favour of compulsory sale. As he did not wish to take up the time of the Committee he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. WYNDHAM moved the omission of the words "ten acres in area and." By leaving out the area his definition of congestion was not affected, but it gave more elasticity to the Treasury check.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 36, to leave out the words 'ten acres in area and.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham*).

Amendment agreed to.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB moved—"In Clause 5, page 4, lines 36 and 37, leave out 'or of mountain or bog land.'" He asked for a definition of mountain or bog land. He thought there would be more elasticity in the clause if these words were left out.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, lines 36 and 37, to leave out the words 'or of mountain or bog land.'"—(*Sir John Colomb*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said he was well aware that there was some mountain land which would be a great additional source of wealth to the tenants on an estate, but on the other hand he had seen mountain lands which would present great difficulty when they were dealing with the Treasury.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. SHEEHAN (Gork Co., Mid.) moved—"In Clause 5, page 4, line 38, at end, add 'or an estate in any rural district in which it shall be certified by a chairman of a Rural District Council that labourers, as defined in the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, are without suitable homes and allotments.'" As one sincerely interested in the labourers of Ireland he hoped the Chief Secretary would be able to accept this Amendment. The debate on the question of the labourers which took place in the afternoon would have had one advantage if it had impressed on the Government the importance of the question, and the necessity of dealing with the labourers in a reasonable manner. He held, of course, that the evicted tenants had the first claim on the untenanted land, but once their claims were satisfied the labourers had a claim to the grazing lands.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 38, at end, to add the words 'or an estate in any rural district in which it shall be certified by a chairman of a Rural District Council that labourers, as defined in the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 to 1896, as amended by this Act, are without suitable homes and allotments.'"—(*Mr. Sheehan*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not go back on what he said in the afternoon. He hoped the hon. Member would not raise any further question about the labourers at present. The Committee had only disposed of two clauses in a whole Parliamentary day.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.) had the following Amendment on the Notice Paper—"In Clause 5, page 4, line 38, at end, add, (7) Where the Estates Commissioners, in exercise of the powers vested in them by this Act, sell to a labourer a holding or a parcel of land situated in a rural district which comprises a congested estate as defined by this section, it shall be lawful for them to treat said labourer in all respects as if he had been residing in a congested

districts county, and they shall have all the powers to improve the said holding and assist said labourers that are possessed by the Congested Districts Board for aiding migrants in a congested districts county under the provisions of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts as amended by this Act."

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 38, at end, to add the words '(7) Where the Estates Commissioners, in exercise of the powers vested in them by this Act, sell to a labourer a holding or a parcel of land situated in a rural district which comprises a congested estate as defined by this section, it shall be lawful for them to treat said labourer in all respects as if he had been residing in a congested districts county, and they shall have all the powers to improve the said holding and assist said labourers that are possessed by the Congested Districts Board for aiding migrants in a congested districts county under the provisions of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts as amended by this Act.'"—(*Captain Donelan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM asked the hon. Member to defer the consideration of the question of the labourers.

CAPTAIN DONELAN agreed to the request.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. T. M. HEALY appealed to the Chief Secretary to ask his friends below the gangway to be equally moderate.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

*MR. BUTCHER moved an Amendment on Clause 6 with the object of limiting the new and drastic method of sale set up by the clause to insolvent estates. In the case of such estates what was proposed was a good method of facilitating sale, but in the case of solvent estates, unless this Amendment were conceded they might have them sold by auction at a great undervalue. He would point out that unless the Amendment was accepted they might have a perfectly solvent estate wrecked. Hon. Members knew that estates in Ireland were constantly sold merely for

Captain Donelan.

administrative purposes; and in a case like that the owner ought to be allowed to negotiate with the tenants and not be forced to sell the estate by auction, which was recognised on all hands as being an impossible mode of effecting advantageous sales in Ireland.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 2, after the figures 1858 to insert the words 'and to which the provisions of Section 40 of the Act of 1896 apply.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY said that this Amendment was the greatest satire on the Landed Estate Court ever moved. He asked what business had solvent estates to come into that Court? They were only a nuisance in Judge Ross's Court. Why should not a solvent estate stand the risk of the auctioneer's hammer? The proposal of the Government was really a necessity of the time. The ultimate fate of this Bill was a matter of the time of the House. Again and again the representatives of the tenants had telescoped their remarks in the interests of the Bill, and the landlord party must reciprocate.

MR. ATKINSON said he hoped his hon. friend would not persevere with his Amendment. The Land Judge always gave an opportunity to remove a solvent estate out of the Court.

MR. BUTCHER said that if his right hon. friend assured him that what he had in view would be met without any Amendment of this sort, he did not wish to insist upon it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON said he had put down on the Paper a series of Amendments, the purpose of which was to modify the procedure of the Land Judge's Court. The first was "Clause 6, page 5, line 3, leave out 'may,' and insert 'shall.'"

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 3, leave out the word 'may,' and insert the word 'shall.'"—*Mr. Dillon.*

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the clause."

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that for many months the Land Judge and the Land Commission were at loggerheads upon the 40th Section of the Act of 1896; and it was important to leave as little discretion to the Land Judge as possible.

MR. ATKINSON said if the word "shall" was inserted it would make it impossible for the Judge to have any discretion. There were times when the word "may" was of as much vital importance as the word "shall."

MR. DILLON said he did not wish to take up the time of the House further, and he asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON said his next Amendment was—"Clause 6, page 5, line 12, after 'loss,' insert 'and after giving all parties interested an opportunity of being heard, fix the price at which, in their opinion, the estate or part thereof should be sold to the tenant in occupation thereof discharged of all superior or intervening interests, and shall accordingly.'" He moved this Amendment in order to raise what appeared to him an exceedingly important point. The clause, as it stood, would, he contended, do nothing to clear out the Land Judge's Court; in fact, it would leave the matter worse than under the 40th Section of the Act of 1896. There was nothing in the Clause to prevent an estate being kept in the Court and nursed for twenty-five years, so as not to be sold. The Land Judge had persistently refused to give the information to the House of Commons which they had asked for, and they were consequently in the dark as to the condition of the Court. A Question had been asked as to the number of the estates which were in the Land Court, and their rental, and they were told that that information could not be got because the Court was too busy. They were obliged to fall back on some statistics provided by the President of the Board

of Trade. These showed that in 1894 there were 1,500 estates in the Land Court, that in the case of 1,266 receivers had been appointed, and that the rentals amounted to £648,000. Most of these estates had been in the Court for years, and had been vainly offered to the public, because the Judge did not think the price tendered was sufficient. The Court had in fact drifted more and more into the position of a collector of rents of bankrupt estates; and under the present arrangement he saw no prospect of any reform being brought about. The Prime Minister had said that probably one-sixth or one-seventh of the land in Ireland was in the hands of this Judge, and did not properly belong to the Irish landlords at all. How could these estates be properly managed by a Court or a Judge? The thing was so absurd that it would not be tolerated in any other country in the world. What made the system more monstrous was that, in the opinion of good lawyers, it was illegal. The Court was set up under the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849, for the purpose of facilitating and accelerating the transfer of land in Ireland; but on the passing of the Judicature Act in 1877 the Court was merged with the Court of Chancery, and the practice of the Court of Chancery was incorporated with it. For the first twenty years the interests of the tenants had never been mentioned at all. The practice of the Court had been to sell by auction all the estates that came into the Court at a rough general average of from twelve to fourteen years' purchase of the rental, without the slightest reference to the interests of the tenants. But, after 1879, when the Court availed itself of the Chancery jurisdiction, they blocked all the sales, and they commenced to use the machinery of the Court to nurse bankrupt estates, and to collect rents for the immense number of receivers which were appointed. The sale department was entirely closed, and, when a new judge was appointed in 1885, Judge Boyle, he introduced a more robust system of collecting rents, by sending the tenants to gaol, and by invoking the machinery of contempt of Court, to collect rents.

He did not think there was any part of the land system of Ireland which needed more remedy than this. He knew that under it men had

been sent to gaol for an offence which was not known to the criminal law at all, and kept there until they were almost forgotten. He was credibly informed in one case in which the man was kept in prison for two years, and was in danger of losing his mind. He maintained that this was an atrocious system, and a monstrous position of affairs. His Amendment would have the effect of enabling the Land Commission to make proposals to the Land Judge for the purchase of an estate in the Land Judge's Court; and that when an agreed price had been offered the Land Judge should make an order vesting the estate in the Land Commission. That, of course, raised the question of compulsory sale; but not any more than it was raised under Section 40 of the Act of 1896. The Amendment would not push the principle of compulsion one inch against the landlord. Section 40 provided that in the case of an estate for which a receiver was appointed there should be compulsory sale as against the landlord; and all his Amendment proposed was to withdraw from the Land Judge's Court the power of blocking the sale of such estates. He thought that was not an unreasonable proposal at that time of day. Section 40 had been in operation for several years; but it absolutely had produced no effect. The condition of things in the Landed Estates Court was just the same; and he thought in that Bill they were entitled to press for an improvement.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 5, line 12, after the word 'loss,' to insert the words 'and after giving all parties interested an opportunity of being heard, fix the price at which, in their opinion, the estate or part thereof should be sold to the

Mr. Dillon.

tenant in occupation thereof discharged of all superior or intervening interests, and shall accordingly.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said that most of what the hon. Gentleman had stated was merely pushing an open door. The Government desired as much as hon. Gentlemen opposite to clear up the Landed Estates Court. The Estates Commissioners would be empowered to make an offer for an estate, and it would not be competent for a Judge to hang up its affairs. The Judge must bring the estate to auction; but he should not be compelled to accept any offer which appeared to him to be unreasonable or unjust.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that no one knew more about the matter than the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. At the same time, he wished to express sympathy with the hon. Member for East Mayo. It was a matter in which something ought to be done; and if the Government would only take their courage in both hands something would be done. At present it was almost impossible to ascertain what went on in the Court. On the other hand, there was some excuse for the non-making of a Return. A Return was moved for by the late Member for Cork, a relative of his own. He pressed for it very strongly, but found that the congestion in the Court was so enormous, the staff so slender, and the parsimony of the Treasury so awful that it was quite impossible to get the existing clerks to put their heads down and work out the Return that was required. Therefore, on

the whole, he had given those men some measure of absolution for not providing the Return, yet the fact remained that this House had been denied information with reference to one-seventh of the land of Ireland, and they were absolutely in the dark regarding it. There were questions of tremendous magnitude raised at every moment in connection with this Bill; but the Attorney-General knew the question down to the bottom, and he knew the necessity for an improvement. Owing to the lateness of the hour he would not press the matter further, but he would suggest to the Government that they should to-morrow suspend the twelve o'clock rule in order that they might be able to get on in a friendly manner among themselves.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had had opportunities of discussing this clause with Judge Ross, who he could assure hon. Members wanted to clear his Court. But they could not exercise compulsory action in connection with a Judge of the High Court. He urged hon. Members not to press the Amendment, but to let the clause and the next three clauses pass. If the anticipation that he held out to hon. Members as to there being no difficulty under this clause was not realised, the remedy would be a simple one next session.

MR. DILLON said he was very much inclined to accept the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman; but when the right hon. Gentleman asked him to take it that Judge Ross wanted to clear his Court he absolutely declined. The right hon. Gentleman in consulting Judge Ross could not have consulted a worse man. The answer of the right hon.

Gentleman enormously strengthened his objection. The right hon. Gentleman said that they could not criticise a Judge of the Supreme Court; but it was an outrage that one-seventh of the land in Ireland should be under a Land Judge who was practically in the position of a landlord, but who could not be criticised. The hon. Gentleman said that the matter could be dealt with next session, but he did not know where the right hon. Gentleman or any other Member of the House would be next session. Did the right hon. Gentleman ask him to seriously believe that there would be another Land Bill next session? Was there to be a new Land Bill every session? That was an absurd prospect. He would not move his Amendment now, but he would reserve to himself the slender consolation of renewing the subject on Report.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.) said that having regard to the request of the Chief Secretary he would not move his Amendment.

Clause 6, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8, agreed to.

Clause 9.

MR. CLANCY said that the Government might easily dispose of this clause by striking it out altogether.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was willing to leave out all words from "Pastoral" to the end of the clause,

MR. T. M. HEALY said the whole clause ought to be omitted. They were now agreed on Ashbourne terms, and therefore the definition of an estate was unnecessary.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not strike out the whole of the clause; but he was prepared to omit the latter part.

MR. CLANCY said that the clause was absolutely inconsistent with the new clause which the right hon. Gentleman had undertaken to move.

MR. WYNDHAM said that it was not a question of holdings, but a question of estates.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 6, line 38, to leave out all words from 'pastoral' to end of Clause."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10, agreed to.

Clause 11.

MR. WYNDHAM said that as the hon. Member for Cork City, who had Amendments to move, was not present, he would move to report Progress.

MR. DILLON asked if the right hon. Gentleman would have the Bill reprinted, as in its present form it was very inconvenient.

MR. WYNDHAM said he hoped to be able to arrange that.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

POST OFFICE SITES (RECOMMITTED) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 6.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) said he wished to ask the Postmaster-General if any arrangements had been made about a generating station.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said he was making inquiries as to whether he could obtain a supply of electricity suitable for Post Office purposes from private contractors, in case he was not able to come to satisfactory terms with the Company.

Bill reported without Amendment.

SUPPLY [25TH JUNE].

Resolution reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

CLASS II.

"That a sum, not exceeding £96,499, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

Resolution agreed to.

Adjourned at Eight Minutes after Twelve O'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 30th June, 1903.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent :

1. Finance.
2. Naval Forces.
3. Berwickshire County Town.
4. Coal Mines (Certificates).
5. Land Drainage Provisional Order.
6. Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 1).
7. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2).
8. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3).
9. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4).
10. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6).
11. Lanarkshire and Ayrshire Railway Order Confirmation.
12. Dundee Royal Lunatic Asylum Orders Confirmation.
13. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1).
14. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2).
15. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4).
16. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6).
17. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8).
18. Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of the Working Classes).
19. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1).
20. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2).
21. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).
22. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4).
23. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).
24. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7).

25. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).

26. Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).

27. St. Luke's Church and Parish Quoad Sacra Edinburgh Order Confirmation.

28. Naval Works Provisional Order.

29. Pier and Harbour Order (No. 1).

30. Grangemouth Water Order Confirmation.

31. Lanarkshire Electricity and Refuse Destruction Order Confirmation.

32. Forth Navigation Order Confirmation.

33. Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation.

34. Edinburgh Corporation (Markets, Slaughter-houses, etc.) Order Confirmation.

35. North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation.

36. Western Trust.

37. Great Western Railway (Pension Fund).

38. Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area).

39. Queensland Investment and Land Mortgage.

40. Great Northern and City Railway.

41. Maidstone Gas.

42. Stoke Newington Borough Council.

43. North Middlesex Gas.

44. Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas.

45. Faversham Gas.

46. North's Navigation Collieries.

47. Life Association of Scotland.

48. Pelican and British Empire Life Office.

49. Lima Railways.

50. Exeter Railway.

51. All Saints, Poplar (Rate Abolition).

52. London Hydraulic Power.

53. Sutton District Water.

54. Bridgwater Gas.

55. East Ardsley Gas.

56. Burgess Hill and St. John's Common Gas.

57. Scarborough Gas.

58. Sittingbourne District Gas.

59. South Wales Mineral Railway.

60. Cleveland and Durham County Electric Power.

61. Indiarubber, Guttapercha, and Telegraph Works Company.

62. Milford Docks.

63. Market Drayton Gas.

64. Wellington (Salop) Gas.

65. Knott End Railway (Extension of Time).

66. Winchester Water and Gas.

67. Midland Railway.

68. Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal.

69. Harrow and Stanmore Gas.

70. Wirral Railway.

71. Rickmansworth Gas.

72. Harrogate Water.

73. Gorleston and Southtown Gas.

74. Belfast Water.

75. Shephed Urban District Gas.

76. Gas Light and Coke Company.

77. Commercial Gas.

78. Great Eastern Railway.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection. That the Lord Kinnaird be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Lord Kilmaine; read, and agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with: Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways.

Also the Certificates that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bills: Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17).

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 4); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 6).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Petition for a Bill by the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Company ought to be dispensed with, and leave given to introduce the Bill.

That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Petition for a Bill by the Alexandra Park Trustees ought to be dispensed with.

Read, and agreed to.

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]. Presented (pursuant to leave given this day); read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners.

Hyde Corporation Bill; Cheshire Lines Committee Bill; Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [H.L.]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and East Denbighshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill. Reported, without Amendment.

Watford and Edgware Railway Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read and ordered to lie on the Table.

The orders made on the 16th instant and Tuesday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Romford and District Tramways Bill. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill; South Shields Corporation Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bills read 2^a accordingly, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lochnell Estate Bill [H.L.]; Gosport, Fareham, and Cosham Tramways Bill [H.L.], now Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Corporation Bill [H.L.]; West Bromwich Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a, and referred to the Examiners.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment.

Southampton Harbour Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons, agreed to, with Amendments; The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill. Returned from the Commons, with the Amendment agreed to.

Irvine and District Water Board Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Irvine and District Water Board was presented by the Lord Balfour (pursuant to the

Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Sections 8 and 9); read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 148.)

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order); Amendments made; Standing Committee negatived; Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order); Amendments made; Standing Committee negatived; Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North-Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Stanmore be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Lord Stewart of Garlies (*E. Galloway*); read, and agreed to.

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]; Brighton Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Report from the Committee of Selection, That

the Lord Kilmaine be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Belhaven and Stenton; read, and agreed to.

Leigh Corporation Bill; Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill; Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill; Seaforth and Sefton Junction Railway Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Craven be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Kilmaine; read, and agreed to.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Kenyon be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bill in the place of the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read, and agreed to.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, (No. 151); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill, (No. 152). Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRANSVAAL (ORANGE RIVER COLONY).

Papers relating to the Inter-Colonial Council South Africa Order in Council, 1903.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 338. Wei-Hai-Wei (Report for 1902).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

CERTIFIED INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT).

Amended regulations, made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the

Home Department, for the management and discipline of the Church Army Newdigate Farm Home, Surrey.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS, INLAND).

Statutory Rules and Orders, 1903.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

Report from the Committee of Selection for the Standing Committee that they have added the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*) to the Standing Committee; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

COUNTY COUNCILS (BILLS IN PARLIAMENT) BILL,

EDUCATION (BORROWING) BILL. CONTRACTS (INDIA OFFICE) BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment, and to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment; the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Friday next.

BOROUGH FUNDS BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment: the Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next.

MARINE STORE DEALERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; [read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 150.)]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (TRANSFER OF POWERS) BILL.

Order of the day for the House going into Committee read.

LORD KENYON: My Lords, in moving that the House go into Committee on this Bill, I wish to say that the Marquess of Ripon and several other noble Lords have brought to my notice a resolution passed by the West Riding County Council objecting to the clause that enables the different local authorities to veto the resolution of the County Council. As a matter of fact, in the House of Commons the smaller local bodies objected to the County Council having entire authority, and this clause was put in as a compromise. Although anxious to do everything to meet the views of the County Councils in this matter, the clause cannot very well be altered now.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2 omitted.

Clause 3 agreed to.

Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 149.)

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF MAYO: The object of this Bill, which consists of only two clauses, is to enable the Postmaster-General to issue postal orders to the value of 21s., and as a large number of people send subscriptions of a guinea to charitable and other institutions the Bill would confer a great boon to the public generally.

Read 2^a (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 30th June, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went, and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to a number of Bills [See page 897].

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into and which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz., Mid Yorkshire Tramways Bill [Lords]. Ordered, that the Bill be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH.)

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into and which are applicable thereto have not been complied with, viz.,—

North Western Electricity and Power-Gas Bill [Lords]. Ordered, that the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Ipswich Gas Bill, Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

King's College, London, Bill [Lords], read the third time, and passed without Amendment.

Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [Lords], read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Poole and District Electric Traction Bill [Lords], read a second time, and committed.

Hove, Worthing, and District Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order), read a second time, and committed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill—Lords' Amendment considered, and agreed to.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [Lords], read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill, read the third time, and passed.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords], read a second time, and committed.

South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords], reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee:

1. "That, in the case of the Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

2. "That, in the case of the Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with: That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that Clauses 62 and 63 be struck out of the Bill: That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

3. "That, in the case of the Salford Corporation Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with:

That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

4. "That, in the case of the Jewish Colonisation Association Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 129 in the case of the Petition of Israel Zangwill against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

First three Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Salford Corporation Bill [Lords]; Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time.

Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords]; Report [this day] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to vest the estate of Lochnell, in the county of Argyll, in trustees for certain purposes, with power of sale and other powers." [Lochnell Estate Bill [Lords].]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to authorise the Portsmouth Street Tramways Company to construct new tramways in the urban districts of Gosport and Alverstoke and of Fareham, in the county of Southampton; to work such new tramways; and to adapt the existing tramways of that Company in the urban district of Gosport and Alverstoke for working by electrical or other mechanical power; and for other purposes" [Gosport, Fareham and Cosham Tramways Bill [Lords], now "Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]."]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confer further powers upon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Manchester with reference to tramways and streets and otherwise for the better local government and improvement of the city; to extend the city; and to make further provision with

reference to the borrowing powers of the corporation; and for other purposes." [Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords].]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to repeal Section 17 of the West Bromwich Corporation Act, 1900, and Section 4 of the West Bromwich Improvement Amendment Act, 1865, and to enact other provisions in lieu thereof; and for other purposes." West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords].

Lochnell Estate Bill [Lords]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords]; West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petition from Eastry, against; to lie upon the Table.

COAL MINES REGULATION BILL.

Petition from Outfield Colliery, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES.

Petition from Aikton, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL.

Petitions against: from the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board; and Helsby; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petitions against: from the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board; and Helsby; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Cowdenbeath, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Petitions against: from Edinburgh; Aikton; and Wigton; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Petition from Rochdale, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

Petition from Outfield Colliery, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS.)

Copy presented, of Amended Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Church Army Newdigate Farm Home, Surrey [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES.

Copy presented, of Eighty-first Report of the Commissioners, dated 30th June 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 232.]

PUBLIC WORKS LOAN BOARD.

Copy presented, of Twenty-eighth Annual Report (for 1902-3), with Appendices [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 233.]

ISLE OF MAN.

Account presented, of Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1903, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 234.]

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS.)

Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Inland) Regulations, 1903, dated 30th June, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Copy presented, of Papers relating to the Inter-Colonial Council, South Africa, Order in Council, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL.)

Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 388 (Wei-hai-Wei, Annual Report for 1902) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CONDITION OF TRADE AND PEOPLE.

Return ordered, "for the United Kingdom for each of the years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1902, in the following form:—

Year.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39		
A 1801		Population (millions).																																							
B 1811		Death Rate, per thousand.																																							
C 1821		Birth Rate, per thousand.																																							
D 1831		Paupers, total, indoor and outdoor.																																							
E 1841		Emigrants, total numbers.																																							
F 1851		Corn, average price per quarter of 480 lbs.																																							
G 1861		Beef, average price.																																							
H 1871		Foreign grain, corn, and flour imports, total value.																																							
I 1881		Foreign meat, alive and dead, imports, total value.																																							
J 1891		Food imports, total value.																																							
K 1901		Food imports from Colonies and British Possessions, total value.																																							
L 1902		Food imports per head of population, total value.																																							
		Corn, Home grown and Foreign, total retained for Home consumption (million cwt.).																																							
		Corn consumption per head of population (cwt.).																																							
		Persons employed in textile factories, woolen and cotton, total.																																							
		Textile manufactures, total production.																																							
		Textiles retained for Home consumption, total.																																							
		Iron and steel manufactures, total production.																																							
		Iron and steel manufactures retained for Home consumption, total.																																							
		Exports, total value.																																							
		Exports, British and Irish produce and manufactures, total value.																																							
		Imports, total value.																																							
		Total Trade, value.																																							
		Trade, total per head of population, value.																																							
		Fish landed, total value.																																							
		Income Tax, yield of each penny.																																							
		Income Tax, gross incomes brought under review, total.																																							
		Income Tax, persons or firms assessed, total number.																																							
		Income from trades and professions (Schedule D), total.																																							
		Profits from Houses (Schedule A), total.																																							
		Profits from Colonial and Foreign securities, total.																																							
		Post Office and Trustee Savings Bank deposits, total.																																							
		British shipping, total tonnage.																																							
		British shipping, tonnage entered and cleared in the United Kingdom, total.																																							
		Foreign shipping, tonnage entered and cleared in the United Kingdom, total.																																							
		Bankers' Clearing House Returns, total.																																							
		Capital value of personal property charged with Death Duties, total.																																							
		Deposits of Friendly Societies, total.																																							

—(Mr. Gibson Bowles.)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Transvaal Loan.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the precise nature of the undertaking on the part of certain persons connected with the mining industry in the Transvaal to subscribe £10,000,000 to the loan of £30,000,000 that is to be issued by the Transvaal Government to meet its share of the expenses of the late war; is this undertaking such as can be

enforced by law; is it assumed by individuals or firms who each subscribe for a certain proportion of the £10,000,000; is it in this case joint and several; will he lay upon the Table of the House the names of the contracting firms or individuals; is there any date specified before which the loan will be issued; is the Transvaal paying at present interest on the £30,000,000; will he take care that a large amount of the proceeds of the £35,000,000 loan guaranteed by this country will be retained by the Treasury until the £30,000,000 loan has been

issued, and the proceeds of the issue been paid into the Treasury, in order to ensure to some extent this country not being losers by the £30,000,000 loan not being subscribed; and is it to be understood that the payment of the interest and sinking fund of the £30,000,000 loan is solely a charge upon the Transvaal, and that this country in no way, either directly or indirectly, is liable for such payments.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.)

I would refer the hon. Member to my speech of the 6th May last,† which gives all the information which it is desirable to furnish in the present stage of the negotiations for the issue of this loan. He will see that the arrangement made does not provide for the payment of interest to His Majesty's Government pending the issue of the three instalments. I have only to add that the loan of £35,000,000 having been guaranteed by Parliament for certain specific purposes, its proceeds cannot be applied in the manner suggested by the hon. Member in the latter part of his Question.

Sanitary Arrangements for Workers in Herring Trade at Yarmouth.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the President of the Local Government Board, in view of the fact that the last Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories refers to unsatisfactory sanitary arrangements for men and women workers, mainly from Scotland, temporarily employed in the pickled herring and kippering trade at Great Yarmouth, will he consider the desirability of calling the attention of the local authority to the subject for the purpose of securing an improvement in the sanitary conditions

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) My right hon. friend has asked me to answer this Question as the matter comes within my jurisdiction by virtue of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901. As stated in the Report referred to, the unsatisfactory conditions in question have been brought under the notice of the local authority

in accordance with the provisions of Section 5 of the Act of 1901. And the factory inspector, in addition to sending formal notices, has conferred with the officials of the local authority on the subject of providing proper sanitary accommodation, with the result that satisfactory action is being taken.

Application for Voluntary Rates at Liverpool.

MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that there is affixed to the demand note for rates in the parish of Liverpool an appeal by the churchwardens to the parishioners for the payment of a voluntary rate for church and other purposes; and, if so, whether he will intimate to the churchwardens that voluntary rates ought not to be applied for by the collector of compulsory rates and in conjunction with the latter.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) I have made inquiry on this subject, and I find that the facts are as stated in the first part of the Question. It appears, however, that the paper which is attached to the demand note makes it clear that the church rate is a voluntary one. I am aware that there is some objection to an application for a voluntary rate being sent out with the demand note for rates enforceable by law, and I have informed the churchwardens and overseers of my views in the matter.

Maintenance of Roads to Shankill Camp.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that, according to the estimate of the county surveyor for Wicklow, the cost of maintaining the roads from Ballyfolan leading to the military camp at Shankill will be £88 16s. per year as compared with £7 8s., the annual cost of maintaining the roads previous to the establishment of the camp; and whether, seeing the amount received by the local council in lieu of rates upon War Department property for the last four years was in 1900 £9 16s. 8d., in 1901 £17 4s. 2d., in 1902 £11 14s. 3d., and in 1903 £9 8s. 7d., and that under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, Section 27

† See (4) Debates, cxxi., 1522.

(2), the expenditure on these roads is limited to sixpence per perch, being the former average cost thereof, the War Department will increase their contribution to meet the increased expenditure for the maintenance of the roads leading to the military camp.

(*Answered by Mr. Elliot.*) Contributions in lieu of rates are given on the valuations fixed by the Commissioner of Valuation for Ireland. The land on which this camp is situate being chiefly mountain land the valuation is low, and consequently the contribution in lieu of rates is low. It is not now the practice to make, in addition to the ordinary contribution in lieu of rates, additional grants out of the rates Vote in cases in which the military traffic appears to be exceptional. Such grants are now made, if at all, from Army funds.

London County Council By-Law relating to Vehicles.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he has received any further communication from the London County Council respecting the proposed by-law in relation to vehicles, or if he is aware that the London County Council has not seen its way to arrange the suggested conference between the parties interested; and if he will now receive a deputation on the subject or take steps to bring about a conference between the responsible officers of the council and those concerned.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) I have received a letter from the London County Council, in which it is stated that the Council do not think that any useful purpose would be served by the suggested conference. The same letter, however, contains an explanation of the intention of the proposed by-law, which leads me to hope that its terms can be so modified as to carry out the intention, and at the same time meet the objections which have been taken to it. I am about to communicate with the railway companies and other van owners on the subject.

Increase in Vivisection.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention

has been drawn to the increase during the past year in the number of experiments on living animals, and also in the number of licensed vivisectors, as shown in the recent Parliamentary Return of Experiments on Living Animals; and, if so, whether he is able to state the reason of such increase.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) There is no doubt a real increase such as the hon. Member indicates, but the figures as to the number of licencees are swollen by the fact that, as explained in the second paragraph of the Report which prefaces the Return in question, a change has been made in the date at which licences expire—viz., 28th February has been substituted for 31st December. The table for 1902 contains, therefore, in addition to the normal number, the names of thirty-four licencees whose licences expired on 28th February in that year and were not renewed. Apart from this, the increase is due to the natural growth and development of the important subjects of physiology, pathology, and hygiene; and the increase in the number of experiments is almost entirely in the class of experiments included in Table III.(b)—viz., inoculations and the like, and more particularly in the experiments performed for the preparation of remedies and on behalf of various public authorities. The increase, eighty-one, in the number of experiments included in Table III. (a) is almost entirely accounted for by injections for the diagnosis of rabies having been seventy more in 1902 than in 1901.

King's Birthday—Holiday for Instrument Room Staff of Central Telegraph Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that the Engineering Branch of the Telegraph Department Central Telegraphs was given a holiday for the King's birthday celebration, while the staff in the instrument rooms were compelled to work on this day, in order to secure uniformity of treatment, a compensatory day will be granted to the latter section of telegraph employees.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) My hon. friend's Question is based on a misapprehension. It has never been

the practice to grant a holiday in the Central Telegraph Office on the occasion in question, and no general holiday was given to the engineers working in that office on Friday last.

Amalgamation of Unions, Ireland.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON (Londonderry) : To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Commission, appointed to inquire regarding amalgamation of workhouses in Ireland, and the question of whether any administrative changes are desirable, will consider the cases of forty unions in Ireland which are situate in two counties, and thirteen unions which are situate in three counties, or whether the case of the Londonderry Union, which is situate in counties Londonderry and Donegal, is the only

one to be inquired into by the Commission in regard to suggested alterations of union boundaries.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) It will be open to the Commission to inquire into all cases in which alterations of union boundaries have been suggested. Londonderry has been selected as the venue for the first country sitting of the Commission.

Land Judge's Court (Estates) Return.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory) : To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will grant the Return relating to Land Judge's Court (Estates) which appears upon to-day's Paper.

The Return referred to is as follows :—

Land Judge's Court (Estates).—Return showing—

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
Gross nominal annual rental of the estates in the Irish Land Judges Court during the past five years					
Expenditure on same, including Receiver's fees, Law expenses, and all other outgoings					
Balance showing actual net receipts					
Percentage of reduction upon nominal rental					

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I am informed that the preparation of the proposed Return would entail such a protracted investigation of the records of the Receiver Department as would seriously militate against the transaction of the ordinary business of the Land Judge's Court. The Land Judge is unable, in the circumstances, to undertake the preparation of the Return.

Honorary Rank for Long-Service Volunteer Quartermasters.

COLONEL SADLER (Middlesbrough) : To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will favourably consider the claims of long-service Volunteer quartermasters to honorary rank in the same way and on the same terms of service as it is granted to quartermasters and others in Army Order 37 of March 1903.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) Volunteer quartermasters already obtain the honorary rank of captain after ten years service on the same terms as the Regular quartermasters. The grant of honorary rank of major was intended to meet the case of a very deserving class of officer who have to serve in all climates and under all conditions. My hon. and gallant friend will, I think, admit that the Volunteer officer does not come under the same conditions.

Clothing and Food sent to South Africa during 1901-2.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) : To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the value of the clothing and food supplies approximately sent to South Africa for the use of the troops in 1901-2.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The total value of the clothing and food supplies sent to South Africa in 1901-2 was about £9,500,000.

Tinned Meats destroyed at Pretoria.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the quantities of the tinned meats destroyed at Pretoria supplied by each of the various firms.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) These quantities will be shown in the Papers which will shortly be laid.

Coal Exported for Use of Royal Navy.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the total value of the coal exported from the United Kingdom for the use of His Majesty's ships.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) The approximate value of coal annually exported, exclusive of freight, etc., is about £500,000. This includes supplies obtained through contractors at ports abroad, but excludes coal taken in bunkers of His Majesty's ships from home ports.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Army Recruiting.

MR. GUEST (Plymouth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many recruits have been enlisted since 18th March, 1903, for the infantry of the line and for other arms; how many were specials or under the age of eighteen; and in how many cases a certificate of good character has been forthcoming.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Four thousand seven hundred and nineteen recruits have been enlisted for infantry of the line between 18th March and 20th June, 1903. Two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight recruits have been enlisted for other arms. Of the latter ninety-two recruits were specially enlisted; there were no infantry specials. Since March 22nd no man has been accepted without a reference. No recruit is knowingly taken under the age of eighteen, and inquiries are made when any recruit is for physical or other reasons

suspected of being less than eighteen. I should mention in connection with these figures that recruiting has been temporarily suspended during this period, for the cavalry and to a large extent for other arms than infantry as the establishments are full.

Woolwich Arsenal—Regulations for the Manufacture of Explosives.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the same rules and regulations are in force for the protection of the people employed in the manufacture of explosives at Woolwich, as in those private firms which are licensed by the Home Office for the manufacture of explosives.

MR. BRODRICK: The general rules laid down by the Explosives Act are observed at Woolwich, and, as in private factories, these are supplemented by special regulations for the individual buildings.

Permit to return to Pretoria—Dr. Beckman.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that Dr. Beckman, who has been appointed head of a school for higher education at Pretoria, which was carried on successfully before the war under the Boer Government and which it is intended to re-open under Boer patronage, has been refused a permit to return to Pretoria, although he had never taken part in politics; whether the permit to return to Pretoria has yet been granted to Beckman; and, if so, what was the interval between his first application to return to Pretoria and the granting of his request by Lord Milner.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I have not received any complaint from Dr. Beckman, and have no information on the subject.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire of Lord Milner?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not propose to trouble him about the matter.

South African Schools—Dutch Language Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the representations made to him by the Dutch deputation at Pretoria on the 8th January last, headed by Botha, De la Rey, and Smuts, and by the Dutch deputation at Bloemfontein in February last, headed by De Wet and Hertzog, that the arrangement by which a maximum of three hours weekly for instruction in the Dutch language, with a maximum of two hours for religious and Biblical instruction, through the medium of the Dutch language, in the Government schools of the Transvaal and Orangia was insufficient, and Lord Milner's declaration that South Africa will be a country of one language, effect will be given to the wish of the Dutch population that the limit of time for instruction in the Dutch language may be extended.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not prepared to modify the present arrangement which, as I have already informed the hon. Member in answer to a similar Question on March 18th,† is, I understand, the same as in the schools of the Cape Colony.

Council of Malta.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the day on which the Council of Malta was adjourned *sine die*; and whether he is in a position to say when, in the ordinary course of events, a general election would have taken place.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The suspension of the Standing Orders was moved by the Lieutenant-Governor on June 17th, in order to again submit the Education Estimates. The elected members opposed the Motion, which was thrown out, and it is presumed that the Council was adjourned *sine die* on that day. In the ordinary course of events a general election would have taken place early in 1903.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxix., 1098.

Straits Settlements Imports—An Explanation.

MR. SEELY (Lincoln): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to a White Paper (Cd. 1638) issued a few days ago in which the percentage of imports from foreign countries into the Straits Settlements is given at 65 per cent., with no comment or explanation, while in the Colonial Report for that colony (Cd. 788-30) it is given as 45 per cent.; and whether, in view of the importance of accurate figures being obtained on this subject, he will appoint a small Royal Commission to inquire into the actual state of the trade of the United Kingdom with the colonies.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: This is a colonial question, and with the permission of the hon. Member I will answer it. The explanation of the alleged discrepancy is furnished by the paragraph in the Colonial Report to which the hon. Member refers, as it states that the trade with the Malay Peninsula, Sarawak, and French India, amounting to 19·2 per cent. of the whole, is reckoned as British trade, not as foreign. The Return recently laid includes as foreign all trade which is not with the United Kingdom or British possessions.

Income Tax Abatement.

MR. WILLIAM JONES (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): On behalf of the hon. Member for Flint Boroughs I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state what were the amounts paid to persons claiming abatement on account of income tax during the financial years ending the 31st March, 1901, 1902, and 1903 respectively; and what were the amounts which such payers of income tax were entitled to receive during the same years.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY, (Mr. ELLIOT, Durham): The amounts paid to persons claiming abatement on account of income tax have been as follows: In year to 31st March, 1901, £348,933; in year to 31st March, 1902, £567,659; in year to 31st March, 1903, £778,731. The above were the amounts which such payers of income tax were entitled to receive during the same years. I may, however,

observe that these amounts do not represent the total relief granted to persons entitled to abatement. Such relief is granted in two ways: (a) by remission, and (b) by repayment; and the relief given by remission is some six or seven times the relief given by repayment.

Report of Committee on Import Duties—1840.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will cause the Report of the Select Committee on Import Duties which sat in 1840, together with the evidence and index, to be reprinted and distributed and sold in the usual way; and if he will do this without delay.

MR. ELLIOT: I will arrange for this Report, together with the evidence and index, to be reprinted at an early date. It will then be on sale again, and any demands received from the Vote Office will be complied with by the Stationery Office in the usual way.

Wireless Telegraphy for Lightships.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade how many lightships it is proposed to connect with shore stations by wireless telegraphy, the names of the lightships, and when it is anticipated that the installation will be completed in each case.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): It is proposed in the first instance to connect with shore stations by wireless telegraphy the following six lightships: the "East Goodwin," the "South Goodwin," the "Gull," the "Tongue," the "Sunk," and the "Cross-Sand." The matter is being pressed forward, but as the terms of the contract for the supply of the apparatus have not been settled, I am not able to say when the installation will be completed.

MAJOR SEELY: May we assume it will be before next winter?

MR. BONAR LAW: It is impossible for me to name a definite time. We are pressing it forward as much as we can, and hope to have it finished by the autumn.

Gabbett Estate, County Limerick.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the management of the Gabbett estate in Cahirconlish, County Limerick, is in the hands of the Judges of the Land Court, he will state who is the receiver under the Court; what has been the average number of years purchase on the existing rentals of the part of the estate sold to the tenants; and whether facilities will be given to the house tenants in the village of Cahirconlish to purchase their holdings on the same lines and terms as the farming tenants; and how soon may such a state of things be brought into existence.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): The receiver over the estate is Mr. J. B. Barrington. The average number of years purchase paid by the tenants who purchased is eighteen-and-a-half. The property in the village named is no longer under the control of the Land Judge, having been sold to the incumbancers, but I understand that the latter are prepared to consider proposals by the village tenants for the purchase of their holdings.

Turf-Cutting and the Land Bill.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the proposal to regulate turf-cutting on estates purchased under Clause 19 of the Land Bill would authorise tenants of holdings to make hand-turf in cases where existing bogs do not afford the necessary depth for cutting with slanes.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not find in any statute or authority dealing with the matter the distinction referred to by the hon. Member. The point can easily be met, if necessary, by the addition of a couple of words to the clause.

Longford Labourers' Cottage Schemes.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland can he state the cause of delay in proceeding with the sixth scheme under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts by the Longford District Council.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Provisional Order in respect of this scheme became absolute in May, 1902; the loan was sanctioned in September, and the first instalment has been issued to the District Council. The carrying out of the scheme now rests with the Council.

Congestion in County Kerry.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received an account of public meetings of representative men in the county Kerry, held in Tralee in November last and last month, protesting against the neglect shown to Kerry by the Congested Districts Board; and, if so, will he say whether steps will be taken to compel the Congested Districts Board to do something for this congested district, from which the emigration every year is the highest in all Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: The protests were made under a misapprehension of the actual facts. A sum of £49,743 has been expended by the Congested Districts Board on various schemes and works of utility in Kerry. The Board is always prepared to consider favourably any proposals calculated to improve the condition of the congested areas in the county.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that not a single penny has been spent in North Kerry?

MR. WYNDHAM: I was not aware of that.

MR. FLAVIN: I shall call the attention of the House to the work of the the Board.

Smerwick Dingle Pier.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board has inquired into the necessity for a new pier at Smerwick Dingle; and whether, seeing that the Union is wholly congested and the rates are at present 9s. 6½d. in the £, under the circumstances, the question will be specially considered.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board, three years ago, offered to contribute towards the cost of extending or improving the existing slip at Smerwick. That offer still holds good if the County or District Council desires to take advantage of it.

River Erne Fisheries.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the representations made to him in reference to the preservation of fish in the River Erne, county Fermanagh, he will cause the Special Advisory Committee on Fisheries to the Board of Agriculture to take steps to protect and develop the fishing industry in said river.

MR. WYNDHAM: Any written representations made to me in the matter would be referred to the Department of Agriculture. But I would point out that the duty of protecting the fisheries in the River Erne devolves upon the local Board of Conservators and not on the Department.

Castlebar Prison Governorship.

MR. O'KELLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the vacancy in the governorship of the Castlebar Prison has yet been filled; and, if not, will he consent to make the appointment from the ranks of the prison service.

MR. WYNDHAM: The vacancy has been filled by the appointment of a Deputy Governor who was promoted from the ranks of the service.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E): Will the right hon. Gentleman give an undertaking that in future, as far as possible, appointments shall be filled up from those in the ranks?

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot give an undertaking of that character.

Irish Post Office Savings Bank Accounts.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will state the present number of Post Office Savings Bank depositors in Ireland and England respectively; and,

seeing that the numbers in Ireland are smaller than those in England, and that extra delay is caused by the present system of depositors having to communicate with London and receive replies therefrom, he can explain the cause of the smaller number of Irish depositors.

The following Questions also appeared on the Paper—

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that acknowledgments and warrants for payment in connection with Irish Savings Bank accounts have to be sent from London at present, and that all inquiries have to be sent from Ireland to London to be dealt with, and that the system of keeping these accounts in London causes delay to Irish depositors, he will make arrangements for the transfer of the Irish accounts to Dublin in order to have the additional time taken in communicating with London curtailed as much as possible.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that the system of keeping Irish Savings Bank accounts in London gives rise to additional correspondence, both written and telegraphic, between the General Post Office, London, and the General Post Office, Dublin, he will state the estimated cost of this additional correspondence; and whether, with a view to economy and despatch, he will arrange for the transfer of the accounts from London to Dublin so as to avoid this additional expenditure and delay.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E): Perhaps I may answer the hon. Member's three Questions together. The present number of accounts in the Post Office Savings Bank is estimated to be as follows:—In Ireland, 433,000; in England and Wales, 8,469,000. I cannot explain the cause of the smaller ratio of depositors to population in Ireland; but there is no reason to suppose that it is due to the slightly longer time required in some cases for withdrawing money through an Irish Post Office. There is a similar discrepancy in the case of the depositors in the Trustees Savings Banks of the two countries,

who are not affected by this consideration. It is more convenient and more economical to keep the Savings Bank accounts at one central institution; and greater facilities are afforded in this way for making or withdrawing deposits at any office in the United Kingdom than would be possible under the system suggested in the Question; I am therefore not prepared to take any steps in that direction. The cost of correspondence between the General Post Offices in London and Dublin about savings bank business is estimated to be about £250 a year; but the additional cost of dealing with Irish Savings Bank accounts by a special staff at Dublin would certainly be much greater than any possible saving on this sum.

Evicted Farm—Contemplated Purchase by the Admiralty.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork Co., W.) I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the fact that the agent to the Clinton Estate is in treaty with the Lords of the Admiralty for the sale of the farm from which Cornelius Murphy, of Millicove, Castletown, Berehaven, has been evicted; whether he is aware that the rent of said farm was £36 5s., while the Poor Law valuation was £22; and whether, in view of the fact that in the Bill now before Parliament provision is made for the restoration of evicted tenants, he will postpone the purchase of the farm until the Land Bill becomes an Act of Parliament.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The Admiralty are in treaty for the farm referred to in the hon. Member's Question, but the details of any dispute between the owner and the late tenant are not within their knowledge. They cannot suspend the negotiations for purchase, as it is necessary to obtain possession of the land at an early date. The evicted tenant could not in any case be reinstated, as the farm will be utilised for naval purposes.

MR. GILHOOLY: Will the money be paid to the tenant?

MR. PRETYMAN: I imagine that any dispute between landlord and tenant as to the allocation of the money would be settled quite irrespective of the sum paid by the Admiralty under the law as it now stands.

MR. GILHOOLY: I will draw attention to this matter on the Navy Estimates.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I beg to ask the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, in the temporary absence of the Prime Minister, what business it is proposed to take on Friday and next week.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington): The first order on Friday will be a Resolution in Committee of the Whole House on which the Naval Works Bill is to be founded. The next order will be the further consideration of the Employment of Children Bill. Next week it is proposed to go on with the Committee stage of the Irish Land Bill.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Can the Government communicate to the House before Thursday the amount involved in the Naval Works Bill. Thursday, as I understand, will be the last occasion on which the Navy Estimates will be considered in Committee, and I put forward this suggestion in order that those interested may have a full view of the expenditure for naval purposes.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: I will consult the Secretary to the Admiralty and give an answer to-morrow.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): What about the London Education Bill? Is it to be dropped?

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: The London Education Bill will certainly be proceeded with, and full notice will be given before it is again taken.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Can the Chief Secretary for Ireland see his way to prolong the sitting a little after

midnight on Wednesday in order to dispose of the matter which may then be in hand.

MR. WYNDHAM doubted whether he was entitled to speak on this point. As far as he was personally concerned he would make no objection, but he would not like to place an undue strain on hon. Gentlemen behind him.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Would it not be more satisfactory to take the Irish Land Bill on Friday?

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot very conveniently do so, but the point shall be settled before to-morrow.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked the Prime Minister whether it would not be well to give some decision on that point at once in order that Members might know what to expect.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): If there were any chance of finishing the Irish Land Bill on Friday, I think it would be worth while making a great effort to bring about such a result, and, for that, the convenience of even the most important Member of the House might be waived. But unless some prospect can be held out of such a result I think it will be best to adhere to the original proposal.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Anxious as I am to facilitate the passage of the Bill, I feel it would be utterly impossible to finish it on Friday.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I hope the Chief Secretary will not entertain the idea of taking the financial clauses after midnight.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, I do not think we should do that. I understand the idea to be that if at twelve o'clock a non-contentious matter is under discussion it should be carried to completion. That point will be considered.

AGED PENSIONERS BILL.

Ordered, that the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Cottage Home Bill, of Session 1899,

and the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on Aged Deserving Poor, in the same session, be referred to the Select Committee on the Aged Pensioners Bill.—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had added to the Standing Committee on Law and Courts of Justice and Legal Procedure, the following fifteen Members in respect of the Town Councils (Scotland) Bill:—Sir William Arrol, Mr. Asher, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Crombie, Colonel Denny, Mr. Charles Douglas, Mr. James M'Killop, Mr. W. J. Maxwell, Mr. Nicol, Mr. Pirie, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. Solicitor-General for Scotland, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. Wylie.

Report to lie upon the Table.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE BILL

[LORDS.]

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 261.]

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 11.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) moved to insert the following sub-sections at the end of the clause:—

"(3) The powers conferred upon the Land Commission by Sub-section 1 of this section shall extend to the repair and rebuilding of houses and out-offices upon holdings surrendered to them under the provisions of this Act, or the Estate Commissioners may, if they think fit, instead of exercising the said powers, make an advance to any such former tenant when reinstated in his holding for the purpose of repairing or rebuilding upon his holding, and for the restocking of the same, of such sum of money as they may deem necessary. For the purposes of this sub-section, the expression 'former tenant' shall, in case said former tenant shall have died, include his heir or personal representative, or, if no representative shall have been raised to him, such person as may be nominated by the Estates Commissioners as his personal representative.

(4) Such sums of money as may from time to time be required for the purposes of Sub-section 3 of this section shall be advanced by the Land Commission on the demand of the Estates Commissioners out of the reserve fund. (5) In case any landlord shall sell directly, under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts, to former tenants of holdings upon his estate, or shall re-instate former tenants in their holdings as tenants thereof, the powers conferred by this section shall apply in the same manner as if the estate were vested in the Land Commission."

After the explanations of the Chief Secretary on the previous day he did not think a lengthy discussion would be necessary. There appeared to be an agreement on the main object—the only question was how it should be worked out. They were all agreed as to the desirability of reinstatement wherever it was possible, and they were also agreed that the Estates Commissioners should have power to facilitate friendly arrangements with that object. That being so, there could be no doubt that some small provision ought to be made to give the poor re-instated tenant, a fresh start in life. No one would dream of leaving them in the position of mere paupers, without the means of carrying on their business, and at the mercy of the gombeen man. Two or three points would arise in connection with that Amendment. The Chief Secretary had promised to try and find some words which would remove any possibility of doubt in the Irish law Courts hereafter as to the sufficiency of the powers they were agreed that the Estates Commissioners ought to have. Was the right hon. Gentleman now prepared with any suggestion as to that? The second point was whether the works which the clause authorised the Commissioners to execute for the improvement of an estate included advances for restocking the land. He feared that that was not at all clear, and he could see no reason why some specific words, such as were suggested in his Amendment, should not be inserted. The third point was this. As the Committee were aware, Clause 11 only dealt with cases where the land was vested in the Land Commissioners themselves, and gave no power for dealing with what he believed would be the great majority of cases, i.e., transactions that had taken place directly between landlord and tenant.

He could not imagine the right hon. Gentleman ever intended that there should be any such glaring inequality between the two classes of sales. If he was not prepared to accept that Amendment as it stood on the Paper, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would, at any rate, not object to adding some such words as would make the new clause read, "The Land Commissioners may, where an estate or untenanted land is vested in them, or where the sale, as between landlord and tenant, has been sanctioned by the Land Commissioners," etc. No doubt, where an estate was not vested in the Land Commissioners, they might feel some difficulty about interfering directly themselves, and carrying out any actual improvements, but the object could be equally well accomplished if they had power to make advances to the new purchasers, as the Board of Works did at present. The words he suggested would answer the purpose, and give the Commissioners full powers to deal with the two classes of sales. They would leave no room for misconception, would settle the matter once for all, and leave no bitter memories behind. They all wanted to secure a clean settlement, and he therefore hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not be too punctilious, but would accept words which, undoubtedly, would remove a formidable obstacle to the smooth working of the Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 20, at end, to add the words, '(3) The powers conferred upon the Land Commission by Sub-section 1 of this section shall extend to the repair and rebuilding of houses and out-offices upon holdings surrendered to them under the provisions of this Act, or the Estates Commissioners may, if they think fit, instead of exercising the said powers, make an advance to any such former tenant when reinstated in his holding for the purpose of repairing or rebuilding upon his holding, and for the restocking of the same, of such sum of money as they may deem necessary. For the purposes of this sub-section the expression, 'former tenant' shall, in case said former tenant shall have died, include his heir or personal representative, or, if no representative shall have been raised to him, such person as may be nominated by the Estates Commissioners as his personal representative. (4) Such sums of money as may from time to time be required for the purposes of Sub-section 3 of this section shall be advanced by the Land Commission on the demand of the Estates

Commissioners out of the reserve fund. (5) In case any landlord shall sell directly, under the provisions of the Land Purchase Acts, to former tenants of holdings upon his estate, or shall reinstate former tenants in their holdings as tenants thereof, the powers conferred by this section shall apply in the same manner as if the estate were vested in the Land Commission."—(Mr. William O'Brien.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. BUTCHER (York) thought the point a very important one. He was, he said, confident that on the part of landlords there was no objection to the reinstatement of tenants on fair terms, subject to the condition that no pressure should be brought to bear upon existing tenants to give up possession. He noted with satisfaction that hon. Members opposite had declared most strongly that they would deprecate any such pressure, and he hoped the Chief Secretary would see his way to clear up a doubt that arose on Sub-section 2 of the clause. It might be said the effect was to give the Commissioners compulsory powers to turn out a tenant in possession to make room for some other tenant. He knew that that was not the desire of hon. Members opposite, and he therefore trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would add words which would bring the sub-section more into harmony with the wishes entertained on both sides of the House.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover) said it was clear they were all agreed as to their object, and desired to find the best method of reaching it. He had given expression to his own desire to make the section work without any chance of friction, and he would introduce words to remove any doubt that might be entertained in any quarter as to the meaning of the clause as it stood. He was clear that Clause 11 would cover the object, but he was quite willing to make it clear to the hon. Member for Cork. He was sure that the Estates Commissioners would not use the compulsory powers of the Congested Districts Act of 1901 against the universal opinion of the House; but if there was any doubt, by all means let it be cleared up. Having said that, he repeated what he had said before, that there was some danger, in fact very great danger, in seeking by a number of specific directions to arrive at the intention.

For instance, "advances for stock" were words used by the hon. Member for Cork, and the question of loan arose, and if transfer and rearrangement of holdings were not mentioned, that would raise doubts. Specific enactments would raise the presumption that the powers of the Commissioners were less than they were under the clause as it stood. In the first sub-section he felt clear in his own mind that no phrase could be wider than "the Commissioners may, where an estate or untenanted land is vested in them, take such steps to execute such works as may appear expedient for the benefit or improvement of the estate."

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN : Does the word "works" include advances ?

MR. WYNDHAM said there was no limitation. The Commissioners would "take such steps." He did not think any doubt arose, but if any doubt could arise it could only be in respect to the object for which the steps were to be taken for "the benefit or improvement of the estate." The way to resolve the doubt was not to make the clause more specific, but to make it wider still, and therefore he suggested the addition of the words, "or for the use or enjoyment thereof, or generally for the purposes of this Act." Having dealt with one point he thought he ought to deal with the other. But if they removed the doubt on one side they ought also to remove the doubt on the other. He therefore suggested the addition of the proviso, "Provided also that the powers mentioned in Section 1 of the Act of 1901 shall not be exercised by the Land Commission unless they certify to the Lord Lieutenant that those powers are necessary for the benefit or improvement of the congested estate." He would propose the insertion of those two Amendments at the present stage, reserving the right of reconsidering their full legal effect on the Report stage. There were considerable difficulties in the way of extending the application of the powers to estates not vested in the Land Commission. The difficulties were so great that he had not yet attempted to grapple with them, and while he hoped that before the Report stage something would be done, he was

Mr. Wyndham.

not very sanguine of success. The same difficulty arose on Clause 13 with regard to sub-tenancies and middlemen. It was very hard to use the authority of a public body and public funds except in regard to property which was vested in that body, and he would only be delaying the Committee if he attempted to do it. He suggested that the hon. Member should withdraw his Amendment, that the Amendment he had indicated should be inserted, and that the Committee should leave to the Report stage the consideration of the possibility of extending the application of the powers to estates on which all the arrangements were made between landlord and tenant.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said that as the right hon. Gentleman recognised the undesirability of there being any inequality between the two classes of sales, he could not imagine there would be any serious difficulty in finding some way of providing against it.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) held that if a tenant was required to give up his holding for the benefit of the country or of the estate, he ought to come out better than he went in; therefore it should be considered whether the Lands Clauses Act should not in some degree apply in such cases.

MR. WYNDHAM said that all these matters should be considered. It should be borne in mind, however, that these transfers were to be perfectly voluntary transactions.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 7, after the word 'land' to add the words 'or for the use or enjoyment thereof or generally for the purpose of this Act.'—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, after line 20, to add the words, 'Provided also that the powers mentioned in Section 1 of the said Act of 1901 shall not be exercised by the Land Commission unless the

Commission certify to the Lord Lieutenant that those powers are necessary for the benefit or improvement of the congested estate."—
(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 12.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the policy underlying the Amendment he now proposed to move was that an asset ought not to be destroyed. An exclusive sporting right was an asset, no matter to whom it belonged, which, if dispersed, it was so difficult to collect again that it was really destroyed. The Government, therefore, held that, without prejudice to any other question, where there was an exclusive right it should be preserved. Where the landlord wished to reserve the right to himself he should be able to do so. Where the landlord did not reserve the right it was to be vested, at any rate for the present, in the Land Commission. The Government considered that a big Land Bill need not be overloaded to save rights of very little value, or of less value than exclusive rights. He begged to move—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 21, to leave out Sub-section (1), and insert the words (1) 'Where at the time of the sale of any land to the Land Commission or to tenants or others the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may be expressly reserved by him. (2) Where such sporting rights are not expressly reserved the sporting rights shall vest in the Land Commission. (3) Where any sporting rights become vested in the Land Commission, those rights may be disposed of by them as they think expedient, having due regard to the interests of the purchasers of the land. (4) The expression 'sporting rights' includes any right of hunting, shooting, fishing, and taking game or fish on any land.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said the proposal of the Government was a very bad one, and he disliked it extremely. Nobody was more desirous than he to see sport preserved in Ireland, and he agreed that a sporting right was an asset which if

once destroyed was very difficult to recover. In a great many cases it was useless to preserve the right on small farms, while if everybody was given the right, say, to fish, the subject matter of the right was really destroyed. The question was, had the Government done the right thing, and was this solution a proper one? He thought it was not, for unless they had the goodwill of the tenants towards the settlement all these provisions were worthless. The Irish were a sport-loving people, and desired people to come amongst them, and it might be a matter of extreme profit that sportsmen should come amongst them. Did this proposal give that incentive to the people? He maintained that it did not. This proposal was unnecessary, because the landlords could reserve those rights without this clause at all. So far as the law was concerned, there was no necessity at all for the provision which the right hon. Gentleman had just moved, which provided that—

"Where at the time of sale of any land to the Land Commission, or to tenants or others, the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may be expressly reserved by him."

The question was, what ought to be done to tempt the tenants to give up rights to which they attached great sentimental value? The landlord should not be allowed to make those reservations, and there ought to be a specific reduction in the price if the landlord did make such reservations. The game should either be reserved as a whole or not at all. He suggested that the sporting rights should be vested in the County Councils, or if that was objectionable they should be vested in the Agricultural Board, and that Board might issue licences. He did not make that suggestion in any hostile spirit towards either the landlords in Ireland or in the House of Commons. His anxiety was that as the landlords might desire to live on their demesnes, they should have their own sporting rights, but they should not desire to eat their cake and have it. He would give them a right of pre-emption or first-letting, and he thought the Agricultural Board under Mr. Plunkett was hardly likely to do anything hostile to the landlords.

The tenants of Ireland should understand that this national asset would go in relief of their rates or in some other way to relieve their burdens. This was a matter upon which there was a considerable amount of friction. Questions of malicious injuries would arise as to the burning of heather and other matters. A match might set a mountain on fire, and it might be dropped by a gamekeeper in negligence. This proposal might lead to the leasing of the sporting rights to strangers who might not be resident in Ireland. There was a considerable amount of feeling on this question in many districts in Ireland, and the best way to get over the difficulty, in his opinion, was that the Government should vest those rights either in the County Council or the Agricultural Board, and the landlord would have the first right to lease those lettings at some rent which would enable the tenants to benefit by insuring that this amount would be placed against some local burdens which the tenant at present discharged.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said this was a very important question, because it must be remembered that this Bill professed to attract landlords to sell. He did not know what attraction they were offering by threatening to extinguish the sporting rights, or if the landlord was to be walled up in his own demesne. It was in the interests of this Bill that they should approach this question from the point of view of inducing the landlord to sell and to remain in Ireland. Whether the landlords remained or not very much depended upon whether life would be tolerable there for them, and whether there was sufficient scope for that energy and recreation which had made Scotland the rich country it was at present. Sporting rights were a great national asset, and anything that was done to diminish or extinguish that asset was not merely against the interests of landlords, but also against the interests of Ireland as a whole. He had put down some Amendments to the Chief Secretary's proposal, and he would explain his reasons for doing so very shortly. The

Mr. T. M. Healy.

Chief Secretary's proposal dealt with cases where the landlord had reserved the exclusive sporting rights, and the effect of this proposal was to reserve those rights after sale. An estate was a sort of chessboard dotted with the landlord's exclusive rights, with concurrent rights, and with rights exclusively the tenant's. His contention was that they ought not to extinguish either the landlords' concurrent rights, or the tenants' exclusive rights. There were a good many tenants who had exclusive rights, and they ought not to extinguish them. The Amendment which he wished to propose was for the purpose of enabling game in considerable areas, where these various rights existed, to be preserved. If they did not do something in this direction, this great national asset would disappear. The hon. and learned Member for Louth said that, whether they had rights on paper or parchment did not matter, for they were no use unless they had the goodwill of the tenants as well. In order to evoke a little more discussion, he begged to move his first Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 5, leave out Sub-section (2), and insert—'(2) Where the vendor has a right, other than an exclusive right, to exercise sporting rights over any lands, he shall be entitled, within the prescribed time, to purchase up such exclusive right at such price as the Land Commission shall, in default of agreement between the vendor and the tenant, fix, and such price shall be paid to the tenant by the Land Commission out of the purchase money of the estate. (3) Subject to the provisions aforesaid, the sporting rights over the lands shall vest in the Land Commission.'"—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Member's Amendment is not in order until the words proposed to be left out of the clause are struck out.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) suggested that the clause should be dropped. He did not regard the law as it stood as satisfactory at all, but it was not because he considered the present law unsatisfactory that he made this suggestion. If they examined the notice Paper they would find that the Amendments to this clause, of which notice had been given,

extended to nearly four pages. Knowing the enormous diversity of opinion on the question that existed in the House he believed they would see clearly that it was impossible to contemplate the discussion of this clause without setting aside some hours for it. If that were so had the matter at issue the importance which was likely to be attached to it? Even from the point of view of hon. Gentlemen opposite was it worth the long struggle and the great waste of time which it would involve? The hon. Member for Louth suggested one course that might be taken. He knew that view was held by some hon. Members—namely, to transfer the game rights to the Agricultural Department. That was a course which he himself would resist with all his power. It might be that in some respects the Agricultural Department was doing good work, but he was not a great lover of that Department in other respects. The proposal that the Agricultural Department should have the whole country covered with gamekeepers would be the prelude to a very prolonged and conscientious debate from these benches. But after all what was the object the landlords desired to achieve by this clause? Under the present law, as had been pointed out by the hon. and learned Member for Louth, the landlords could specially reserve shooting rights. He was very sorry for it. He recognised, however, that if he endeavoured to force his view on the Committee he should probably be defeated. He objected to the present power which enabled a landlord to specially reserve game rights. But what more did the landlords want? The present state of the law was from his point of view very unsatisfactory, but he thought the landlords would not be well advised if they insisted on debating this clause, in consuming a great deal of time over it, and giving rise to a considerable amount of feeling. Although he did not for a moment put this question on the same level as the questions which arose on the first and fifth clauses, it was a question which somehow or other would tend to develop heat perhaps very much in excess of its importance. He shared altogether the view expressed by hon. Members opposite that there was a good deal of sham in a

discussion over shooting rights.~ Could anyone suppose that if this House tried to force on the people of Ireland any provision regarding game or sporting rights which the people did not like, they would be able to do so? Of course they would not. People throughout Ireland would kill the game if they put in this Act provisions which they did not like, and in that case the game would be far more likely to be exterminated. Every intelligent Nationalist would feel it to be his duty to go and kill as much game as possible in order to protest against the provisions. It had not been so easy to preserve game in the past, but would it be easier in the future if the landlords insisted on this clause after the land was in the hands of the people themselves? They could not preserve game in Ireland against the public opinion in that country. Therefore to force through Committee against the general opinion on these benches any provisions with regard to game would be disastrous to the objects which the landlords themselves had in view. He thought they should not arouse sleeping dogs.

The hon. and gallant Member spoke of the enormous wealth which had been brought to Scotland by the existence of game. That was a kind of wealth they did not want in Ireland. He had spoken to English tourists in the West of Ireland himself who, with the best possible intentions, said to him: "Why don't you turn these hills and waste places into game preserves and deer forests and bring over rich Englishmen?" He replied: "We want none of your deer forests in Ireland. You have driven the people out of the good land in Ireland and your sporting people would drive them out of the hills and bogs." He was not a sportsman himself and although he was not an irreconcilable on this question of game, he did not hold the view that the future prosperity of Ireland was much tied up in this question. The fishing rights in the great rivers were not involved in this matter. They were different properties and would be dealt with separately. Under the present law the great fisheries were sold altogether separately from the landed estates. The real question at issue under this clause had reference to

small trout in the rivers, and, of course, the game that lived on the land. He said that rather than see any attempt to turn the West of Ireland, or any part of the country, into what the Highlands of Scotland now were, he would prefer to see the last head of game killed in Ireland. If the people of the West of Ireland got it into their heads that there was any such scheme hidden in this clause there would be very little game left for sportsmen. His advice to the Government was to drop this clause. If they went on with it they could not reasonably ask the Committee to consent to pass it in a rush. If they found on inquiry next year, or the year after, that the County Councils and the other parties concerned, could come to some agreement on the question, then they could introduce a separate Bill. It was a matter which might be dealt with in a short Bill, but to have a debate of this character in the middle of the Land Bill would not conduce to progress or peace.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) said the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman—and apparently it was the only suggestion made—was to leave things as they were. The result of that first of all would be to destroy what had been most properly called a valuable national asset; in the next place it would take away almost every attraction to live in Ireland the landlord had; and in the third place it would leave matters in inextricable confusion and difficulty.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): Under the Ashbourne Act have not the tenants the game?

MR. ATKINSON said he would answer that question in a moment. How did things stand at present under the Purchase Acts when a property was sold? The Land Commission was obliged to vest in the vendee the fee-simple of the land and discharge all claims. *Prima facie* that would mean the exclusive right to game for the owner. There were three classes of tenants in Ireland. There were the tenants over whose holdings the right of game was reserved exclusively to the landlords at the time

the rents were fixed. To vest the exclusive right in the tenants would be to give them a property which they had not purchased at all. The property was not theirs, it was their landlords'. They did not buy it because, it being reserved to the landlords, the conveyance was made to the tenants exclusive of those rights. The tenant at the time his rent was fixed consented that those rights should be reserved. His rent was fixed irrespective of the exclusive right fixed on the property giving him no right of game. Now the Government provided in this clause that the conveyance in that case should be made, giving the tenant that which he had purchased, and giving the landlord that which he reserved at the time the rent was fixed. The other two classes of cases were where the rent was fixed without any express reservation of game rights. That was a most confused condition of things because if the hon. Gentleman referred to the 5th Section of the Act of 1881, he would see that there was a kind of joint sporting property. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than that land should be conveyed to the tenant with that kind of joint right existing. Yet if they vested it in the landlord they injured the tenant, and if they vested it in the tenant they injured the landlord. What they said in that case was that if the landlord chose to arrange with the tenant for money that he would give him the exclusive interest in that joint right, then they could carry out the sale, and the exclusive right so bargained for as a separate and independent transaction between man and man would be preserved on the purchase. There was one way of conciliating the tenant, and inducing him to acquiesce, and that was to pay him for the right. And when the landlord had once got the exclusive right, he could come the next day and sell it to his tenant. The third case was that of the ordinary tenant from year to year who had more extended rights. In the same way, they said to the landlord by this clause, "If you want the exclusive sporting rights, you must reserve them, of course by paying for them, and when you have got the exclusive rights come into the Land Court and arrange the conveyance." If he did not choose to do that,

Mr. Dillon.

then the exclusive rights went into the Land Commission. Observe, this provision gave nothing to the landlord for which he had not paid.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) : All three cases may exist on the same property and get mixed up ?

MR. ATKINSON said "yes"; and therefore he submitted that the only effectual way of dealing with the matter was that where the landlord had already got the sporting rights to preserve them, where he had not got them and wanted to get them, let him buy and acquire the rights. If he did not think it worth while to buy, then such sporting rights as there were, were reserved to the Land Commission. Any other arrangement would lead to the utmost confusion.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said this appeared to him to be one of the most difficult questions with which the Committee had to deal. But he could not at all admit the argument of the right hon. the Attorney-General for Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to forget that the very foundation of this Act of Parliament, when passed into law, was to abolish altogether the relation of landlord and tenant. As they all knew, the right of hunting, fishing, and shooting originated in the old feudal system when the landlord was the lord of the soil and when he let the soil to the occupier with certain rights reserved, either expressly or impliedly. But the moment the landlord parted with his estate, independently of this Act altogether, these rights were gone. And when the Land Commission now purchased a property from a landlord the latter ceased to have any right whatever in that land. He became as complete a stranger to it as any Member of this House who had never been in Ireland in his life. It would be an anomaly in law, without any parallel or principle, if the tenant who had bought the fee-simple of the land subject to the payment—not to the landlord but to the State—of the purchase annuity for a certain number of years, was not the owner of the rights of shooting, fishing, and hunting.

MR. ATKINSON said that it had been decided over and over again by the Courts that under the Ashbourne Act the sporting rights were reserved to the landlord on the sale of the holding.

*MR. HEMPHILL said that was under an express provision of that Act, which was not adopted in this Bill. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that it was most important that the game should be preserved. It would, he thought, be a loss to Ireland if the game and the fishing in fresh-water rivers were not preserved in some way or another; but certainly they could not be preserved by giving them to a person who had parted with the estate altogether. It would be better to leave Clause 12 as it stood—

"Where any right of hunting, shooting, fishing, and taking game or fish on any land, becomes vested in the Land Commission, that right may be disposed of by them as they think expedient."

That vested in the Land Commission this incorporeal right of fishing, hunting, and shooting, and they must deal with it for the benefit of the public and the neighbourhood generally. The only argument that could be advanced by the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth was that the late landlord would be induced to continue to occupy the demesne which he was supposed to buy back.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: And might be induced to sell the rest of his estate.

*MR. HEMPHILL said he had no doubt the landlord would be only too anxious to sell. The thing would be to get the tenant to deal with the landlord. He quite sympathised with the hon. and gallant Member that he might be the victim occasionally of ennui in a remote part of Ireland, but that would be obviated at once if this clause which it was proposed to reject were allowed to remain as in the original bill. What would be easier than for the Land Commission to give a lease of the shooting, fishing, and hunting to the occupant of the demesne? He confessed that his plan would be that this incorporeal right should enure for public purposes, and that it should be vested in

some public body. He was no lover of Government Boards, and, like the hon. Member for East Mayo, he would rather it should be vested in the County Councils, who were representative bodies for public purposes. The County Councils might perhaps adopt the view of the hon. and gallant Member—though he hoped they would not—and turn Ireland into something like the Highlands of Scotland and cover it with deer forests and grouse moors. It should be recollected that under the existing law—a law which existed long before the Ashbourne Act—a tenant from year to year has an absolute right to the game; and it was only where there was a lease that the shooting, fishing, and hunting were reserved to the lessor.

*MR. BUTCHER said there were two important points on which they were all agreed. One was that it was desirable and necessary to preserve sporting rights in Ireland as a national asset. The other was that if they allowed sporting rights to be split up among a large number of small holdings, those rights would cease to exist. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt some means of preserving them. He would appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to approach this question in the same conciliatory spirit which, it would be admitted, was shown by hon. Members on his own side of the House on more important matters. The hon. Member for East Mayo very truly said that more important matters had been dealt with in a spirit of agreement, and he thought it was not too much to ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to approach this question in a similar spirit of conciliation. This was not only a landlord's question; it was also a tenant's question. It was necessary that resident landlords should have sport.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, W.) said there would be no landlords.

*MR. BUTCHER said it would be most important that former landlords should continue to reside in the country and spend the money they would receive under this Bill in the country. An hon. Gentleman said that many persons who resided in Ireland suffered from ennui. He would assume that that was the result of want of sport. It was

said that fox-hunting ought to be sufficient; but there were many counties where fox-hunting did not exist, and it would be desirable to supplement that form of sport with shooting and fishing. What was the solution proposed by the Chief Secretary? It was a most reasonable one and amounted to this: that where the landlord had acquired and was in possession of exclusive rights of sporting, he should be allowed to keep those rights.

MR. REDDY asked if the hon. Gentleman ever knew of a landlord having the right to shoot over another man's property.

*MR. BUTCHER said that a large part of the shooting in this country was over land not the property of the persons shooting. A very great proportion of the sporting rights in this country were exercised by persons who did not own any land. But, of course, in Ireland, as in this country, sporting rights could not be exercised without the goodwill of the occupiers of the soil. He frankly admitted that. The landlord who had sporting rights, and who was disagreeable to the tenants, he would even say who did not do his utmost to conciliate the tenants, would get very bad shooting indeed. What he anticipated was, that if the shooting rights were reserved to the landlord under this Bill he would take excellent care to be on the best of terms with his former tenants and to see that they co-operated with him in preserving the game. Therefore he ventured to think that the Chief Secretary's clause, so far from promoting bad relations, would go far to promote good relations. So much for the rights which were the exclusive property of the landlord. As regarded rights which were not exclusive rights the Chief Secretary proposed what had been proposed by two or three hon. Gentlemen—that they should be vested in a public body. The Chief Secretary proposed the Land Commission; the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken proposed the County Councils; and the hon. Member for North Louth proposed the Department of Agriculture. Which of those public bodies should have the non-exclusive sporting rights vested in them was a fair matter for discussion; but if it was agreed that those rights should be vested in a public body it would not be difficult to agree as to the particular

body to be selected. He ventured to suggest to hon. Gentlemen opposite that they would be doing a service to the Bill if they would come to some reasonable settlement on this matter. If any Amendment were necessary to the Chief Secretary's proposal it could be moved later.

MR WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said he thought it was a matter of great regret that the Government should have given rise to this discussion by introducing the clause, because, as far as he understood there was absolutely no need for it. At the present time there was perfect freedom as regarded sporting rights between those who bought and those who sold.

MR! ATKINSON said it would be absolutely necessary to introduce a clause to vest the sporting rights in a public body.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said that was not the Amendment. He spoke on the matter as one who was most anxious that the game should be preserved as far as possible in Ireland; and it was because he was certain that if the people were given the idea that when they bought their land they would be deprived of the sporting rights there would be no game at all that he regretted that the Government had brought in this clause. It appeared to him that under this clause it would be perfectly open to a tenant to refuse to purchase his holding unless the question of the sporting rights was satisfactorily settled. The Chief Secretary in his Amendment said that exclusive sporting rights might be expressly reserved to the landlord. What was the necessity of that? If a landlord were making a bargain with a tenant he would be at liberty to reserve anything he pleased.

MR. ATKINSON said that it was necessary to insert a provision in order to prevent any previous arrangement being destroyed by the sale.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said he wished to ask whether it would not meet the case if a clause were inserted in the Bill setting forth that where land was to be sold the matter of sporting rights should be a matter of

agreement as between landlord and tenant. As far as he understood it, that was the law at present. He believed that it would be an easy matter to come to an agreement. The tenants were all fond of sport, and the great majority of the landlords were also interested in it; and that being the case, what reason was there for believing that an agreement could not be arrived at. They were about to trust landlords and tenants to come to an agreement as to whether land should be sold, and the price at which it was to be sold; yet, they would not allow landlords or tenants to come to an agreement between themselves as to sporting rights. It seemed to him to be crediting both the landlord and the tenant with a spirit of unreasonableness that they did not possess. In Ireland the law had not always been popular, and a great many of these troubles would never have occurred between the classes if the law had let them alone and had not interfered with them. He believed the landlords and the tenants would come to an agreement in this matter if they were not hemmed in by restrictions and reservations. If they said that the tenants when they bought their land were to allow strangers to trespass in pursuit of game they would raise very great trouble indeed in Ireland. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to leave the law as it now stood and to allow the landlords and the tenants to make a fair and free bargain with regard to the sporting rights. He hoped the minds of the people who purchased their holdings would be disabused with regard to this matter, and that they would be given to understand that they could stick to the game if they chose.

MR. WYNDHAM said the policy of the hon. Gentleman was the policy the Government had endeavoured to express in this first sub-section—

“Where at the time of sale of any land to the Land Commission, or to tenants or others, the vendor has . . . the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may be expressly reserved by him.”

If the hon. Member wished the law to remain as it was, and if this clause expressed what the law was, they were agreed as to policy. [Cries of, “No, no.”] Then he

did not follow the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman wished to leave the matter where it was.

MR. T. M. HEALY said matters as they were now were in a bad state they wished to leave them in a better state, but their solution was not the solution of the Government.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was a matter of law not of policy; the hon. and learned Member was entitled to express an opinion on the law, but the Government must act on the advice they had. They were advised that unless they could get some definition such as was contained in this first sub-clause, the matter was in doubt. The law as it now stood seemed to be that if the exclusive right was with the landlord he could keep it. They took no account of joint-rights in the purchase agreement. There was no attempt to collect them together and put them in. All they said was that if a landlord had created an exclusive right it could not be left in doubt, it existed as a piece of property; it might be worth £200 a year, and they could not leave property worth £200 a year in doubt.

MR. WOOD (Down, E.) pointed out that it was a matter of arrangement between the landlord and the tenant, and the tenant would take into consideration the value of the sporting rights in the price at which he purchased.

MR. WYNDHAM said that was precisely the position. They said the fee when conveyed should not cover that property, but that when it was not reserved by the landlord it should go to the Land Commission, but that if the landlord wished to reserve the sporting rights he should be able to do so by agreement, which was exactly what the hon. Member for Clare suggested. They only simplified the phraseology of the declaration which confirmed the desire expressed by all, that the landlords and tenants should arrange this matter as they thought best.

MAJOR JAMESON (Clare, W.) said the whole principle of the Bill was to do away with those strange anomalies which they found in Ireland as the result of the Land Bills of the last twenty-five

years. If they did away with the sporting rights the question for the Committee was this: The sporting rights were one of the most valuable assets in the country. If they were to be vested in the Commission, let the landlord, if he desired, have the first refusal of them at a rental, to be paid to the County or District Council in whose district the rights were, to be used for public purposes. This Bill broke up Ireland into a country of peasant proprietors, and one of the dangers of a country of peasant proprietors was the wholesale destruction of the feathered kind. That was the reason of the phylloxera visitation which came upon the countries where there had been an indiscriminate destruction of the feathered world. He therefore agreed with the preservation of game, but he hoped the Chief Secretary would not press his Amendment in its present form, but would vest these rights in the Land Commission.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) could not understand why there should be any heartburning on the part of the Irish tenants if this Amendment were carried. In many cases game rights were preserved under the Ashbourne Acts, and no feeling whatever was excited. Was it to be supposed that if a landlord in order to reserve these rights to himself gave his tenant valuable consideration for them bad blood would be created? Nothing of the kind would happen. The idea was chimerical. The Amendment simply proposed an act of justice to the present proprietor.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that in the earlier debates the Chief Secretary and the representatives of the landlords never made a speech without referring to the Land Conference Report, but in this matter that document was being entirely ignored. The Conference debated the subject for nearly a day, and came to the conclusion that the sporting and fishing rights should remain as they were, subject to the provisions of the existing Land Purchase Acts.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.): That is the present proposal.

Mr. Wyndham.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said it was nothing of the kind. The Conference, at which both landlords and tenants fully stated their views, found it impossible to agree, and decided the best course was to leave matters as they were. If on an estate a landlord had a shooting right worth £200 a year, that right was surely a part of the fee. According to the Chief Secretary the fee simple meant everything; consequently, it would convey that right of £200 a year. But had the fee never been conveyed hitherto? The existing Land Purchase Acts conveyed the fee as entirely as the present Bill would do, and they made these rights a matter of bargain between the vendor and the buyer, the fee being conveyed subject to those bargains. The Chief Secretary said that that was what he proposed now to do. Why did he propose to do that which was already the law?

MR. WYNDHAM said that on matters of law he must take the opinion of the Attorney-General.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he valued the opinion of the Attorney-General on any subject, but he was not bound to follow his advice. The less lawyers had to do with this business the better. This matter could be settled, not by the advice of the Attorney-General but only by the goodwill and friendship of the people of Ireland; and he advised the Chief Secretary to pay more attention to the views of Irish Members opposite than to the legal pedantry of any lawyer. He agreed with the suggestion of the hon. Member for East Mayo that the matter should be left as the law now left it. When he idea got abroad that the Land Conference had given away these rights, he was deluged with letters of protest. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would leave this matter as it stood.

MR. ATKINSON said the object of the Amendment was not to defeat, but to preserve the rights of the parties, and to prevent them being defeated by the coercive force of the vesting order. There was not in the Land Code from beginning to end any provision whatever for the preservation of these sporting

rights. But it had been decided that notwithstanding the coercive force of the section of the Act of 1888—that the fee was to be vested in the purchaser—in those cases where rents had been fixed, and the exclusive rights had been reserved to the landlords by the order fixing the rent, the Judges had found themselves unable to make a vesting order under the Purchase Act preserving the rights secured to the landlord by the order made when fixing the rent. His sole object was that when the parties had come to an agreement vesting the sporting rights in the landlord before the sale, the legal machinery provided by the Act for carrying out the sale should not have its operative effect destroyed by altering that agreement in any way.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he always remembered the law when he had made it himself. The Attorney-General seemed strangely to have overlooked the fact, but the existing law was the exact contrary of what the right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated. [The hon. and learned Member quoted Section 31, 32, and 34 of the Land Purchase Act of 1896, and the decisions based thereon in support of his view.] What did the Chief Secretary's clause do which the clause he had read did not do? Within the last twelve months the Government itself, in the case of Lord Dillon's estate, obtained a declaration from the Court reserving on the Dillon estate the entire game rights. It was common knowledge that the landlords had reserved those rights in the past. He did not like the existing state of the law, but he preferred the present state, because he thought it was better than the law which was now proposed by the Government. The Land Conference agreed that the existing state of the law should not be interfered with, because it enabled the landlord to make those reservations. Personally he would have preferred a different state of things to the present law, and he would like to have the sporting rights vested in the County Councils, but he thought that even the Agricultural Board was better for this purpose than the Land Commission. He did not suggest that the Agricultural Board would employ gamekeepers, nor would the Land Commission,

but if they would not vest the sporting rights in the County Councils, and leave the landlord to take a licence out from the County Councils, surely it would be best to leave the matter alone. This proposal was neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring. He did not see why the Government should give way to the landlords in making this claim, for this was not a light matter. If, as had been stated, the sporting rights were a national asset, they were willing to take it away from both the landlords and the tenants, and make it a national asset. But the Government clause did not make it a national asset at all. It was said that the landlord might have made a lease of his sporting rights. Did those vesting orders he had mentioned enable that to be carried on as against the tenant? Was there any difficulty in making the tenant subject to a particular agreement in regard to game rights? With great submission he said that there was no difficulty whatever in this matter. If there had been any difficulty, how was it that under the Ashbourne Acts landlords had been able to make these reservations? Had they been all along in the dark as regarded this law?

MR. ATKINSON said they did not say that there was any difficulty. What they said was that it was essential that the parties should see exactly where they stood in this matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY contended that the argument of the Government was that this could not be done. The Chief Secretary had stated that he had been advised in that direction by the Attorney-General. This was a matter of considerable importance, and he asked the Government to leave the landlords their present powers in regard to sporting rights which enabled them to make all those reservations. He hoped they would agree to this course, and let them pass on to the next business.

COLONEL NOLAN (Louth, S.) thought that all such rights ought to go to the new proprietor. He knew cases where at the present time the shooting was let by the peasant proprietors themselves. If they had a system of small proprietors they could not have game in defiance of them, because they could easily destroy

the eggs of the partridges and grouse. With regard to transferring these rights to the County Councils, he thought it would be rather hard to expect county councillors to be always going about prosecuting poachers, and as for the Agricultural Board, he thought they would find enough to do under this Bill without prosecuting poachers or protecting the game. He wished the clause to be so drawn up that no third party could come in at all. The new proprietor should purchase everything in the place, and no doubt some bond of friendship would exist with the old proprietor. Let the new proprietor lease back these rights if he liked to the old proprietor, but they ought not to allow a third party to slip in.

MR. WOOD said the Chief Secretary had told them that he was in substantial agreement with the representatives of the tenants in the House, and if that was correct, and if it had been possible to carry this principle out satisfactorily for the last fifteen or twenty years, surely it was sufficient now that they should proceed on the old lines in regard to sporting rights. So far as the Ulster tenants were concerned they were just as strong as they were in the West upon this point, and any interference with the right of free bargains as to sporting and fishing rights would be resisted in Ulster as strongly as in the West of Ireland. The tenants had been giving way at all times; the tenant was being asked to make all the sacrifices and the landlords were getting all the benefits. He appealed to the Chief Secretary to get up at once and make some concession upon this point.

MR. WYNDHAM said they all appeared to be agreed that the landlord and tenant should be allowed to bargain in regard to the sporting rights. They had been told that in the past these reservations had been made and that this proposal would make no difference. If they were all agreed that the landlords had this exclusive right, and that they would be able to arrange it with the tenants—of course getting a less value—why on earth should it not be stated in the only document dealing with this question.

Mr. T. M. Healy.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said if this debate was prolonged the responsibility would rest entirely with the Chief Secretary. He was bound to say under the circumstances, that the right hon. Gentleman admitted that they were in substantial agreement upon this point, and he admitted that on both sides of the House there was an agreement that free bargaining should be preserved between landlord and tenant in regard to these rights. That had been observed in 80,000 cases which had already been settled under the existing Land Purchase Acts, and in the overwhelming majority of these cases the sporting rights had been reserved to the landlord. Therefore under the existing law there was no trouble whatever, as the hon. and learned Member for Louth had shown. There was no difficulty in vesting these rights subject to reservations agreed upon between the two parties to the bargain. The right hon. Gentleman said that his words were only intended to carry out that idea, but they were of opinion that his words went very much farther, and were unnecessary. He suggested that the Chief Secretary should withdraw this clause, and that upon the Report stage—after he had had time fully to consider whether any words were necessary at all, or whether their contention was right that no words were necessary—he might, if necessary, bring up words to enable this agreement to go on between landlord and tenant. Unless there was some other meaning in these words that they had not detected, there was no reason why he should not withdraw the clause, and leave the matter to be discussed upon some future occasion. Although he agreed with the Conference Report that the law should be left as it had been under the Land Purchase Acts, that was not his idea of a settlement of the question. His idea was that the sporting rights should be held by the County Councils and should be let out by them, and the money so obtained used for the benefit of the people. It appeared to him quite clear in Committee now, as in the deliberations of the Land Conference, that there was no probability of coming to an agreement on that point within a reasonable time, and therefore he waived his own view

on the matter, and was prepared to accept a settlement based on the lines of the Land Conference, leaving the matter perfectly open to free bargain between landlord and tenant in the future as it had been in the past. He asked the Chief Secretary not to be responsible for the prolongation of this debate. He suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should withdraw his Amendment and reconsider the matter. The right hon. Gentleman would be free to bring up other words if he thought it necessary on the Report stage. When they had come to a substantial agreement it would be little short of criminal to go on wasting time discussing the matter, in view of the number of clauses which had still to be considered.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he did not think the recommendation of the hon. and learned Gentleman would accomplish the object he had in view. There were between twenty and thirty Amendments to the clause on the Notice Paper.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Withdraw the clause and then all go.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said hon. Members from Ireland should be careful as to how they withdrew a clause in regard to which there was considerable feeling among British Members. He did not see that the Chief Secretary could do more than he had done in explaining that free bargaining under the clause was in no way interfered with. What was proposed was really a way of registering what was called "free bargains." Those who were objecting to the clause could not get that into their heads. To show, however, that the landlords on their side wished not to delay, he was willing, if all the subsections proposed by the Chief Secretary were accepted, to withdraw the whole of his Amendments.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) said there seemed to be great confusion prevailing in regard to this matter. He thought one way of getting over the difficulty that was felt would be to omit the clause altogether when it was admitted that in selling to the tenant

the fee of his holding the landlord sold all the right he had. Why not allow the tenant to buy all? Every time the Attorney-General had spoken he had described the game as a great national asset, but, as a matter of fact, it was a landlord asset. A price which was regarded on these benches as liberal, and even extravagant, was being given to the landlords for their land, and yet they wanted to get tagged on to that another asset in the shape of game. He personally took great interest in sporting matters, and he was very anxious to have a satisfactory arrangement come to between both parties in order that sport might be encouraged in Ireland, but he certainly did see that if this clause was forced through the House it would defeat itself, for the result would be that the tenants who were now, to become the owners of their holdings would resent the infliction placed upon them, and would certainly destroy the game instead of endeavouring to preserve it. He knew cases where the tenants had purchased and the landlords had reserved the game. These were properties where there was continual friction. There were gamekeepers and spies still about, frequent prosecutions took place, and heavy fines were inflicted. The result was that the game on these properties was destroyed. On the other hand, there were properties where the game rights had not been reserved by the landlords, and the tenants themselves preserved the game with the best possible advantage. His contention was, and he said it with regret, that if they attempted to place coercion on the tenants in order to deprive them of what they had a perfect right to get when purchasing their holdings, it would mean the destruction of game in Ireland. The Chief Secretary had mentioned a case where a landlord was in receipt of £200 for game. But how many cases of that kind were there in Ireland? The landlord was probably getting that for some large wood or mountain preserve. But a case of that kind did not affect the question with which they were now dealing. The landlord would probably retain that property in his own possession, and it would not interfere with the position of the tenants. They had no objection to the present landlords living in Ireland and enjoying themselves, after the tenants

had become owners of their holdings; but if they wished to enjoy sport of every description, it would only be by giving the tenants the game rights in their own hands. If these rights were reserved to the landlords, the gamekeepers, and spies would give the greatest possible trouble and annoyance to the tenants, and offenders against the game laws would be severely punished by the landlord magistrates on the bench. The question of fishing rights affected a large number of holdings. The measurement of the holdings included portions of the rivers on their borders. The tenants paid rent for the rivers, and when they purchased their holdings the fishing rights should also be conveyed to them.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University) said he would make an effort to clear up the confusion this matter had got into. What was the difficulty which the clause was intended to meet? By the Act of 1881, Section 5, the Land Commission had power, when fixing a fair rent, to reserve the exclusive right of sport to the landlords. When a lessee, under the Act of 1887, for the first time got the power of having a fair rent fixed during the currency of his lease, that was coupled with the condition that in the fair rent so fixed the reservations applicable to the tenancy from year to year were to be carried on in the tenancy created under the Act of 1887. Therefore the tenants got their rents fixed on the basis of the landlords claiming the right conferred by Section 5 of the Act of 1881. The judicial rent was fixed on the basis that this element, or appurtenance of holding, was to be the property of the landlord. When a holding came to be sold under the Ashbourne Act, the Court found that prior to the passing of the Act to which the hon. and learned Member for Louth had referred, there was no provision enabling the Land Commission to allow any reserve, such as sporting, when the fee was invested in the tenant. What the Land Commission said was that inasmuch as all they were giving to the tenant was the holding, and as the sporting right had been detached from the holding when the fair rent order was made, they were entitled to exempt from

that holding the sporting right. That was challenged and bitterly contested, but the Land Commission adhered to that decision; and hence when the Act of 1896 was introduced, in order to put an end to all these jealousies Sub section 2 of Clause 41 insisted that the vesting order should be subject to such reservations as were specified in the order. The sole object of the first sub-section of the clause under discussion was to continue that same power in the future.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that Clause 86 of this Bill said "Part One of this Act shall be construed as one with the Land Purchase Acts, and may be cited with these Acts."

MR. CAMPBELL said he was quite aware of that, and if hon. and learned Members would bear with him a moment he would explain. He believed there had been unnecessary confusion and friction in regard to this matter. They were all agreed to leave the rights as they at present existed. But a number of hon. Gentlemen said they wanted the present state of the law altered. If they did that, it meant that they wanted to take from the landlord the right of property expressly reserved to him under the lease, or, where there was no lease, by virtue of the judicial fair-rent order. But if they were all agreed that the sporting right was reserved under the lease, or under the judicial rent order was still to be reserved to the landlord, then when the tenant came to buy the holding he should understand that he was not buying that right. That was, in his own idea, all that was intended to be accomplished by the first sub-section of the amended clause. The object was to prevent any litigation afterwards between the selling landlord and the purchasing tenant, and to provide that on the face of the purchasing tenant's title deed it should be stated that he had not bought the sporting right. The tenant could come to the landlord and say he wanted the sporting right; but it was desirable that the tenant should not be deceived, or believe that he was getting the appurtenant right of shooting which was not his, and which he had not given up when the fair rent was fixed, because it was reserved to the landlord in the lease. Why should the tenant be left

under the delusion that he had got the sporting right, if, in fact, the sporting right had been reserved to the landlord prior to the sale? He hoped he had thrown some light on the matter.

MR. DILLON said that the hon. and learned Gentleman had thrown considerable light by his most interesting speech which, indeed, to his mind was, the only clear speech delivered from the Government Bench. They had been engaged two and a half hours discussing the first Amendment to the clause—and there were thirty-three on the Paper—and they did not appear to be any nearer the end. He spoke with clean hands on this question because he had not a single Amendment on the clause on the Paper, and he thought that what had occurred in the discussion must have struck anyone that his advice to the Government at the beginning of the debate was not unfriendly. The hon. and learned Gentleman had explained for the first time why it was that the Government were clinging to this provision. They had been told that it left the law as it stood, but why then waste time in clinging to a clause which did nothing to define the law?

MR. WYNDHAM asked if the hon. Gentleman really suggested that when they had settled so many big questions they ought to find a difficulty in stating in a simple way that the landlord and tenant might settle this question between them?

MR. DILLON said that the right hon. Gentleman should drop these words in the Amendment and allow the parties to do as they had been doing for the past fifteen years. But the real object of the Amendment was perfectly plain; it was to make it almost compulsory on the tenant to part with this right without his knowing what he was doing. The law as it at present stood was that the tenant could not part with his right which attached to the fee without the whole matter being explained to him. The object of the Government was that vast bodies of tenants were to sign these vesting orders under the impression that they were not parting with the game rights, and that they were not to be consulted beforehand. It was because he knew that this business would lead to

misunderstanding and confusion that he had suggested that the agreement of the Land Conference should be loyally abided by. The Land Conference agreed to let sleeping dogs lie and not to alter the law at all. Did anyone imagine that if this clause was forced through Committee against the will of Members on that side of the House, it would not lead to a feeling of injury in Ireland in regard to game rights? The right hon. Gentleman had quoted—and he listened to him with amazement—as an example of the troubles that would arise if the Amendment were not carried, the Dillon Estate. But the trouble on the Dillon Estate arose because the tenants did not want to give up their game rights and an attempt was made to force them to do so. The tenants objected to sign the agreement, and wanted an alteration. He would further put it to the right hon. Gentleman that even if he got his Amendment, had he considered the subsequent Amendments, many of which would lead to as angry and prolonged discussion as the present Amendment. There was one Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for York, which was a monstrous Amendment, and which they would have to oppose to the end. Had the right hon. Gentleman in his mind Sub-section 2, where the landlord was specially exempted from all those regulations? Was not that setting up an invidious distinction in favour of the landlords, who would buy with public money, and be to all intents and purposes on an equality with the tenants, as they would be in the position of peasant proprietors. Yet they were to be specially exempted from all those regulations. It was too much to expect that such a provision should be allowed to pass without a protest. There was abundant evidence that the section would lead to considerable discussion, and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to drop it.

Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.) said he was sorry that neither the Attorney-General nor the Solicitor-General for Ireland had said anything about Sub-section 2. What was Sub-section 2? Did it mean that where the landlord

Mr. Dillon.

did not care about the exclusive sporting rights, they should be vested in the Land Commission. Why should not those rights be transferred to the tenant if the landlord did not put any value upon them?

Mr. WYNDHAM explained that Sub-section 1 was a convenient form for carrying out what most people desired. All that Sub-section 2 said was that where there were exclusive sporting rights to be safeguarded which the landlord did not think it worth while to keep, then they should not be dissipated, but for the moment the property should be left with the Land Commission until it was decided what to do with it. He would suggest that they should settle Sub-section 1, which only dealt with the exclusive rights which the landlord did think it worth while to keep, but could only keep by agreement with his tenants. All that was proposed was that the result of that agreement should form part of the procedure.

Mr. T. M. HEALY asked why they should not leave the law alone. He would tell the right hon. Gentleman what happened in 1881. It was most remarkable. When the Land Bill of 1881 was introduced there were the words, and the only words “exercise any rights for hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish which belonged to the landlord,” so that every tenant, year by year, had his rights to game under the Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone. But let them mark what the Lords did. The words they substituted were—

“Hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish, the right of which shall belong to the landlord exclusively, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880.”

They, the Irish Members put in subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, in order to give the tenants the extra right. The landlords in the House of Lords would want to graft something on to this clause which would transmogrify it, and then they would be told when the Bill came back that unless they accepted it in that way it could not be passed. Let them mark the difference in the clause as brought in by Mr. Gladstone,

and as finally moulded by the House of Lords. The clause in Mr. Gladstone's Bill ran—

“Hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish, and if the landlord at the commencement of the statutory time so requires, then, as between the landlord and the tenant, the right of hunting, shooting, fishing, or taking game or fish shall belong exclusively to the landlord subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880.”

What a transformation that was from the original proposal. The Solicitor-General, whom he congratulated upon his able appearance at the Table, reminded him of the way in which the Closure Rule was framed. The original words were that the Closure was to be enforced if Mr. Speaker granted his assent. That was altered at the instance of the Speaker to read—

“If Mr. Speaker shall not have withheld his assent.”

By the proposal in this clause automatically these rights would belong to the landlord and the tenant had no right of haggling or bargaining with reference to them, and they wanted to withdraw from the tenant the chance of being a free haggler or bargainer. He conceived this matter to be of capital importance. He was willing to abide by the Land Conference Report, which gave the landlords a huge concession, and beyond that concession he would not go—viz., to leave the law as it stood. The Government were introducing a sharp weapon and a burning question all over the country. Let them take these sporting rights as a national asset and vest them in a public authority. Was not that a large concession? Further, he would give the landlord the right of pre-emption, and on cheap terms. Was not that a fair concession? But the Government would not agree to that. They wanted to put something in the Bill different to the Ashbourne Acts, and then the House of Lords would say they must make that much clearer. It would then come back to the House of Commons in the dregs of August, and the House of Commons would be told that unless they accepted the Amendment the Bill could not pass. That was not fair. They had offered the Government that which the landlords insisted upon at the Land Conference—in fact, they had offered

even better terms—and he, for his part, if necessary, would continue the resistance.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he regretted the attitude taken by the hon. Member who had said this was a stock upon which something further was to be grafted in the other House. In this Amendment he had endeavoured to put the very minimum of that to which great importance was attached by the landlords. He had put in no more than they understood was promised by the Land Conference Report. If his Amendment was accepted he was humanly certain that it would not be used as a stepping-stone in another place, and the whole of his efforts would be directed to this final solution of the question. On the other hand, if he were to withdraw the Amendment—but that he could not do—the other House might deem itself absolutely at liberty to deal with the question *de novo*, and would possibly frame a provision to which much greater exception could be taken than had been taken to his proposal, and then there might be a regrettable conflict between the two Chambers. He had sought in this, as in every other question, for a basis giving a minimum on this point to the landlords and the sporting classes in Ireland. This was a matter to which they attached great importance. On the question of the evicted tenants the landlords' representatives did their very best, and he would ask hon. gentlemen opposite on the question—to which the landlords attached, if the hon. Gentlemen opposite pleased, a sentimental importance—to place this provision on the statute book. It did not go further than the Land Conference Report, and merely gave the landlords what they understood was promised to them. Subsection 2 was another matter. He was prepared to put in words to make it clear there was to be a bargain, but he must adhere to the Amendment. He felt compelled to adhere to his Amendment on this occasion, and he asked the landlords' representatives to support him.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said he fully endorsed the remarks of the Chief Secretary in regard to landlords generally

with reference to the evicted tenants question, and with reference to the concessions made in Clause 1. It would have been impossible to have obtained those concessions but for the conciliatory attitude of the landlords. He therefore felt the force of the appeal made by the right hon. Gentleman. This was a comparatively small matter, but one which excited the greatest possible feeling. Members who sat beside him would be satisfied with the existing law. The right hon. Gentleman said his Amendment did not alter the existing law, but he had not made that plain to the Committee. He had now taken up the position that he could not withdraw his Amendment and would not, but he was prepared to put words into it to make plain what was the desire of the Committee, namely, that these rights should not be reserved to a landlord except as a result of a bargain with his tenants. They were exceedingly anxious that this Bill should pass, and if some words could be put in to make that plain there need not be any further conflict.

MR. WYNDHAM said he quite appreciated that the hon. and learned Gentleman was doing his best to get them out of the difficulty they were now in, and he would give an undertaking before the Report stage to make it perfectly plain to the hon. and learned Gentleman's satisfaction that that was part of the agreement, unless the hon. and learned Gentleman had some particular fancy to put the words in now.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he thought it was most undesirable to leave a lot of these questions over to be brought up on Report. There should be no difficulty in inserting words now.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) said that in order to get out of the difficulty he would suggest that the Amendment should be accepted as he had just drafted it, namely, "Where at the time of sale of any land to the Land Commission, or to tenants, or others, the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground

Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may, by agreement between the landlord and tenant, be either conveyed to the tenant or reserved to the landlord." He thought those words would clear up the whole thing.

MR. JOHN REDMOND thought those words carried out the object for which they had been contending, and if they were accepted the Amendment might be agreed to without further discussion.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he would accept the words for the sake of peace.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 21, to leave out Sub-section 1, and insert the words 'Where at the time of sale of any land to the Land Commission, or to tenants or others, the vendor has, subject to the provisions of the Ground Game Act, 1880, the exclusive sporting rights, those rights may, by agreement between the landlord and the tenant, be either conveyed to the tenant or reserved to the landlord.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"The expression 'sporting rights' includes any right of hunting, shooting, fishing, and taking game or fish on any land."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

*MR. BUTCHER said he was aware that the right hon. Gentleman had an Amendment down at a later stage of the Bill dealing with mineral rights, but that did not meet the case he had in view when placing his Amendment on the Paper. The object of his Amendment was to preserve the mining rights and water rights to those to whom they now belonged by law. The mining law was very complicated, but he believed its main provisions were that unopened mines belonged entirely to the owner of the land; that, with regard to mines which had been opened, there was a concurrent right of working to both landlord and tenant; and that, as to quarries and so forth, there is also a concurrent right, but the tenant must not work them for purposes

Mr. John Redmond.

of profit. The effect of the Amendment would be that where a bargain for the sale of any land was made, based as it would be on the agricultural value of the land, the mining rights should remain exactly as they were. It could not be right that the tenants, or the Land Commission should be given these rights unless they paid for them, and the Amendment proposed that the Land Commission, should be empowered to purchase them. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 25, to leave out Sub-section 2, and insert the words "mining rights" shall mean all rights of mining, and taking minerals, and of digging and searching for minerals, and of opening quarries, or beds of stone, limestone, sand, marl, gravel, or clay, and taking materials therefrom, and of raising timber from under the ground, and all rights to and in respect of mining rents and royalties; and the words "water rights" shall mean all rights of or to water power. (2.) On a sale under the Land Purchase Acts of an estate, whether to the Land Commission or otherwise, the owner of the estate or any other person or corporation entitled to any mining rights, or water rights shall, in the absence of express agreement to the contrary, by such owner, person, or corporation, be entitled to and shall retain and exercise or dispose of as he or they shall think fit all such mining rights and water rights. (3.) On any such sale as aforesaid, notwithstanding that any mining rights and water rights are retained by or reserved to the owner of the estate, such sale shall be deemed to be a sale of an estate within the meaning of the Land Purchase Acts, and advances shall be made accordingly. (4.) The Land Commission may purchase from the owner of an estate, or from any person or corporation, at such price as may be agreed on, any mining rights or water rights, and such sale shall be deemed to be a sale within the meaning of the Land Purchase Acts, and advances shall be made accordingly. (5.) Where any mining rights or water rights become vested in the Land Commission such rights, or any of them, shall be disposed of by them in manner hereafter to be provided by Parliament."—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause."

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) thought the hon. and learned Member could hardly be serious in proposing this Amendment. The landlord was not only to get a high price for his land and a large bonus, but it was now proposed that he should also be compensated for these mineral rights.

*MR. BUTCHER said he simply proposed to leave the rights as they were. Surely when the land was being sold as agricultural land the mining rights should be kept out of the matter altogether.

MR. FLYNN contended that if the Land Commission bought the land it bought everything contained therein. The Amendment was a most fantastical proposition, put forward on behalf of a section of the community who were already getting exceptionally generous terms.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON, as showing the necessity for the Amendment, instanced the case of an estate in Kilkenny, on which was situated one of the largest coal-fields in Ireland. He had received a letter from the proprietor saying he would absolutely refuse to sell any of his land unless the value of the coal-field was made up to him. Could it be conceived that the owner would sell his land at its surface value when that which was under the surface was worth ten times as much? The Amendment would leave the law as it at present stood, and that, he thought, was a reasonable course to follow.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the Amendment would make the digging up of a little bog-oak or sand or gravel a mining right! The idea was absurd. Was it to be supposed that a farmer would buy his farm and not be at liberty to use the sand or gravel he might find there? These landlords' rights could be carried a great deal too far. He was willing to make almost any sacrifices for the Bill, but he was not willing that the tenants should be put in such fetters as these. The proposal was monstrous.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB thought the heat of the hon. Member must have been caused by some misconception.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: We know what is going on in that corner.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said it seemed to be forgotten that certain rights at present belonged to the landlord, and were part of his estate.

AN HON. MEMBER: And he is going to sell his estate.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB further pointed out that these rights were left entirely out of account when fair rents were fixed. The Amendment proposed that the rights should be reserved to the landlord unless they were paid for. That was a reasonable proposition, and one which he should support.

MR. ATKINSON said that the natural thing, when the reversion was sold, was that the mining rights should go with it. It would, however, be impossible for small proprietors reasonably to develop such rights, and so the Bill provided that the mining rights should be vested in the Commission, and disposed of by them in a manner to be provided by Parliament. It was felt that the Land Commission, if they held the mining rights of a couple of hundred small properties, might be able to develop them in a manner that the individual tenant could not. By an Amendment lower on the Paper, the Chief Secretary proposed to secure to the tenant purchaser the right of mining and taking stone, gravel, sand, or clay, not merely for the cultivation of his farm, but for sale. On the other hand, other minerals, such as ores and so forth, would be vested in the Commission. That being the position they had taken up the Government were unable to accept this Amendment. Those rights were absolutely useless in the hands of the tenant purchasers, and he thought what the Government proposed was the best position to take up.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said that after the statement of the Attorney-General he thought the Government scheme was one to which no exception could be taken. He quite agreed that there might be cases in which mineral rights might be of such importance that they ought to be utilised in the public service, and he was convinced that if those rights were scattered over a series of small holdings it would be impossible to devote them to the public benefit. He entirely assented to the proposition that these rights should be vested in the Land Commission for the benefit of Ireland, and if the

clause was amended so as to give to the tenant the right of using gravel, sand, and clay for his own purposes of husbandry, and also for sale, if he thought fit, that would be a sensible settlement of the question. That being so, he hoped the Government would stand by this provision, and not allow this clause to be mutilated, either in this House or in the House of Lords, by any such proposal as that which was now before the Committee. When he listened to such speeches as those which they had just heard from the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth, it appeared to him that the landlords wanted to get the highest price they could for their land and keep it as well. If the landlords got the value of their land, including the minerals and everything else they now owned, from the sky to the middle of the earth, what injustice was there in preserving these rights to the tenant purchaser? Imagine what would happen if the new clause proposed by the hon. Member for York were adopted. The land would not be felt to belong to the tenant purchaser at all, because every day the landlord might come in, ripping up the land and searching for minerals which he might dig out and carry away. If the minerals were a national asset, peace was also a national asset, and peace would be entirely destroyed by any such proceedings on the part of landlords who had sold their land to the tenants. The Amendment under consideration, in his opinion, did not tend to preserve that feeling which had hitherto been manifested in these debates. Such Amendments did not further the progress of the Bill in a friendly spirit, and if any such proposals were carried, in his opinion they would gravely imperil the future settlement of the land question.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he hoped the hon. and learned Member for York would not press this Amendment. It was quite evident that this proposal would excite strong feeling. The Government had explained the attitude they took up, and though that attitude was not altogether satisfactory, Irish Members were willing to go half way and accept it, and it was only fair that the representatives of the landlords should reciprocate.

*MR. BUTCHER asked the Committee to consider the case of a tenant upon a judicial holding paying an agricultural rent. A rent of what? Simply of the agricultural land on the surface. In estimating that value the landlord did not get one farthing for any mineral rights underneath. If the landlord wished to sell such land he would make an agreement within the zone, based on the rent of the agricultural land. That was quite right so long as he was selling agricultural land, which simply meant the use of the surface. He wished to know why the Land Commission should take such assets as valuable coal mines or other minerals underneath the land from the landlord and not pay one farthing for them. [AN HON. MEMBER: "Where are they?"] He did not think that was either business or fair play. He was in favour of a man if he had property selling it if he could get anything for it, but he was not in favour of a man being forced to sell. [AN HON. MEMBER: Not forced.] At any rate he was not in favour of a man entering into an agreement to sell one thing and being forced to sell something else with it. He hoped the Chief Secretary would find some means of meeting such a case as he had put, which might prove exceedingly hard to the landlord. He thought the mining rights should be preserved to the landlord, or else he ought to be paid for them. The idea of vesting them in the Commission, who had not paid a farthing for them, was really one which, he thought, they should not be asked to support.

MR. WYNDHAM said the British taxpayer came in here, and it was part of his bargain with the Treasury that these somewhat remote and he was afraid, speculative rights, should be thrown into the bargain and should belong to the State. As a matter of fact the landlords did not derive any advantage from what might or might not be under the soil. He had done his best to arrive at a solution which was fair all round. He should deprecate any attempt to prevent the landlords getting minerals from their land, but if a landlord thought there was coal under a particular field, it might be worth his while to buy that field back. He was not aware that there was a lot of coal, or copper, or gold in Ireland. [AN

HON. MEMBER: Gold Ornaments.] Of course, if there was a mine that was being worked or was leased to somebody else, that was another matter. It was quite clear that they could not interfere with that. And, in the same way, if a landlord were really working a mine or a quarry with capital and with people employed, if, in fact, it was a going concern, there ought to be nothing in this Act to make it difficult to keep that concern going. If, however, it was speculative, then let the State have the minerals, but let them make it clear that that conveyance in futurity to the State was not to deprive the peasant proprietor of any minerals either on or under the surface which he needed not only for husbandry but also for entering into contracts.

MR. T. M. HEALY pointed out that mines could not be disposed of without a Bill in Parliament. He asked what provision had been made to protect the Crown rights in regard to gold?

MR. WYNDHAM: That is provided for by Sub-section (b).

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) asked the Chief Secretary whether in the case of minerals being found in any particular county that county would get the advantage or whether the revenue would be put to a general fund. It seemed to him that the individual county should have a preferential claim. In his own county fifteen years ago copper mines were worked to great advantage. He knew one case where one proprietor got £2,000 by receiving one-sixteenth part of the profits.

MR. WYNDHAM did not think they could carry it further than they had done in the clause. They could leave that to Parliament to be dealt with in the future. If it became a practical question it could easily be discussed, but he did not think they should discuss it now.

*MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said the clause would seriously affect the granite industry which was carried on in the part of Ireland he came from. If the right to the granite was vested in the

peasant proprietor he thought that would interfere with the development of the industry. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the insertion in the Bill of a definition of "stone," and also that all valuable minerals should be vested in the Crown and not in individuals.

MR. WYNDHAM said a great deal of the granite that was available was already being worked. In those cases the rights would be covered by a further clause which he would suggest. When the hon. Member asked them to try to legislate for granite which might be worked he did not think that would be practicable. He would like to say generally that it was not possible in one Bill to anticipate all the developments that might take place. A number of questions might be raised, but if they were not to have any practical effect for ten, fifteen, or twenty years he thought they might leave something to their successors. If there was any danger of granite not being worked on account of this Bill, Parliament would amend the Bill in order that it might be worked.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had in contemplation the coal mines which were at present being worked.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not wish to go outside the language of the clause at present. He would put in a clause dealing with mines which were being worked and which had a substantial value at the present moment, and also with properties which had a prospective mining value. All that would be provided for. He thought what was now proposed was a useful, practical, all-round, fair decision on the ordinary cases.

*MR. BUTCHER said his right hon. friend had not convinced him, but as he had promised to deal with certain specified cases, he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. O'Doherty.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 7, line 36, at end, to insert the words 'or (c) to any stone, gravel, sand, or clay.'"—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR ROBERT FITZGERALD (Cambridge) said there were foreshores where the rights to take sand, gravel, rocks, and stones, between high and low-water mark were vested by the Crown in certain people. He did not intend to move an Amendment, but he wished to call the attention of the Chief Secretary to the right which these people had at present under old grants from the Crown. He knew one case where the grant was a little over 600 years old. Ought there not to be some means by which that right could be handed to the tenant when he purchased the farm?

MR. ATKINSON said he promised to carefully consider the suggestion of his hon. friend. When the owner of the dry land was not the owner of the foreshore there might be difficulty in carrying out the hon. Member's suggestion by a vesting order, but there would be no difficulty in cases where the landlord owned the foreshore because he could by deed transfer his right to the tenant. The position of the purchasing tenant would depend entirely on the nature of the landlord's interest in the foreshore.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said it seemed to him that under Sub-section (c) now proposed, the landlord would retain the stone, gravel, sand, and clay, and that the tenant would be excluded from taking them.

MR. WYNDHAM: No. The clause says that there shall be reserved "to the Commission the exclusive right of mining and taking minerals." "Minerals" cover everything that goes to the Land Commission. The clause does not give to the Commission "any demesne or other land repurchased by the vendor of the estate," or "any right which is vested in the Crown." Therefore they would be the property of the purchaser.

MR. T. M. HEALY said there were many tenants in his own constituency who, for the payment of a shilling or two, were allowed to take manure from the foreshore. That was a right which hundreds of tenants enjoyed apart from the kelp right. It would not be fair to sell that foreshore to an individual tenant whose farm bordered upon it. It would be well that the Government should consider whether that seaweed could not be vested in some trustees so as to prevent any man getting hold of it.

MR. WYNDHAM: On Report we could do that I think on Clause 4.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 3, at end, to add the words '(4) Provided always that nothing in this Act shall affect any lease or agreement demising or dealing with any of the rights mentioned in this section.'—(Mr. Butcher.)"

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM asked his hon. and learned friend to allow him a little more time to consider this matter.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he wished to say that the clause as it now stood was not satisfactory to him.

MR. CLANCY said that this clause provided for the redemption of what were called intervening interests, but only so in the case of an estate purchased by the Land Commission, or by the Congested Districts Board. He had put down an Amendment providing that this power of dealing with intervening interests should exist in the case of individual sales between landlord and tenant. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would accept this Amendment, which he accordingly moved—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 7, after the word 'Board,' to insert the words 'or being otherwise sold under the provision of the Land Purchase Acts as amended by this Act.'—(Mr. Clancy.)"

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said that his right hon. friend recognised the absolute necessity of a clause of this kind in dealing with large farms, some of which were sub-let. In that condition the large farmer could not buy, because he was not in possession of the whole, and the sub-tenant could not buy directly either. There was a good deal of difficulty in putting the powers in force when the sale took place between landlord and tenant, and very considerable difficulty in calling the Land Commission into operation to interfere. It might, however, be quite possible to carry out everything desired by agreement. Assuming that the large farmer had sub-let, to a sub-tenant, twenty acres, and that the landlord wanted to sell, there would be nothing to prevent him arranging with the large tenant to surrender the lease of these twenty acres, and then the landlord could deal directly with the sub-tenant for the sale of them. All that could be carried out by agreement. His right hon. friend hoped to contrive simple machinery whereby the good offices of the Land Commission could be obtained so as to apportion the rent between the large tenant and the small tenant, and so enable an agreement to be arrived at.

MR. CLANCY said he recognised the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman had met his Amendment. Anyone who had had any experience of the Land Judge's Court knew that if the whole tenancy had been sub-let at the same rent, there would be no reason why the agreement should not be easily arrived at; but in a great many cases where the tenancy had been sub-let at an enhanced rent, the middleman would have a substantial interest which he would not surrender unless there was an expectation that he would be able to buy himself.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was his desire to hit on a plan by which a landlord could sell his estate with the exception of this or that part, and then bring in

the Land Commission to apportion the rents of all the parts.

MR. CLANCY said after that explanation he would not persevere with his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. BUTCHER said he wished to move an Amendment to insert at the end of Sub-section 1 of Clause 13, "Provided that when the person in such exclusive occupation shall have been paying a higher proportionate rent than that paid by the owner of the intervening interest to the owner of the estate, such higher rent shall be assumed to be the rent in respect of which an advance may be made in estimating the price of the estate under the provisions of Section 5." His Amendment was designed to provide that in cases where the middleman was compensated out of the purchase money, the purchase money should be estimated on the basis of the increased rent got by the middleman.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 8, at end, to insert the words, 'Provided that when the person in such exclusive occupation shall have been paying a higher proportionate rent than that paid by the owner of the intervening interest to the owner of the estate such higher rent shall be assumed to be the rent in respect of which an advance may be made in estimating the price of the estate under the provisions of Section 5.'"—(Mr. Butcher.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not persevere with his Amendment.

MR. DILLON said the Amendment was preposterous and without meaning.

MR. WYNDHAM said he hoped the hon. Gentleman would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. T.M. HEALY moved an Amendment providing that where a holding in any such estate was held by joint tenants or tenants in common, or was subdivided

Mr. Wyndham.

between two or more persons, and the Land Commission were satisfied that such tenants or persons were in the exclusive occupation of separate portions thereof, the Commission might, if they thought fit, for the purpose of the Land Law Acts, as well as this Act, declare that any such tenant or person should be deemed the tenant of the parcel of land in his exclusive occupation, and that such parcel should be deemed a holding, and might apportion the rent of the holding between such tenants or persons as the justice of the case might require. He suggested that if a man was a tenant for the purposes of sale he should be regarded as a tenant for all purposes, and it would be most unjust, he contended, if this were not to be the case with regard to this part of the Bill. He was quite prepared to admit that this was not the best place for his Amendment, but his desire was to put the matter on a sound basis.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 30, to leave out the words, 'foregoing provisions of this Act,' and insert the words, 'Land Law Acts and this Act.'"—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. ATKINSON said he thought the clause did all that was necessary for the purpose of purchase, and it would not be desirable to amend the law as suggested by the hon. and learned Member.

MR. T.M. HEALY said he recognised that a new clause would probably be the best means of making the alteration. He would bring it up later in the shape of a new clause; and he hoped that the Government would then view it with an open mind.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.) moved to leave out Sub-section 5 of Clause 13. His object in moving the Amendment was for the purpose of avoiding litigation if possible, especially in the case of small holdings. He also desired to entrust the Land Commissioners wholly and solely with the power of dealing with small holdings under this section. He

did so because there was a Judicial Commissioner whom they all knew as one who would do his utmost to be fair and just to all classes of both tenants and landlords.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 8, line 35, to leave out Sub-section (5)."—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 5 stand part of the clause."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said this clause applied to some of the poorest tenants in Ireland, i.e., to those who were called co-tenants. To lodge an appeal was not a great privilege for these people, because it simply meant expense, as the landlord would probably take the appeal further. It was not reasonable to suppose that if the Estate Commissioners could be trusted in large matters they ought not to be trusted in this small matter. Their decision ought to be final.

MR. ATKINSON said he thought his hon. friend, the mover of the Amendment, could not be conversant with the difficult and complicated questions of law that might arise. They might involve the construction of a marriage settlement, the question whether a man was a tenant for sixty years or a tenant for life, the construction of a lease and many other important legal points. It would be perfectly impossible for all the various questions that might arise to be settled by the Estates Commissioners, and, in fact, no one would recognise them as a final tribunal.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had had some difficulty with regard to the first part of the Amendment, Sub-section B, he now proposed, but having regard to the agreement at which they had arrived this afternoon, he now thought there would be no difficulty in the Committee accepting these words. Of course, if any further words were thought necessary they could be put in. It was quite clear that they ought not to handicap the small purchaser

by giving less for the sporting rights than they had agreed to give this afternoon, and if this Amendment was accepted he would make these matters equal between the landlord and tenant. Sub-section C was necessary in order to provide that land, when vested in the Land Commission, should be subject to the ordinary maintenance charges. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 5, at end, to insert the words '(b) to any sporting rights reserved by the vendor; (c) to any maintenance charge under the Public Works Acts; and.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY said, having accepted the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, it was only fair to acknowledge that these words did not infringe on the word which had been agreed to.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB asked that when the right hon. Gentleman made it equal between landlord and tenant, they would also take care that adequate protection should be given to the lessee of the sporting rights.

MR. CLANCY thought some declaration was necessary, and that if the sporting rights were conveyed to the tenant under the agreement, the vesting order should specify them also.

MR. ATKINSON said the vesting order vested all in the tenant. The only object of having the sporting rights mentioned in the vesting order was to preserve in that document the evidence of the agreement come to between the parties.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he wanted to see in a case where an estate was going to be sold, and the landlord had let for a term his sporting rights, that the lessee of those sporting rights should be sufficiently protected.

SIR EDWARD CARSON pointed out that when a landlord and a tenant came to an agreement to purchase, the

landlord would have to deal with the question of sporting rights. He might say, "I must reserve the sporting rights because I have already granted a lease of them"; or he might say to the tenant, "I will convey them to you subject to the existing lease." Therefore any words were unnecessary.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. SHARPE (Kensington, N.) said the object of the Amendment in his name was to ensure that in future the practice hitherto adopted by the Land Commission should continue, and that full and proper notice should be given to these persons.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 19, after the word 'notices,' to insert the words 'on all incumbrancers and on such other persons.'"—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said no doubt the hon. Member was sufficiently conversant with the Bill to know that great powers were vested in limited owners to enable them to sell at once. This clause dealt mainly with the question of ascertaining whether the person dealing with the Commission had authority to sell. It did not at all affect the distribution of the purchase money. Of course, the rules would provide that adequate notice should be given, but it was unnecessary that everybody should have notice.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. BUTCHER said his next Amendment dealt with a technical matter, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would say whether it was necessary, and would accept it now, or if not sure upon the point whether he would consider it on Report.

MR. WYNDHAM said the Amendment could not be accepted in its present form.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 15.

Sir Edward Carson.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

— — — EVENING SITTING.

— — — IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 15.

*MR. BUTCHER said the Amendment he proposed to move had reference to the question of who should be allowed to sell under this Act? The persons put forward as the persons to sell should be the persons who were interested in obtaining the best price for the property. If a mortgagee had the power to sell within the zones at a price sufficient to cover his mortgage, and no more, he would be able to inflict a very serious loss on other persons interested in the property. According to the Bill as it stood, he had that power, and that was a thing that should be guarded against, because it would not be right to allow him to sell under the value. Another danger in the Bill was with regard to the bonus. The bonus was to go to the vendor, so that if a mortgagee sold he not only got his mortgage paid off, but also the bonus. It could not be contended that he should be paid his mortgage and get the bonus as well. Then there was the question of a tenant for life, who had no substantial interest in the property. Under the Bill he could sell within the zones at any price he liked without consulting anyone, and pocket the bonus. That was a case which ought to be provided against. It might be said that the person to sell had to be for six years in possession of the rents and profits of the property, but that was no protection at all, because the tenant for life in this case might be only nominally in possession of the rents and

profits. If such a tenant for life was allowed to sell, he at all events ought to be prevented from getting the bonus, and it should go into the purchase money of the estate. Then there was the case of the bankrupt tenant for life. That was a case this Bill did not provide for. Under these circumstances, he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 30, after the word 'person,' to insert the words, 'not being a mortgagee and not being a tenant for life, or a person having the powers of a tenant for life who is a bankrupt, or whose estate or interest in the land has been assigned or parted with.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said although he was unable to accept the Amendment he hoped he should be able to reconcile the Bill with the points raised by the hon. and learned Member. The Amendment, as it stood, precluded sales by mortgagees or tenants for life who had no substantial interest in the property. Both those classes could sell under the existing law. If these classes of persons were debarred from selling, one of the main objects of the Bill would be defeated. The clause, as it stood, only conferred discretion on the Land Commission, and it was not necessary to interfere with that discretion. He considered that other interests in these cases were protected by the discretion which was vested in the Land Commission. The Government proposed that persons in this position should not be entitled to the bonus on the same terms as others, because it was quite clear that great objection would be taken to a sale of property by such persons, and to their taking the bonus; and when the grant-in-aid clause was reached, he intended to propose that the bonus in these cases should go into the purchase-money for the satisfaction of other claims.

*MR. BUTCHER said some of his objections had been satisfied by the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, but one objection had not been met, and that was sale by a person who had no interest in getting the best price,

such as a mortgagee who only wanted to obtain the price of his mortgage.

MR. WYNDHAM said a mortgagee could now sell and could not be precluded from selling under the Bill. Such an Amendment would only lead to weighty and prolonged inquiries in each case, and therefore defeat one of the main objects of the Bill, which was quick sale.

MR. CLANCY said it would greatly weaken the Bill if this Amendment were carried, and he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had made the concession he had, because it took away the very inducement for them to sell. The only inducement such persons had to sell was the very fact that they would get the bonus. The Chief Secretary now said the bonus was going to be thrown into the purchase-money, and the only inducement for them to sell was taken away.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. BUTCHER, in the absence of the hon. Member for North Louth, moved the Amendment standing in the hon. Member's name. He said if the person was registered as a person entitled to sell he ought to be allowed to sell under the Act. The acceptance of the Amendment would result in the avoidance of difficulties likely to arise in regard to whether a person was the person to sell or not. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 31, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'is registered under The Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891, as amended by this Act, as owner of an estate sufficient to constitute him a person having power to sell under the Land Purchase Acts, or.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he had no objection to an Amendment of the Registration of Title Act, but he doubted if that could be effected under the Bill. If hon. Gentlemen desired there should be, this session or next, a new Registration Bill he had no objection to the

Amendment "as amended by this and subsequent Acts," but as the hon. Member for North Louth had an Amendment lower down and was not then present the Amendment might perhaps be allowed to wait.

* MR. BUTCHER said he was disposed to take the Amendment as amended by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the real question was whether this could be done in four sections, or whether it must be amended by a Bill.

* MR. HEMPHILL said the mere fact that a person was registered owner ought not to be sufficient title for him to sell. It might be possible for a person not having a title under this Bill to be placed on the register.

MR. WYNDHAM thought it would be better not at this Stage of the Bill to attempt to amend the Registration Act.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, lines 31 and 32, to leave out the words 'claims in respect of an interest which is sufficient to constitute him,' and insert the words 'gives *prima facie* evidence that he is.'"
—(Mr. Butcher.)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. WYNDHAM said the object of his Amendment might count his immediate predecessor's occupation as his own, as in the case of a father dying within the six years and the son inheriting.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 35, to leave out the words 'has been by himself or his,' and insert the words 'or his immediate predecessor in title has been personally or by an.'"—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said it appeared to him that a man who was in possession by a Receiver of the Land Court had not sufficient title to sell. He therefore begged to move.

Mr. Wyndham.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 35, to leave out the words 'or a receiver.'"—(Mr. H. Robertson.)

MR. WYNDHAM said this Amendment might be accepted. The word "receiver" was not meant to cover a Receiver of the Land Court at all. It was not *ad rem* and was therefore unnecessary.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 37, after the word 'fit,' to insert the words 'subject to such conditions with respect to advertisements and notices as may be prescribed.'"—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 9, line 39, at end, to insert the words 'Provided that an owner who has not for six years immediately preceding been in receipt of any portion of the rents or profits of the land (other than the demesne, and whether or not he be under an occupation rent for such demesne) shall not without the consent of his incumbrancers be at liberty to sell any land under the Land Purchase Acts. (2) A mortgagee in possession with power of sale, or a mortgagee who has been by himself or through a receiver in exclusive receipt of the rents or profits of an estate for a period of not less than six years immediately preceding, shall, for the purposes of the Land Purchase Acts, be deemed to be a landlord.'"—(Mr. Sharpe.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment, as it was opposed to the Irish and other Land Acts.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 15, as amended, agreed to.

On Clause 16:

MR. BUTCHER said that Clause 16. Sub-section (1), provided that the Land Commission should be able to recover arrears of rent in regard to land purchased by them, and the Amendment he was about to move proposed that the Commission should pay over the value of the arrears to the landlord. In the case of a sale direct to the tenants, the usual practice, if there were any arrears, was to add

a certain sum to the purchase-money, and out of the purchase-money a sum not exceeding one year's arrears was paid to the landlord. That was fair enough. But in the case of a sale to the Land Commission, there was no provision in the Bill by which the landlord would get anything in respect of arrears. He contended that if the landlord was not to get anything in the way of purchase-money for the arrears, and if the Land Commission was to be entitled to recover the arrears, the value of the said arrears ought to be paid to the landlord. Unless some such provision was made, sales to the Land Commission would be penalised. He was aware that another clause provided that the landlord should keep one year's arrears of rent, but that merely reduced the purchase money. His point was that, as the landlord had nothing in the purchase money in respect of the arrears, he was entitled to either the arrears themselves or their value. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, line 10, at end, to insert the words '(2) The value of such arrears of rent, if not agreed upon between the vendor and the Land Commission, shall be fixed by the Judicial Commissioner, and shall be paid by the Land Commission to the vendor over and above the purchase-money of the lands. Payment of the value of such arrears of rent shall be made immediately on the completion of the purchase agreement to the person who would have been entitled to receive the same.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not possibly accept the Amendment, and he thought he could satisfy his hon. and learned friend that it was not one on which he need insist. The Amendment would have the effect of placing on the Land Commission the duty, not only of judicially ascertaining the amount due, but also of estimating the value of the debt. Such a power would be inquisitorial, and would lead to a great waste of time. The arbitrary limit of one year's arrears, as placed in the Bill, seemed to him to be the best arrangement. At present, attempts were sometimes made to collect the arrears, but they generally broke down, while if they succeeded they were not usually welcome in the public interest, because it meant that people who were already in debt made an effort

to discharge that debt, and then entered into obligations with the State. The almost universal practice was that, where the tenant desired to buy and the landlord to sell, an arrangement was come to by which—as it was crudely put—a year was added to the price; in other words, the parties agreed to a bargain which wiped out all question of past debt—a transaction which was absolutely necessary before the tenant-purchaser could be accepted as a debtor of the State. In the Bill the Government had endeavoured to strike a rough-and-ready bargain which they believed to be substantially just. It appeared to be unjust that a part of the purchase-money which might be in respect of arrears should go into the purchase money, because it really belonged to the vendor, so they cut the Gordian knot by saying he might take a year's arrears out of the purchase-money, the remainder of the purchase-money being distributed amongst the superior interests. This decision had been arrived at after careful consideration; the Government considered it fair as between the vendor and the owners of superior interests, and it certainly made for speed, whereas the Amendment would mean great delay, immense difficulty in estimating the value of the arrears and in collecting them, and also the questionable proposal that all such arrears should be handed to the vendor, and nothing to the owners of superior interests.

MR. BUTCHER asked whether it would be possible for a landlord, when he negotiated a sale with the Land Commission, to get an increase of price where there were large arrears of rent. If so, his difficulty would be met. If it would not be possible, he thought it was very hard that a whole year's rent should be cut out of the *corpus* of the purchase-money. The arrears ought to be either included in the purchase-money or paid over subsequently to the landlord.

MR. WYNDHAM pointed out that the purchase-money was the total amount the purchaser had agreed to pay. There was nothing in the Bill by which an unfavourable distinction was drawn between sales to the Land Commission and sales direct to the tenants. By Clause 5, the Land Commission would be in treaty with the tenants to know

how much they would pay, and one of the first considerations in such a matter was always the manner in which the arrears were to be dealt with. The Land Commission, being in touch with both landlord and tenant, would arrive at a bargain to which three-fourths of the tenants subscribed, the result of which was a *corpus* of money out of which the landlord was to take one year's arrears, as was usually done in the case of sales effected directly between landlord and tenant. He thought that was a practical solution of the question.

MR. BUTCHER understood that his point would, in substance, be met, and he therefore asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. BUTCHER moved to insert "Judicial Commissioner" for "Land Commission," his contention being that the matter referred to was one more fitted for the Judicial Commissioner than for the Estates Commissioners, who were not necessarily conversant with questions of law. He admitted that the present proposed Commissioners included persons so qualified, but that might not always be the case.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 10, lines 14 and 15, leave out 'Land Commission,' and insert 'Judicial Commissioner.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said there was one series of Amendments on the Paper proposing to substitute "Judicial Commissioner" for "Land Commission" wherever the term was used, and another series suggesting the substitution of "Land Commission" wherever "Judicial Commissioner" occurred. The Government had endeavoured as far as possible to give administrative work to an administrative body and judicial work to a judicial body, the allocation having been made after very careful consideration. Upon that allocation the hon. and learned Member had an advantage as

the Bill was drawn, because there was an over-riding injunction that all judicial points were to be brought before the Judicial Commissioner, so that if any doubt arose it would be decided by that official.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he understood the principle on which the right hon. Gentleman had proceeded, but surely it was entirely a question of law as to who was entitled to the purchase-money.

MR. WYNDHAM said that whenever a *prima facie* case could be made out that a question was one of law it would go to the Judicial Commissioner.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clause 17.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the Committee had now reached a point of considerable difficulty, as was shown by the fact that no fewer than five notices of Motion for the rejection of this clause were on the Paper, those Motions coming from every part of the House. The reason was that tenants in every part of Ireland were very jealous of any attempt to touch their rights under the Act of 1881. He did not think the rejection of the clause was the course that ought to be followed. It was quite impossible to allow one-fourth of the tenants on any estate to bar or hinder the sale to and purchase by the other three-fourths. It would be equally impossible to leave that one-fourth as tenants of the Land Commission, as the Commission would be unable to fix the rents where they were themselves the landlords. He did not say that the Amendment he had placed on the Paper was a perfect way out of the difficulty, but it was taken almost bodily from Section 40 of the Act of 1896. It might not be a very logical thing to declare a man to be a purchaser when he did not want to purchase, but the Committee had a choice of difficulties, and there was no way out except by some such means; and, inasmuch as this method of procedure

Mr. Wyndham.

had already been adopted and no complaint had been made of it, he thought it was as good a way out of the difficulty as any that could be found. In addition to the part to which he referred, viz.—

“The Estates Commissioners may, if, having regard to the circumstances of the case, they think it expedient, order that the remaining tenants, or any of them, shall be deemed to have accepted the offers made to them, and the Land Purchase Acts shall apply accordingly.”

there was the following proviso to safeguard the interests of the one-fourth of the tenants, viz.—

“Provided that the Commissioners before making such order shall consider any objection thereto, or modification therein, made or suggested by such tenants, and may alter or modify the terms at which such tenants, or any of them shall be deemed to have purchased as may be considered equitable.”

The proviso which he had added would safeguard the interests of the objecting tenants, for the Commissioners, having heard their case, would have discretion to make any difference which in their judgment might be called for in the terms as between the dissenting minority and the assenting majority.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 10, line 33, to leave out from the word ‘holdings,’ to end of clause, and insert the words ‘The Estates Commissioners may, if, having regard to the circumstances of the case, they think it expedient, order that the remaining tenants, or any of them, shall be deemed to have accepted the offers made to them, and the Land Purchase Acts shall apply accordingly. Provided that the Commissioners before making such order shall consider any objection thereto, or modification therein, made or suggested by such tenants, and may alter or modify the terms at which such tenants, or any of them, shall be deemed to have purchased as may be considered equitable.’”—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

MR. WYNDHAM said this Clause was referred to more than once during the debate which took place on the Second Reading of the Bill, and the views of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford and many of his hon. friends were then carefully expressed upon it. He thought the proviso should not be accepted, but he agreed to accept the first part of the Amendment, believing it to be as good a way as any

of dealing with the cases under consideration. He wished to explain the process by which the Government had arrived at that conclusion. It had been admitted that some method must be found of dealing with such an estate bought by the Land Commission. It had been admitted that there were cases in which the Land Commission ought to buy with the assent of three-fourths of the tenants. The hon. Member for East Mayo accepted the illustrations he gave of cases in which it was proper for the Land Commission to buy a property without having previously got the consent of the Court. Having bought, the Land Commission became the land owner. Before he introduced this Bill he came to the conclusion that it was not advisable to unduly weight this measure by the introduction of any novel procedure to meet the difficulties of the case when the Land Commission bought without the assent of three-fourths. Then he held that where a majority had bought, the minority might well go on under the present rents. He held that there was a far less drastic procedure than the one recommended to-night, and he thought it was recommended as a substitute by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford in the Second Reading debate, namely, that where three-fourths bought the remaining one-fourth should be deemed to have bought. They were now invited to revert to the practice under Section 40. There was a great deal to be said for adopting that method, which was known in Ireland. Certainly nothing could be urged against employing that measure when it was to be employed by the Estates Commissioners. He thought such a tribunal could with general satisfaction administer Section 40 in the cases where it was admitted that some machinery must be found. [“No, no.”] That he understood was the suggestion thrown out during the Second Reading, and there was a great deal to be said in favour of adopting the old method. There was another advantage in proceeding along a known path. They could work in other Amendments on the Paper. There was a very good Amendment standing in the name of the

hon. and learned Member for Louth. As it stood he did not think the phraseology would work in.

MR. T. M. HEALY : Not if you accept this Amendment, for then my Amendment would be needless.

MR. WYNDHAM said the proviso to the Amendment did not occur in Section 40, and he thought they had better proceed along a known line. He held that the object which the hon. Member was aiming at was attained without the proviso.

MR. DILLON denied that the Amendment was on the lines of Section 40. That section was compulsory against the landlord as well as the tenant, but this Amendment proposed to put compulsion on the tenant without there being any compulsion whatever on the landlord. The landlord was not compelled to sell. But when the Land Commission had bought over the heads of the tenants, this proposal empowered that body to compel one-fourth of the tenants to buy their farms at a price to which they objected. He thought that was a most unfair and one-sided provision. The average price put upon the farms by the Land Commission was fifteen and a half years purchase. If the right hon. Gentleman would give him an undertaking that in no case would any tenant be compelled to purchase at more than fifteen and a half years he should have no objection. The tenants ought not to be subjected to any penal clause. The proviso which the hon. Member first put into his Amendment would have had a considerable effect in mitigating the offensive character of the proposal, but the Chief Secretary objected to it, while accepting the penal portion.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that in the discussions of this Bill he had agreed in the main with the hon. Member for Mayo, but on this occasion he differed from him entirely. He did not regard this as a penal provision at all, but as a most reasonable proposal, especially as modified by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The hon. Member for Mayo had referred to the Act of 1887 and the "eviction-made-easy" clause; but he would recall to him the Act of 1896, when the

Government proposed to take away from every tenant in the congested districts area the right to have a fair rent fixed. He himself was afraid to open his mouth on the Bill of 1896, because the hon. Member for Mayo was then the Leader of the Party, and he was more or less, sometimes more and sometimes less, under his jurisdiction; and so, if it had not been for the hon. and learned Member for North Tyrone, who interposed at the very moment when the Chairman was putting the clause, every tenant in the congested districts area would have had this right taken away from him. But what was this proposal? Let them be reasonable and have some sense of proportion. The Land Commission, in the interests of the tenants, acting in the same spirit as the Congested Districts Board, acquired a holding. What for? Not to make money out of it and to sell it to London speculators, but to benefit the tenants on the holding. It might very well be that two or three wastrels on the holdings would set up their backs and obstruct the sale to the whole of the tenants. If they did so, surely it was fair and reasonable that the Land Commission should be empowered to act according to this provision. The terrible penalty was that these tenants were to be made owners of their land. If anyone made him owner of his house on the same conditions he would be delighted to accept money at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) said the other day when he was proposing an Amendment of a similar character to this one, the hon. and learned Member for Waterford said it was preposterous and absurd. The hon. Member for East Mayo had made an attack upon the hon. Member for South Tyrone over this Amendment, but the hon. Member had enough to do to carry that wretched Dunraven Treaty on his back. [An HON. MEMBER: Tullyfy him!] The minority spoken of were likely to be the selfish land-grabbers and those who always held out against a reasonable settlement.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that both upon the introduction of the Bill and the Second Reading exception was taken to this clause, mostly to Sub-section

(b), which proposed to apply compulsion not merely to one-fourth, but practically to one half in cases where the Lord Lieutenant enabled that to be done. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman did not now suggest that the power to the Lord Lieutenant should remain. The Chief Secretary was quite right in saying that he made a suggestion with reference to the 40th Section. What he said was that he took a strong objection to the bare majority, and that with reference to the three-fourths he thought the penalty proposed in the Bill, that the remaining one fourth should be deprived of their rights, was an absurd and monstrous one. He agreed that it would not be desirable, nor did he think that the tenants generally would regard it as desirable, that a small handful of tenants on an estate should be allowed to block a whole transaction of purchase, and, therefore, that some power should be taken to deal with such a contingency, but he thought the simplest and least objectionable way of doing so would be on the lines of the 40th Section. He did not see why the Chief Secretary should object to the proviso. The Judge in the Land Court was given this discretion, and why should it be taken away from the Commissioners? All that the proviso said was that before imposing this penalty upon recalcitrant tenants the Land Commission might consider any objection taken as to the price, and surely that was reasonable and proper. He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman objected to this proviso. Surely if a small number of tenants held out, it was reasonable and proper that the Commissioners should inquire whether the objection was reasonable or not. Although he shared the objection to the clause as a whole which had been put forward by the hon. Member for East Mayo, he thought this question of blocking transactions by two men was one that must be dealt with in some way. If the proviso proposed by the hon. Member for South Tyrone were allowed to stand, it might be a way out of the difficulty. He asked the Chief Secretary whether he could not allow the Amendment to stand as a whole. It gave the Land Commissioners the same discretion

as was possessed now by the Land Judge. He saw no reason why they should not have that discretion.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said they were all, he believed, anxious that this Bill should run, and that the sooner they placed the tenants in possession of the land the better. He thought it would be a most unfortunate thing that one-fourth of the tenants of an estate should bar a settlement which would bring satisfaction to a multitude of people. He did not believe they would find one estate, perhaps, out of a hundred where one-fourth of the tenants would refuse to be made proprietors of their own land at a large reduction of rent. But the proposition of the hon. Member for South Tyrone might obviate a difficulty which might arise and bring about an unfortunate state of things. The only difficulty he had in regard to the proviso was that it appeared to be fraught with legal complications; it introduced the lawyer.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Where does this terrible man come in?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said he could come in to show where modifications were necessary, and where the terms might be modified. If the hon. and learned Member for Louth were employed he could make a good deal out of these points. It was to avoid the delay and expense which would thus be involved that he objected to the proviso from the layman's point of view. He thought the other part of the proposal of the hon. Member for South Tyrone was one which would lead to what they all desired, and that was the most expeditious manner possible of placing the Irish tenants in possession of their land.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that in the seventeen years that the Purchase Act had been in force he had not been three times before the Commission. He understood that the Estates Commissioners would do their work, not sitting as a court at all, but as an administrative body. It would be managed by direct communication with the tenants, the tenants' solicitors, and

the landlords' solicitors. The machinery of purchase was not a contentious business at all.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said he had as great an objection to a solicitor as to a lawyer.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that in his judgment the tenants who did not employ solicitors to work for them were penny wise and pound foolish. He had known hundreds of pounds lost because the tenant would not pay 6s. 8d. to a solicitor. One solicitor was acquainted with another, and they could arrange these matters. Just as hon. Members from Ireland could run things through his House by meeting the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, arguing with him in the most polite way outside the House, and using to him a quite different tone and manner to that which they employed officially inside, so the tenant's solicitor, meeting the landlord's solicitor in the marketplace, and talking over things, got over a hundred points long before they reached the Commissioners. He did not apprehend that the difficulties suggested by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would in the least appear. He thought they were dealing with an imaginary difficulty, but it was one that must be provided against. If they allowed two or three curmudgeons to take advantage of their ill-humour or cussedness to block a sale these men might become masters of the situation, just as they had known such a thing in this House, he would not say on the part of the Colonial Secretary or the hon. Member for Stoke. It was notorious that two or three men asserting themselves

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unduly undoubtedly acquired great power. There was no machinery known to the constitution by which a three-fourths majority could be ruled by one-fourth. They had not that protection in the Bill, and it was now proposed to provide it on the easiest terms possible.

MR. WYNDHAM said that having considered the Amendment he had gone the whole length to which he could go at one bound when he accepted the first part of it. The proviso was not necessary, and he saw some dangers in it. He had tried to meet hon. Members opposite, and he hoped the Committee would now come to a decision on this matter.

MR. DILLON said it was absurd to represent the attitude he had taken up in this matter as indicating a desire to enable two or three men to obstruct the sale of an estate. No such idea ever occurred to his mind. But there might be, and he believed there would be, estates where if the price was fixed by three-fourths of the tenants the remaining fourth would feel aggrieved; and it was not fair to reject the proviso by which they would be enabled to state their grievance to the Commission. The Chief Secretary had made an urgent appeal to wind up the discussion simply because he had announced at the commencement, at one jump, the concession he was prepared to make. He protested against that, for hon. Members were at least entitled to state their views at reasonable length.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he wished to offer a word of explanation as to what he meant. What he thought would happen was that where three-fourths of

the tenants on an estate agreed to purchase on certain terms the minority of one-fourth might hold out. What he imagined would take place under these circumstances was that the Land Commission would probably send down an inspector to confer with the recalcitrant minority, to learn their circumstances and to report to the Commission, and that the Commission would then act on that report and do what they thought right in the circumstances. That was all he thought the proviso would do. He did not think this was a penalising clause against the tenants. He did not chose to lose the first part of his Amendment because he could not carry the second.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for assisting their progress this evening. He formally moved the omission of the proviso.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

“To omit lines 7 to 10.”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment to proposed Amendment agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

MR. T. M. HEALY moved to add at the end of the first sub-section—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 10, line 38, at end, to insert the words ‘where the tenant could have obtained an advance of the entire purchase-money, and the Land Commission had offered in the prescribed manner to make the advance.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 17, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 18.

MR. CLANCY urged that the regulations as to turbary should be laid on the Table of the House. He did not desire to detain the Committee by moving an Amendment, but he wished to say that if it was proposed to give the trustees powers to tax that would be thoroughly unconstitutional.

MR. ATKINSON said it would be quite impossible until the trustees had acquired particular rights to make regulations as to how they were to be exercised.

Clause 18 agreed to.

Clause 19.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 25, to leave out the word ‘vesting,’ and insert the word ‘sale.’”—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 30, to leave out the word ‘may,’ and insert the word ‘shall.’”—(*Mr. Edward Mitchell.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘may’ stand part of the clause.”

MR. ATKINSON said he could not accept the Amendment, because in many cases it would be necessary that the word “may” should be retained.

MR. MITCHELL said he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 11, line 31, after the word ‘afore-said,’ to insert the words ‘and on any estate

purchased by the Land Commission when the only bog available is in possession of the landlord. It shall be necessary for the landlord prior to sale to dispose of the whole or as much as may be necessary of the bog to the Land Commission for the use of the tenants, at such price as in case of dispute may be considered fair by a Land Commission inspector."—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

MR. ATKINSON said that the Amendment was entirely unnecessary.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he would suggest that there should be a wider and less definite wording of this section. A man on the upper part of a mountain might have twenty or thirty acres of bog land, and an acre or two of tillage land. The only pasturage which he had in the summer time would be on a patch of the bog land. It would be very hard upon him if a man on the lower part of the mountain, who had plenty of pasture on which his cows browsed up to the udders in grass, came up and destroyed his little bit of summer grazing.

MR. ATKINSON said that these things could be provided for by schemes which would be drawn up to meet each case.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.) said he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.) said he wished to draw attention to the question of hand-made turf. If the regulations under Sub-section 2 were enforced against a large number of tenants in his constituency they would be severely penalised. The right hon. Gentleman had promised him that he

would add some such words as would protect these tenants. He moved therefore.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, line 32, after the word 'cutting' to insert the words 'or making.'"—(*Mr. J. P. Farrell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked if the right hon. Gentleman would have any objection to put in after the word "turf" in line 34, the words "and pasturage." It was not merely the turf which the tenant on the top of the mountain wanted, but the small bit of grass on the turf.

MR. ATKINSON said he presumed that the hon. and learned Gentleman meant that the turf and grass should not be cut away to such an extent as to seriously injure the mountain holding. If so, he would accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 11, line 34, after the word 'turf' to insert the words 'and pasturage.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 20.

*MR. HEMPHILL said that this clause enabled the Land Commission on the application of any proprietor of a holding to determine all questions which might arise respecting the boundaries of the holdings, easements, or appurtenances, claimed by any proprietors against any other proprietors or tenants of holdings. That was an enormous

power to give to the Land Commission on a subject upon which the Irish tenants were peculiarly touchy, and which often gave rise to disputes and disorder. In order to modify the clause he begged to move.

"In line 3, after the word 'may' insert 'with the consent of all the proprietors and tenants affected thereby.'"

If these words were inserted the mischief would be minimised, or disappear altogether; because it would become a species of arbitration, and enable the tenants to get a hearing. It would be a monstrous thing to allow the Land Commission to settle boundaries on an *ex parte* statement.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 3, after the word 'may' to insert the words 'with the consent of all the proprietors and tenants affected thereby.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TULLY said he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not accept the Amendment.

MR. ATKINSON said that the proposal on the Bill was simply to enable the Land Commission to settle a question of boundaries instead of driving a number of poor proprietors into litigation. The Land Commission would have no coercive jurisdiction.

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) said that the questions thus left to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Land Commission might be of the most momentous character. The County Courts and the Superior Courts were open to the tenants. He would suggest that some limitation should be placed on this new power that was to be conferred.

MR. ATKINSON said that it was not proposed by the Clause to oust the jurisdiction of the County Courts. It simply provided that two adjoining proprietors might appoint the Land Commission to arbitrate between them. He would be willing to insert on line 3, the words "at the request of the parties interested."

*MR. HEMPHILL said that that was exactly the thing he wanted, and he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 3, after the word 'may' to insert the words 'at the request of the parties interested.'"—(*Mr. Atkinson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 3, after the words 'think fit' to insert the words 'for the carrying out of such purpose.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said his right hon. friend apparently wanted to confine the exercise of these magisterial powers to the purchase, but in his opinion it was much more important that the Land Commission should have power to arbitrate either before the purchase, on the purchase, or after the purchase.

*MR. HEMPHILL said he could very well understand the granting of such powers to the Land Commission for the purpose of educating the people in the policy of this Act, but here they were

setting up a tribunal for the purpose of determining some of the most delicate questions that could be raised.

*MR. O'DOHERTY considered the proposed tribunal a very proper one, and considered that it would confer a great amount of good on small farmers throughout Ireland. Anyone acquainted with Irish County Court procedure must regret the great amount of money wasted on disputes over very small matters.

MR. WOOD could not agree with the last speaker. He thought the clause was unnecessary because under existing Acts ample powers were conferred on the Land Commission to settle disputes for the purpose of carrying out sales between landlord and tenant. He considered the suggestion of the Attorney-General a very fair one. He was reminded of a case which came under his personal notice. Two tenants had a dispute, and in order to avoid the expense of litigation they agreed to place a turkey cock on a table, and whichever of the two parties the bird first bowed to was to be deemed in the right. The experiment was not a success, so at last they had to go to the County Court Judge, and to spend a good deal of money which might have been saved had they obtained proper legal advice in the first instance.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND hoped that the clause would be allowed to pass. He regarded this clause as one of the very best in the Bill, as it would do away with a lot of useless and expensive litigation.

Mr. Hemphill.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.) thought the clause did not go quite far enough. When the Land Commissioners sent down an inspector to inspect an estate he might find a dispute between two tenants A and B as to a right-of-way, or a boundary, or some matter of the kind, and the landlord would be unable to go forward with the sale until the dispute was settled, although possibly the tenant might decline to persevere with that. When A made a claim and did not persevere with it it remained a block in the way which was perhaps only to be got rid of by the landlord paying A to withdraw his objection. In his opinion the Land Commissioners should be given power to determine all disputes between tenants in respect of holdings about to be sold.

*MR. HEMPHILL: I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 20, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 21.

MR. WYNDHAM moved an Amendment, providing that any question of law arising should be referred for the decision of a Judicial Commissioner.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 12, to leave out the word ‘may,’ and insert the words ‘shall on the application of any person interested.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. WYNDHAM next moved a further Amendment to line 13, the

object of which was to prevent frivolous law points being raised.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 13, at end, to insert the words ‘unless in the opinion of the Estates Commissioners the application is frivolous.’”—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. DILLON moved to amend the second sub-section so that it should read:—

“The Estates Commissioners shall be appointed by His Majesty, by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, as additional Members of the Land Commission.”

He said that on the Second Reading of the Bill the Chief Secretary gave a sort of pledge that there should be no difference in the status of the Commissioners, that there should be no chairman, and that all should have the same status and powers. The object of this Amendment was to secure the redemption of that pledge. The provisions of Sub-section 2 were plainly inconsistent with that promise, for one Commissioner was to be appointed by Sign Manual and his salary charged on the Consolidated Fund, while the other two were to hold their office at pleasure and to be paid a lower salary to be provided by Parliament. It was pretty well known that the landlord's nominee on the Commission was to be Mr. Frederick Wrench. He was to be paid £3,000 a year as compared with £2,000 a year to be given to the other Commissioners, and as his salary would be a charge on the Consolidated Fund he alone on the Commission would not be subject to Parliamentary criticism. He would, in fact, hold a position entirely different from that held by the other two Commissioners. He thought that

hon. Members around him were entitled to object to the landlords' representative on the Commission being made practically the president of that body. As had been said more than once, the future of that Bill depended to an enormous extent on the method of administering it. Land Bill after Land Bill in the history of the Irish Land War had been destroyed by administration, and the hopes and confidence of the people had been turned into bitter disappointment in consequence. If there was to be any real settlement now, there must be a fresh departure in the matter of administration. They did not want the work entrusted to such men as Judge Ross and Mr. Frederick Wrench, who would be withdrawn from the criticism of Parliament, and as to whose actions Ministers would be able to refuse information. He had hoped to see the administration put on a sounder basis and placed in the hands of men who would be recognised as a responsible body of administrators and not mere officials. Let the Government adopt that policy honestly and frankly, and not give the chief place to one who enjoyed the confidence neither of tenants nor of landlords. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would realise the gravity of that question, and the importance of endeavouring to secure the confidence of the Irish people in the Commission.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 12, line 14, to leave out the words ‘one of.’”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘one of’ stand part of the clause.”

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that on the night the Bill was introduced he heartily congratulated the Government

on the fact—as stated by the Chief Secretary—that the decisions of the new tribunal, being a non-judicial tribunal, would be open to criticism on the Estimates. But on seeing the Bill in print he very soon discovered that the statement of the Chief Secretary was inaccurate, inasmuch as the most important member of the Commission, by having his salary charged to the Consolidated Fund, was removed from the criticism of the House. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt unintentionally, conveyed a false impression on the night he introduced the Bill. It was now clear that Mr. Wrench was placed in the position of superiority over his colleagues. Parliament would be unable to discuss his conduct, and he could not be removed except by some almost impossible procedure, while his colleagues were to be in the position of removable resident magistrates. And Mr. Wrench was to occupy that favoured position in spite of the fact that he had not the confidence of either the landlords or the tenants in Ireland. Worse than that, the other two members of the Commission were paid lower salaries than Mr. Wrench, and were removable at pleasure. It was a most serious thing that Mr. Wrench should be put in such a position of superiority, and he hoped the Chief Secretary would give them satisfactory assurance that his promise on the point would be redeemed. It must not be forgotten that Mr. Wrench was already a member of the Congested Districts Board, and he certainly could not satisfactorily perform the work of the two offices.

MR. T. M. HEALY did not claim to be able to say whether or not the landlords had confidence in Mr. Wrench.
Mr. John Redmond.

He preferred to discuss the Amendment rather from the point of view of the inequality of the Commissioners than that of disparagement of one of their number. He contended that it was reasonable to require that Mr. Wrench should be put on the same footing with his colleagues as regarded Parliamentary criticism, tenure, and salary. He well remembered the mistake that was made in the case of Mr. Murrough O'Brien, who was appointed to his office by a Liberal Government at a reduced salary of £2,000, with the result that he was practically boycotted by his colleagues and treated as if he occupied an inferior instead of an equal position. They did not want a recurrence of that. There was a strong aroma of the Treasury about this clause; and the right hon. Gentleman had already rejected one Amendment on the ground that he was fettered by the Treasury. As to the questions of status and tenure, such a case might occur as that, because the Commissioners by a majority refused to buy a slum holding. A Member of the House of Lords would at once come down with a Motion for their removal, and as the Peers held the Government in their pockets, the position would be intolerable. If the question was not decided that evening there was a danger of its discussion occupying the whole of the next day.

MR. WYNDHAM said that with reference to the action of the Treasury he would remind the hon. and learned Member that the Bill was brought forward upon the responsibility of the Government as a whole, but there was no doubt that a strong case had to be made out for creating new departments and new offices. He would repeat now what he said on the

first and second reading of the Bill—namely, that the sole intention of the Government was that the Estates Commissioners should be a body of administrators, and not a body of Judges. He did not know that he need take up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Wrench, but he would only say that he should not have recommended his appointment unless he had had a very high opinion of his ability. No one had joined with him more cordially in pushing on land purchase and shortening the procedure. But, taking it that Mr. Wrench might be one of the three Commissioners, was it contended that a person who held a certain position at a certain salary could be appointed to do more work on condition that his tenure was altered and his salary reduced? That was not practical politics. It was the intention that Mr. Wrench and the other Commissioners should be subject to the criticism of Parliament, and if there were any doubt as to that let it be removed. That was his intention, and he would see that it was carried into effect. His suggestion was that it should be made clear that the Estates Commissioners, as Estates Commissioners, were an administrative and not a judicial body, and that their action in that capacity could be reviewed on the Estimates year by year. Their tenure, he thought, should be the tenure of the Civil Service. The hon. Member suggested that there should be a levelling up as regarded salaries; but he would prefer not to discuss that suggestion. He associated himself, however, with the Treasury in thinking that £2,000 was an adequate salary for the work; and he could not suggest an increase to the Treasury. The salary which a man received did not add weight to his influence in council.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he did not want the House of Lords coming down and banging these men.

MR. WYNDHAM asked the hon. and learned Gentleman how these men were to be subject to the criticism of this House and not of the other House. If they were to be administrative, clearly they must have an administrative tenure.

MR. T. M. HEALY said there never had been an instance in which they were restrained from discussing the action of County Court Judges. He himself had discussed the judicial action of every County Court Judge in Ireland. He remembered beginning with Judge Clarke in 1881, and then he went on to Judge Barry, of Monaghan. The County Court Judges had never been considered to have a Consolidated Fund tenure. He thought there was some force in the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the salary, but on the question of tenure he remained immovable. It was an absurd tenure. These men ought not to be removable at pleasure. Their minds were all full of the old tenure disputes. But this was not the old question. It was not a question whether a man was within the Act or not. It was a question where two parties were agreed except as to amount, as to whether the Commissioners would give a man a £10,000 bonus or not, perhaps for a slim estate. With the influence of the constant hammer-hammer of society in a little island where everyone was known, and where the telescope and microscope of public opinion were on every one, were these gentlemen to be given a scavenger's tenure? Why, under the Local Government Act the humblest employee of a

County Council was given an absolute tenure. Was it reasonable that they should be asked, knowing what they did about the vicissitudes of appointments in the past, to agree to such a proposal. If they were to agree to the suggestion of the Government they would be positively giving away the tenants' case. He himself had not put down many Amendments to the Bill; he did not care a great deal about them; and he would tell the Committee why. When the Land Act of 1881 was being passed he said:—

“Give me the making of the Land Commission, and I do not care who makes the land laws.”

But if the Estates Commissioners were to be the merest shadows, whose breath was to depend on the thunders and vetoes of the House of Lords, they might as well appoint the three greatest landlord partisans in Ireland. No man could stand up in Ireland against constant debates by influential men. If Lord Londonderry, Lord Abercorn, Lord Ardilaun, or any of the great proprietors came down to the comfortable Assembly over the way with a Motion calling attention to the conduct of Mr. A, B, or C in Dublin, and declaring pontifically that it was intolerable—the Chief Secretary might then be at the Treasury or be Prime Minister, and they would have in that House a Chief Secretary who knew not Joseph, or perhaps knew him too well, and who would take up a strong line on the landlords' side—why the echo of the division would not have ceased before their Lordships would come clattering across the lobbies, and the Chief Secretary of the day would have to

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send a telegram to these unfortunate Commissioners which would make their hair curl. Where was the hon. Member for Stoke-upon-Trent, who had pleaded on behalf of the British taxpayers? This was the occasion for protecting the British taxpayers. The Commissioners could only incur censure by acting on motives of economy and strictness. It was not the criticism of the Irish Members they would incur, but the criticism of the gentlemen across the lobby. He took a strong view on this clause, and unless they got some satisfaction he was afraid its discussion would occupy a good deal of time.

MR. WYNDHAM said they could not possibly settle the question that night. The hon. and learned Member would give the Estates Commissioners a tenure tantamount to the tenure of a County Court Judge; that was to say that they could be removed, not by the House but by the Lord Chancellor. If they gave the Commissioners the tenure of a Judge it would tend to make the procedure judicial. He was inclined to make it administrative; and what they had to find was some plan that would keep the procedure administrative, and subject to criticism in that House, but which would not subject those who had such important duties to perform to any slight. As time did not then suffice for the discussion of the matter he suggested that they had better sleep over it.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Adjourned at two minutes after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 1st July, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL
BUSINESS.

London and North Western Railway Bill [Lords]. [Not amended], considered; to be read the third time.

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Bristol Corporation Bill [Lords] Read a second time, and committed.

Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords]. Report [30th June] from the Select Committee on Standing Orders read.

Bill to be read a second time.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5.) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered to-morrow.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Aston Manor Improvement Bill [Lords]; Nantwich Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee.

Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Mossley, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Glasgow, against; to lie upon the Table.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION BILL.

Petition from Walsden, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NATIONAL GALLERY (IRELAND.)

Copy presented, of Report of the Director of the National Gallery of Ireland to the Board of Governors and Guardians for the year 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1902, and of the Sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 235.]

TREATY SERIES (No. 9, 1903).

Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands regulating the Allowances to Witnesses in Fishery cases. Signed at the Hague, 26th April, 1902. Ratifications exchanged at the Hague, 22nd May, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVAL WORKS [CONSOLIDATED FUND].

Committee to consider of making further provision for the Construction of Works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and of authorising the payment, out of the Consolidated Fund, of such sums as may be necessary for those purposes (King's Recommendation signified), upon Friday.— (Mr. Pretymann.)

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS (PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF).

Return ordered, "showing, in respect of each Union and Parish under a separate Board of Guardians in England and Wales, the number of persons of each sex in receipt from Boards of Guardians (a) of in-door relief or (b) of out-door relief on the 1st day of September, 1903, who were over sixty years of age, distinguishing those who were over sixty and under sixty-five, sixty-five and under seventy, seventy and under seventy-five, seventy-five and under eighty, and eighty years of age and upwards; lunatics in asylums, licensed

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houses, and registered hospitals; vagrants and persons who were only in receipt of relief constructively by reason of relief being given to wives or children, not being included (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 36, of Session 1891); and showing in regard to (a) the number of those who, in the opinion of the medical officer of the workhouse, could not satisfactorily take care of themselves owing to mental or physical infirmity."—(Mr. Burt.)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Licensing Question.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, having regard to the position of the holders of licences, owing to the action of the justices in some petty sessional districts, he can fix an early day for the consideration of the suspensory Bill introduced by the Member for the Dartford Division of Kent.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) I must refer my hon. and gallant friend to the answer I gave on Monday,† and on many previous occasions, to the effect that it is quite impossible, with public advantage, under our existing Parliamentary system, to give facilities for private Members' Bills of a highly controversial character, however excellent the object of those Bills may be.

Commercial Treaties between Foreign Countries giving Reduced Tariff Charges.

MR. ALFRED HUTTON (Yorkshire, W. R., Morley): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he could state or grant a Return of the commercial treaties effected between foreign countries during the last twenty years giving mutual advantages of reduced tariff charges.

(Answered by Lord Cranborne.) Such a Return would be difficult to compile, but I am in communication with the Board of Trade and will inform the hon. Member of the result.

† See page 815.

Average Prices of Food in Principal European Countries.

MR. ALFRED HUTTON: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he could grant a Return showing since 1880 the average price of the chief articles of food and the tariff duties upon them in Germany and other European countries.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) It would not be practicable to give the Return quite in the form desired by the hon. Member, but I should be prepared to lay a Return, giving such official information as is available as to the wholesale prices of food in the principal European countries, and to add wheat, etc., to the next issue of the Foreign Import Duties Return, which will be published in the autumn.

Exports of Ships built in the United Kingdom.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the exports of ships built in the United Kingdom, which are entered in the Statistical Abstract as undistinguished prior to 1899, were included previous to that date under other heads of exports; if so, under which heads; and, if not, whether in future editions of the Statistical Abstract he will substitute the words not included for the word undistinguished.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) Particulars of the exports of new ships and their machinery were not recorded prior to 1899, and are not therefore included under other heads of exports previous to that date. The alteration suggested by the hon. Member shall be made in future issues of the Statistical Abstract.

Construction of Sea Wall at Skigersta, Isle of Lewis.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Lord Advocate if he will state whether any progress has yet been made with the construction of a protecting wall for the Skigersta Pier, Island of Lewis.

(Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.) As the hon. Member has already been informed,† the Board extended the time

† See (4) Debates, cxviii., 1541†

for acceptance of the grant until 14th March. On 10th March the Congested Districts Board received a letter from the promoter of the work intimating that he had secured guarantees "to a certain extent," and requesting the Board to keep the matter open until after the meeting of the Finance Committee, which he stated was to take place about the end of the month. No further communication has been received on this subject since then.

School Grants.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education, whether grants payable according to average attendance in a voluntary school for a year, which covers a period prior to, and a period subsequently to an appointed day under The Education Act, 1902, will be computed according to average attendance taken separately for the period before the change, and separately for the period after.

(Answered by Sir William Anson.) The grants will be calculated on the average

attendance for the school year as a whole, not on the separate average attendances for the periods before and after the appointed day.

Value of Coal Exports.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state the values of coal exported from the United Kingdom to the different foreign countries, and to the colonies and India.

(Answered by Mr. Ritchie.) The information desired will be found set out for the past five years on pages 435 and 436 of the Annual Statement of Trade for the United Kingdom for 1902 (Vol I.) [Command Paper 1582.]

Indoor Farm Servants in Ireland.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the number of farm servants (indoor) in each of the four provinces of Ireland according to the Census Returns of 1891 and 1901 respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.)

Province.	1891.			1901.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Leinster - - -	21,656	1,919	23,575	17,640	1,987	19,627
Munster - - -	28,135	4,670	32,805	23,856	3,408	27,264
Ulster - - -	38,061	3,629	41,690	25,650	2,426	28,076
Connaught - -	16,584	2,465	19,049	9,688	1,271	10,959
Total - - -	104,436	12,683	117,119	76,834	9,092	85,926

Tobacco returned from South Africa.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for War what quantity of unconsumed tobacco belonging to the War Office has been, or is about to be, returned from South Africa to England and sold by tender; at what prices per pound was this tobacco purchased, and what prices have been realised by the lots already sold; whether traders wishing to tender have been allowed to make a full examination of the condition of this tobacco; and whether Army canteens in South Africa were allowed to buy quantities of tobacco

from private traders, although the War Office were in possession of a considerable stock.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) About 200,000 pounds have been sold, and 500,000 are being sold. It is not yet known how much more will be available for sale. It is undesirable to state prices, as any statement affects future tenders. As regards full examination on the part of traders, the tobacco has been available for general inspection, and samples could be obtained on application. I have no information as to what

purchases of tobacco were made by the canteens from private traders, but the General Officer Commanding, who is responsible for the regulations of canteens, recommended this sale.

Vote for Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

MR. BILL (Staffordshire, Leek): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will arrange to bring on the Vote for Reformatory and Industrial Schools at an early date, so that the subject may be discussed this session.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) I am afraid that I cannot promise to find any special opportunity for bringing on this Vote in view of the claims of other services which have not yet been under discussion, but I trust that some convenient occasion may be found.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Devonport Garrison.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether all the regiments now stationed at Devonport are connected with the County of Devon; if not, will he consider the propriety, in view of their services in the field, of quartering the Devonshire Regiment in Devonshire.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): There can be only one Devonshire battalion in England at any one time, and as the number of battalions quartered at Plymouth and Devonport is four, it is not possible to secure that all these should be connected with Devonshire. The barracks were already filled when the 2nd Battalion arrived from South Africa, and it would have been very undesirable to have put another battalion to the expense of moving out to make room for it. My right hon. friend has every sympathy with the desire to quarter county regiments in their own districts, and hopes an opportunity may arise for quartering the battalion in Devonshire before it goes abroad again.

Imperial Yeomanry.

*MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): I beg to ask the Secretary of

State for War whether he is aware that the men of the 1901 Imperial Yeomanry were required to sign their accounts before discharge; that when these accounts were signed there was a form provided on which the men stated any complaints in regard to their pay, and that these forms were signed by the men and their commanding officers and forwarded to him; and, if so, can he now give information with respect to complaints made at Aldershot.

LORD STANLEY: My right hon. friend has already asked the hon. Member to refer all further Questions on this subject direct to the Chief Paymaster, Imperial Yeomanry, as such matters of detail could not properly be dealt with by Question and Answer across the floor of the House.† Nor would it be right to employ the Staff in making a number of calculations which in no way elucidate specific cases.

*MR. MANSFIELD: Were the officers consulted about the complaints of the men?

LORD STANLEY: That is exactly one of the Questions my right hon. friend wishes the hon. Member to refer to the Chief Paymaster.

Recognition of Gallantry—Case of Dr. Garland.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies why Governor Hodgson's despatch, received on 17th October, 1899, was only published in the *Gazette* of 24th April, 1903; whether it is within the province of the Colonial Office or the War Office to take note of the recommendation therein contained respecting an act of the greatest gallantry performed by Assistant Colonial Surgeon Garland in saving the life of Captain Green, who had been wounded by an arrow smeared with virulent poison, by sucking the wound for several minutes, at the peril of his own life; and whether any effect has been given to the Governor's recommendation that the conduct of Dr. Garland and other officers should be recognised in some marked way.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN,

† See page 261.

Birmingham, W.): The despatch to which the hon. Member refers related to one of a series of very minor operations which were not of sufficient importance to call for separate publication. Dr. Garland's case was considered with a view to his being recommended for an Albert Medal, but I found to my regret that the circumstances were not such as to bring it within the class of cases regarded as suitable for recognition in that way. The services of Dr. Garland and of the other officers mentioned have been recognised by the publication of the despatches in the *Gazette*, which entitles them to have it recorded that they have been "mentioned in despatches."

Life Assurance Premiums paid to Colonial Companies.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether taxpayers who pay premiums to colonial life assurance companies are permitted to make any deduction whatever; and, if not, whether a change can be made in the interests of the colonies.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): The answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The subject is regulated by legislation, and I have no power to interfere.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in consequence of this arrangement a great deal of business is put into foreign offices.

MR. RITCHIE: I do not know whether that is so, and I should doubt it; but in any case I have no power in the matter, as my action is entirely controlled by the law, which is against such a deduction as is desired by the hon. Member.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is not the law equally against deductions on premiums paid to foreign companies?

MR. RITCHIE: Yes.

Chinese Customs.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any arrangement has yet been made for collecting Chinese Customs duties on goods entering Manchuria which have been landed at Dalney, or whether this port is allowed an advantage which is refused to Newchwang.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord CRANBORNE, Rochester): At present goods entering China via Dalney have free entry, but His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Peking has reported that an arrangement has been practically concluded by which a Custom House would be established at Dalney on the same conditions as that at Kiaochow. This means that goods imported via Dalney would pay the same duties as at Newchwang.

American Cotton Corner.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been directed to the operations of the trust controlling the corner in the American cotton market and its effects on English manufacturing districts; whether he will confer with President Roosevelt respecting these operations; whether he would suggest a conference with the various Governments which have considered the subject of future options, with a view to propose the introduction of international legislation to control gambling in food-stuffs and other produce.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I have seen newspaper notices with regard to the operations referred to in the first part of the hon. Member's Question. The answer to the two points raised in the second part of the Question is in the negative.

Insanitary Cottages at Beeston, Bedfordshire.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the present condition of cottages in the rural district of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, in spite of

two Government inspections in 1896 and 1899; is he aware that an expert inspection was recently conducted by the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association owing to complaints made in the district, that the report on the condition of cottages in Beeston, Sandy, was sent to the Rural District Council, which met at Biggleswade on 22nd May, but was not considered; and whether, in view of the inspector's remarks on the condition of cottages in this district, will he say what action the Department will now take in the matter.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I have seen a report made on behalf of the Association as to the condition of certain cottages in the village of Beeston. I am informed by the clerk to the Rural District Council that the question of the sanitation of the cottages on Beeston Green has been under the consideration of the Council from time to time for many years past, and that various works have been carried out to endeavour to improve the sanitation of the district. The clerk states that in consequence of the report referred to the inspector of nuisances was instructed to give the matter his attention. It appears that thereupon he communicated with the two owners of the property in question, and that one owner has since arranged for the repair of the cottages belonging to him. The other owner, who lives at a distance, has not replied, and a further notice has been sent to him. The matter is receiving the attention of the Council, and it does not seem to me to be necessary that any action should be taken by me at the present time.

MR. SCHWANN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the clerk to the District Council is agent for several owners in the neighbourhood?

MR. WALTER LONG: I have had some general information as to the local circumstances, but I think the hon. Gentleman must take my answer as conclusive. I cannot go further at present.

Irish Postal Order Business.

MR. FIELD I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that all the accounts in connection with Irish postal orders are at present kept in London, and that inquiries in Ireland regarding these postal orders must be sent to London to be dealt with, he will, in view of the longer time which it takes to send these inquiries to London and to receive replies therefrom, and of the correspondence which this system gives rise to between the General Post Office, Dublin, and the General Post Office, London, transfer the accounts from London to Dublin.

I beg also to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, with a view to facilitating the transfer from London to Dublin of accounts of postal orders issued and paid in Ireland, he will make arrangements for issuing Irish postal orders with a separate series of numbers and a distinctive colour in the printing, as in the case of Irish money orders.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The postal order accounts of Irish post offices are kept in Dublin, not in London; but all postal orders in the United Kingdom are issued from and ultimately returned to London. The issue of a separate series of orders for Ireland would greatly complicate the working of the system without securing any corresponding advantage. Postal order business gives rise to very little correspondence between the Dublin and London offices; and I am satisfied that nothing would be gained by adopting the system suggested by the hon. Member.

Gravel Lane, Wapping, Post Office.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the inconvenience of the post and telegraph office at Old Gravel Lane, Wapping, east of Wapping Bridge, to shipping firms and traders in business west of the bridge, on account of its not being accessible when the bridge is open; and, if so, will he state what steps have been taken to secure

premises for the conduct of postal and telegraph business west of the bridge.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have already communicated my views upon this subject to my hon. friend, both in answer to a Question† and by letter, and I can add nothing to what I have already told him. I have invited his assistance in finding a suitable person to undertake the business. He has not hitherto been able to suggest any names for my consideration, and I have not been able to find a suitable candidate myself.

Women Clerkships in the General Post Office—Examinations.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that prior to the last open competitive examination for women clerkships in the General Post Office such examinations were held at fairly regular intervals, he will state what was the longest of such intervals during the ten years preceding the last examination; what interval has elapsed since the last examination; and will he state the reasons for the length of the last interval; will he also say whether the probability of its occurrence was notified in any way to candidates; whether it is intended to hold any such competitive examinations in future; and whether he will consider the propriety of making an allowance in respect of age to candidates, now over age, who competed at previous examinations and who would have been eligible for subsequent examinations if such had been held at the same intervals as formerly.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Prior to the last examination for women clerkships which was held in October 1901, the number of vacancies was usually such as to justify the holding of an examination at intervals of about six months. I explained in reply to a Question on the 21st May‡ that the reason why no examination had been held lately was that there were no vacancies to be filled by competition; it would not, I think, be desirable to alter

the limits of age for the next examination. The causes which made it unnecessary to hold an examination later than October 1901 were quite exceptional. It is intended to hold an open competitive examination during the ensuing autumn, and the exact date will be made known as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made.

Destitute Female Children in Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to a circular issued to the magistrates of County Longford directing them to refuse to send destitute female children to institutions outside the county, whereas a certified institution exists there; if so, will he state on whose certificate or report this order was issued, and whether the classification of this institution has recently been dealt with by Dr. Fagan in his report; and is it due to this report that such order was issued.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): I have not seen the alleged circular, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, it has not been issued by any Government Department. If the hon. Member will be good enough to send me a copy of the document in question I will make further inquiry.

Crime in County Clare.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Judge Carton received white gloves at the recent Ennis Quarter Sessions; and whether, in view of the peaceable state of the county Clare, the proclamation of certain districts under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act will now be withdrawn.

MR. ATKINSON: My right hon. friend has asked me to say that this matter is still under consideration. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat the Question in a week or ten days.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: This day week.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxii., 1637.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxii., 1350.

Gordon-Bennett Motor-car Race.

MR. LEAMY (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Government have yet received a guarantee from the promoters of the Gordon-Bennett race for the expenses of extra police over the sum of £1,000 which the Treasury is willing to contribute; if he is aware that the Kildare County Council consented to hand over the county roads for the race on the express understanding that the county shall not be called on to pay for the extra police; and if so, if it is the intention of the Government to levy any part of the expenses on the county of Kildare.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): No, Sir, the Government has received no such guarantee. It appears that at a meeting of the Kildare County Council held on the 13th June, Mr. Orde, Secretary of the Automobile Club, signed an undertaking indemnifying the Council against all claims which may be lawfully made upon, and established against, the county for the cost of extra police drafted into the county for the purpose of the race. On the strength of this undertaking the Council attached its seal to the Order made pursuant to the Light Locomotives Act.

MR. LEAMY: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman say definitely whether the Government propose to levy any proportion of the cost of the extra police on the county of Kildare. I have asked that Question again and again. The race comes on to-morrow.

MR. ATKINSON: That is just the matter which is under consideration. But as far as the race is concerned, all arrangements have been made for the extra police. There will be 2,007 police guarding the course.

MR. LEAMY: I know that, but I want to know who will pay for them. Will the right hon. Gentleman be able to give an answer to-morrow?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman has just said that the matter is under consideration.

MR. ATKINSON: I do not think it is to the interest of the hon. Member or those he represents to press the question.

Tobacco Growing in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Irish Department of Agriculture is continuing the tobacco growing experiments in Ireland this year; and whether he can state if the Department has formed any opinion on the experiments already made.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The Department have not continued the experiments this year. The results of the experiments previously made have now sufficiently proved that tobacco can be grown and artificially cured in Ireland, and the crop manufactured, when blended with American leaf, into a smoking tobacco. Investigations are at present in progress with a view to ascertaining the commercial value of the crop grown in past years. Pending the results of this test the Department cannot say whether further experiments will be carried out next year.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has formed any opinion about the sample of Irish tobacco which I gave him a few evenings ago?

MR. RITCHIE: I have not tried it myself; I have given it to a friend to try.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether that friend is the Colonial Secretary?

MR. FLAVIN: Is it not the fact that the right hon. Gentleman himself expressed an opinion in favour of the quality of the tobacco, so far as he could judge?

MR. RITCHIE: It had a very nice aroma, but I do not know whether that was due to the Irish tobacco or the American tobacco which was mixed with it.

MR. FLAVIN: I will supply the right hon. Gentleman with another sample for his own use.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary whether he will turn his attention to this subject?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Marine Works (Ireland) Act.

MR. O'KELLY (Mayo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether the schemes in connection with the Marine Works Act of last year approved of at the conference of representatives of Irish County Councils in February last have been accepted by the County Councils concerned.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The County Councils of Donegal, Cork, and Clare have, by resolution, agreed to make the necessary contributions to the General Maintenance Fund in respect of works at Gortnasate, Cape Clear, and Liscannor, respectively. The Lord Lieutenant has issued his certificates to the Treasury for these works. Correspondence is proceeding with respect to other proposed works.

The Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in order to prevent any dislocation of trade by changes in our fiscal policy, he will state when the inquiry instituted by the Cabinet may probably be completed.

MR. MANSFIELD: I beg also to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, with a view to avoid interference with the trade and commerce of the country by any change in the fiscal policy of His Majesty's Government, he will state when the decision of the Government on the proposed establishment of preferential or retaliatory rates will be announced.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am afraid that I have no information to give in regard to the Question of either of the hon. Members, but I think I may reassure them that there is no probability of the dislocation of trade which they appear to anticipate.

MR. LAMBERT: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the inquiry will be finished?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that Question is precisely the Question on the Paper, as to which I am regretfully

obliged to say that I can give the hon. Member no information, except to reassure him as to the dangers which he appears to anticipate.

Private Members' Bills.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, with a view to secure more adequate time for private Members' Bills when supported by decisive majorities in the House, he will either accept the Motion for a new Standing Order on this subject placed on the Paper or embody the principle of that proposal in his own proposals when the Rules of Procedure are again taken up.

The Motion referred to is as follows—
“Special Precedence for certain Bills.—To move, as a new Standing Order:—When a Public Bill, other than a Government Bill, has been read a second time after a division, and it appears by the numbers declared from the Chair that not less than three hundred Members have voted, and that the majority for the Second Reading is not less than fifty nor than one-third of the number of Members voting against the Second Reading, thereupon any Member in charge of the Bill may forthwith move that the Bill have precedence after Whitsuntide over all Bills, other than Government Bills, as to which no such Motion has been made and carried on an earlier day in the Session, and such Motion shall be decided without amendment or debate, as a Motion consequential on the Second Reading.”

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have looked at the proposal of the hon. Gentleman which is on the Paper, and, owing, I presume, to some misprint, it appears to me to be unintelligible as it stands. Broadly speaking, I think his idea is that you ought to give precedence to Bills in proportion to the size of the majority they are able to secure upon the Second Reading. I do not think that would be, as far as I am at present advised, a good plan, for this reason: the fact that a Bill secures a great majority on the Second Reading is not a proof, not even a presumption, that it is going to have a peaceable time during its later stages. I may remind the hon. Member that the Education Bill last year was approved by a majority of 402 votes to 165. If you

are going to give precedence to Bills which have a large majority, irrespective of any other peculiarity, you will entirely absorb the time after Whitsuntide for possibly one Bill which will never get further, but which, by the mere fact that it is discussed during the two days after Whitsuntide, will absolutely preclude any possibility of passing into law the least contentious measures, which, I venture to say, are the best field in which private Members can exercise their legislative ingenuity.

MR. CHANNING: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the more important Bills are prevented from being discussed by the present Standing Orders permitting unimportant Bills to be placed before them. I beg to give notice that I will draw attention to the whole subject at the earliest opportunity.

PUBLIC OFFICES (DUBLIN) BILL.

Reported, without Amendment, from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 236.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 236.]

Bill re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for To-morrow.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON TRADE, ETC.

Ordered, That it be an instruction to the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures, that they have power to consolidate the Licensing (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill and the Licensing Acts Consolidation (Scotland) Bill into one Bill.—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 21 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 14, to leave out the words 'one of.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'one of' stand part of the clause."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNNDHAM, DOVER) reminded the Committee that at midnight on Tuesday, when their proceedings were interrupted, they were discussing the position and prospects of the three gentlemen who had signified their readiness to act as Estates Commissioners under the Bill, and he was pointing out the difficulties of this matter. He had since done his best to arrive at a solution. This clause could not be considered alone; it must be considered in connection with a later clause. He had had the advantage of conferring with his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but even with that advantage he was not confident that he had found a solution which would commend itself to the Committee generally. He would like to define the attitude of the Government step by step. During the long conferences which preceded the introduction of the Bill, and on almost every clause he had laid the greatest stress on the administrative character of the new Commission. That the new Commission should be of an administrative character was not merely his personal opinion, it was an integral part of the policy of the Government. He could not have persuaded his right hon. friend to sanction the use of large public funds for purely executive work except upon the basis that those who administered them were to be in a very real sense executive officers, subject in matters of policy, and the economic and proper use of the funds, not only to the control of the Government, but to the criticism of the House. That placed an initial bar in the way of giving to the Estates Commissioners a tenure which would be to all intents and purposes a judicial tenure. If they had such a tenure, the fact of their salaries appearing on the Votes would not place them in the position of executive officers. He need not labour the point.

He would only remind the Committee of the long discussion they had the other day on the subject of the £250,000 and the purposes for which it might be used. Nobody would ask a Judge to spend £250,000 of public money in building houses and making roads. Administrative and executive work of that kind must, of course, be subject to control and to Parliamentary criticism. He could not, consequently, accept Amendments which would impair this position. In selecting the gentlemen to exercise these duties, he turned to one who he believed would be able to assist them very largely in the matter. He would rather have kept the personal question out of the argument, but he could not help saying that in selecting Mr. Wrench he was guided by his great desire that the Bill should really confer the benefits it was intended to confer. It was, therefore, an accidental consideration that ~~this gentleman now drew £3,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund.~~ If that were to be a bar, he would not be able to employ a gentleman who, he thought, ought to be employed. He admitted that if Mr. Wrench were to draw his salary from the Consolidated Fund there would be no Vote before the House upon which the exercise which he might make of his discretion could be investigated and discussed. It was quite fair that by some means the executive action of Mr. Wrench should be made as readily open to criticism in that House as the executive action of Mr. Finucane or Mr. Bailey. To make any change in the position of a public servant drawing £3,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund was not a matter which could be rushed hastily. It involved a good deal of conference with his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he did not think it possible to go further that afternoon than to say that by some means Mr. Wrench's salary should appear on the Votes. The Government adhered to the administrative basis of the Bill in respect to the Estates Commission, and to the view that the action of the members of the Commission must be open to criticism in Parliament, and that, therefore, the emoluments of each of the three gentlemen must appear in some shape or form on the Votes.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) considered the right hon. Gentleman's statement, so far as it had gone, eminently satisfactory. He wished, however, to guard himself in so far as it touched the position of Mr. Wrench. He was irreconcilably opposed to the appointment of that Gentleman, but providing he was to be only on an equality with the other Members of the Commission they must accept him as a necessary evil. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had said nothing about the equally important question of bringing the other two Commissioners to an equal *status*, as regarded their tenure, with Mr. Wrench. The whole question, he admitted was one of extreme delicacy, and it was very hard to debate it without knowing definitely the proposals of the Government with regard to Mr. Wrench's position. With a sincere desire to expedite the progress of the Bill, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the desirability of postponing the clause. If he were to withdraw his Amendment they would be face to face with the Amendments of the hon. Members for North Louth and South Tyrone raising the question of the *status* of the other Commissioners, and it would be impossible to properly debate that point without knowing what the *status* of Mr. Wrench was to be. Postponement of the clause might enable them to arrive at a perfectly amicable understanding in the interval and save the time of the Committee being wasted on an unreal debate.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) considered that it was only fair that the Irish landlords should have a representative upon the Commission. Granted there was to be such a representative, he was not prepared to object to Mr. Wrench, who had had a very long experience as a Land Commissioner and was thoroughly in favour of land purchase. Mr. Wrench might have his own views as to price, but he would not block the object of the Bill. He could not join in any attack on him.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): You have attacked him yourself.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL denied that he had done so. Knowing what he did, he declared that Mr. Wrench would do his best to forward the object of the Bill. It was said that the landlords did not like him, but that was not their concern. He had heard him called "the English adventurer," but they, as the representatives of the tenants, could not object to him as the landlords' representative. He had the greatest objection to the additional members of the Commission having a *status* different from that of Mr. Wrench. They should have equality as administrative officials and be subject to the criticism of both Houses of Parliament. They did not want the experience of Mr. Murrough O'Brien re-enacted in the persons of Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane. He might say frankly that the control which the other House could exercise would be the more effective, because there a debate could be raised on any subject free from the limitations and restrictions which the rules of the House of Commons imposed. With another Lord Lieutenant than Lord Dudley other influences might operate, and the Commission should be a free tribunal with equality of *status* for its members. With personal questions difficulties arose, and he was inclined to think the hon. Member for Mayo was right in suggesting the postponement of the clause.

Mr. WYNDHAM said postponement was not a practical course; the clause had been already amended, and there were great objections to negating the clause and beginning again. Two questions had been raised—*status* and emolument. To insist upon equality would be to prevent the employment of a public servant who in another sphere of duty had a right to a pension. There should be liberty to obtain the services of such a man, but putting him to new work should not prejudice his remuneration. He must beg to be excused for holding that in emolument equality should not be aimed at. As Estates Commissioners they would have the same *status* and be equally subject to Parliamentary criticism, and he would be prepared to amend the clause in order to meet the views of hon. Members. Without pledging himself to either

course he suggested that as Estates Commissioner Mr. Wrench might be paid a separate salary without pension, or the whole of his salary might be transferred from the Consolidated Funds to the Votes, but in that case special consideration would have to be given to his pension. It would be impossible to ask any man who was on the Consolidated Fund to take service on another basis without safeguarding him in the event of his conduct not meeting with the favour of Parliament and necessitating his retirement. By either of these methods Mr. Wrench, as Estates Commissioner, would have the same *status* as the other members, and his salary could be discussed on the Votes.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he had no solicitude about Mr. Wrench, and cared not what was done with him, but he was anxious to protect the other men. He did not attach much importance to the right of criticism, for that right in the House of Commons was dead, killed by the new rules. It had been shifted to the other House, and in that lawless assembly they could raise a debate every afternoon on every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. So far as hon. Members were concerned they were shackled and muzzled and working in blinkers. Under the new rules Parliamentary criticism was dead, dead, dead. Mr. Wrench was to be one of the Estates Commissioners, but the other two Gentlemen were to hold office during pleasure. This tenure only affected the underpaid men. What did Mr. Wrench care about a debate in the House? The House might talk itself hoarse; the recurring quarter days would not be affected, he would receive his salary. Neither would it matter to him what the newspapers said. But if that—he was going to say, the humblest Peer, but that would be blasphemy, there were no humble Peers—but let the newest creation get up in the House of Lords and make an attack on Mr. Wrench, and it would mean social ostracism in Ireland, where social distinction was cared for. He would not be made a D.S.O., or K.C.B., or something of the sort, when the birthday came round. That was the power they had over these men, who

were on the look-out for these mandarin's buttons and stripes. He did not want to keep open old sores, and he was content to leave him alone. He did not think it was good policy from the tenant's point of view to make these attacks on Mr. Wrench, as he would have to work with the other members of the Commission. He did not think it would be good policy to level him down. He was anxious to level the others up, which was a different position. He strongly objected to the proposal that they should allow the other two gentlemen to remain in a position not merely of financial inferiority, but of administrative inferiority. The speeches made from the Treasury Bench that this was not a Court of law were very much like the speeches that were made when the Land Act of 1881 was going through. This body of Estates Commissioners would gradually become a Court of law. It had got large jurisdiction, and accordingly, while they would have many administrative functions, they would be addressed by solicitors and by counsel, and they would take upon themselves, rightly or wrongly, the attitude and demeanour of a tribunal. They would have to give judicial decisions. Was it right that men who had to handle 200,000,000 of money as a loan, and 12,000,000 of money as a gift, should be in a position that the House of Lords, which was the body whose members would receive most of this money, should be able to say to any of them that they held their office during pleasure? and, while he had the highest opinion of that assembly, they all knew that nothing had ever been got for Ireland unless the House of Lords were squared. They were squared on the Local Government Act, and under this Act. Was it fair—he put it to the Treasury—to make what would be the receiving assembly the critical assembly as regarded these two men, and say these two should hold their office during pleasure? As regarded this House they had no such powers of criticism as were suggested. These powers had long since been taken from them by the rules.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he was not sure that he quite understood the drift of the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Louth. It seemed to him that he attached no importance at all to criticism in this House, and his idea of levelling up would be to put Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane on the same plane as Mr. Wrench was at present, and that the whole of them should be excluded from criticism in this House.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I never said anything of the kind.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that he was not sure that he understood the drift of the hon. and learned Member's remarks.

MR. T. M. HEALY: You understood it perfectly well. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"]

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that, of course, he would take no notice of that interruption.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I shall take some notice of your speech.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: If that were so, he certainly would object to it, because he was not one of those who thought that the whole power and value of criticism in this House had disappeared. He was in favour of levelling up in the case of salary, and in addition to that he was in favour of levelling up to this extent, that he did not think these two Commissioners should be left in the position of being removable at pleasure, but he certainly was not in favour of levelling up to the extent of putting them all on the Consolidated Fund, or anything of that sort. So far as the Chief Secretary's speech was concerned, in his view his statement in reference to Mr. Wrench was perfectly satisfactory. He had stated that in some way or other he would take precautions which would enable them to discuss Mr. Wrench's salary on the Votes in this House, just as they would be able to discuss under present conditions the salaries of the other two Commissioners.

That was perfectly satisfactory, but he had not said anything whatever with reference to the tenure of these other two gentlemen. If he could give them an assurance that he would change their tenure in such a way that they would not be removable at pleasure, and that at the same time he would not change their tenure in such a way as to put them on the Consolidated Fund or remove them from criticism in this House, he would have gone a long way indeed towards removing the difficulties. As to whether it was possible to postpone this clause, the right hon. Gentleman certainly mentioned the practical difficulty in the way before the clause was passed; he thought on the second branch of the subject, on which they had had no assurance at all, they should have some further information from the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. DILLON assured the right hon. Gentleman that his proposal to postpone the clause was not motivated by desire to delay, but quite the contrary. He thought he was mistaken when he said the clause could not be postponed because it was amended. This was the first Amendment, and it was perfectly competent for him to withdraw it.

*THE CHAIRMAN: There have been two Amendments.

MR. DILLON said if that were so his proposal fell to the ground. He saw that there was extreme difficulty in discussing this all-important question of the tenure of the other two when they were in the dark as to the tenure of Mr. Wrench. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman was in many respects, so far as it went, very satisfactory; but what they were determined and entitled to press for was that as far as possible, consistently with the appointment, the Commissioners should be on "a level of equality as regarded *status*" and he should say as regarded salary too. How were they to discuss the question of equality until they had some light thrown on the *status* of Mr. Wrench? This was so vital a matter that it was not a question

Mr. John Redmond.

the discussion of which they could consent to postpone to the Report stage, where no one would be allowed to speak more than once. On this question of equality and the question of criticism in both Houses of Parliament, the difficulty he saw was that the House of Lords—and he fully admitted that the force of the House of Lords in this matter of criticising officials in Ireland was most pernicious and most powerful—could criticise these men no matter what their *status* was. The House of Lords had no rules and they could criticise them any day of the week and intimidate them so far as they desired to do it. Their object was to insist upon such a condition of *status* as would as far as possible protect these men against the intimidation of the House of Lords while not withdrawing them from the full criticism of the House of Commons. That was their real object, and he entirely and heartily supported the view of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, that these men ought not to be dismissable at pleasure. If they were to have Mr. Wrench absolutely independent of criticism, so far as salary was concerned, what did he care whether they called him a Commissioner so long as he got £3,000 a year. If he was to be independent of criticism so far as salary went, and his two colleagues were to be dismissable, no matter how they put it on paper, he was the "boss" of the Commission and the other two men were his servants. Their position in the matter was perfectly clear. They wanted equality, and without equality he did not think that the promises of the Government and the understanding given them on the First and the Second Reading would be redeemed.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was far from complaining of the length at which they were discussing this question. It was a very difficult one. Take the phrase "at pleasure"—that occurs in the Bill—it was the phrase, he was informed, always employed in respect of all civil servants and military officers who were officers and servants of the Crown, and though it might be a somewhat shadowy theory, he believed the constitutional theory was that they defended their

salaries, because if they thought they were not the proper persons they would be responsible. He thought that was the view of the responsibility of the Government. The words "at pleasure" were the words uniformly used for all these highest officials in the land.

MR. T. M. HEALY: But you removed Sir Thomas Brady without a word.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Could the right hon. Gentleman refer to a legislative document in which these words are used for the highest civil servants?

MR. WYNDHAM said he had been informed that that was the constant phrase employed. That was his information. He believed it was a concentrated phrase. He believed that the heads of the greatest Departments, such as the Foreign Office, had this tenure. Of course they never were dismissed.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said the Chief Secretary said they had never been dismissed. Sir Thomas Brady was dismissed because under the statute his appointment was "at pleasure," and he presented a Petition of Right which was argued at very great length before the Court of Appeal. It had been constantly exercised.

MR. WYNDHAM dissented.

*MR. HEMPHILL: Yes, but it was so. It was a reported case, and any law officer could get it and satisfy the right hon. the Chief Secretary.

MR. WYNDHAM said he might be pardoned from arguing about this matter. It was not a matter which came before him, but it was a matter of Treasury rules running throughout the whole of the public service. There was a certain tenure which made the person under that tenure under the control of the Government. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford invited him to find some other form of words which would keep the Estates Commissioners in an executive position with respect to their executive work, and would not turn them into Judges.

He feared he could not promise to succeed in doing that. He did not know whether there was any form of words that would meet the hon. Member's objection, but what was proposed expressed part of the policy of the Government on which the Bill was founded. He would be the first to defer to the hon. and learned Member for Louth on these matters. It might be that their policy was wrong, but that was their policy. The Government had endeavoured to deal with the judicial aspects of the work by providing "that any question of law may be referred for the decision of a Judicial Commissioner" by the Estates Commissioners. They knew that legal questions would arise. In connection with their executive and administrative work the Commissioners were not to expend large sums of money unless they were in the position of other officers who carried out work under the Government, and subject to control and criticism. If he could find words as between the two, he would endeavour to do so, but he could not take any words which would impair that policy. He treated Mr. Wrench as an Estates Commissioner, and gave him a small additional salary. An alternative plan was to put him, with his £3,000, on the Votes and on the same tenure. He had done his best to meet a difficult position. To one thing he must adhere, and that was that the tenure of Mr. Wrench, Mr. Finucane, and Mr. Bailey was not to be judicial, but was to be a tenure making them executive officers under the Government, and responsible to the Government and this House.

MR. T. M. HEALY said this was really tinkering with phrases. What was the good of saying that a man's position was not to be a judicial position. He was to be an Estates Commissioner, and there would be no difficulty in giving him such a tenure that he would not be put out of office if he did his duty, as was done some years ago in the case of Sir Thomas Brady, who was summarily dismissed by the Treasury, it being held that he was not under Rule 65, and that there was nothing to prevent the Lord Lieutenant, as representing the Crown, from dismissing him. The hon.

and learned Member for Waterford pretended that he could not understand the drift of his speech. His speeches were generally pretty plain. He would undertake now to make it perfectly understood by the meanest intelligence. What they desired was that these two gentlemen should have such a tenure as that the Lord Lieutenant could not dismiss them at a moment's notice, as he did in the case of Sir Thomas Brady. Where was the difficulty in providing words to fit that? He would tell the Committee what the difficulty was. The landlords wanted to have these two gentlemen under their thumb. They were perfectly satisfied that Mr. Wrench would befriend them, and they knew with regard to these other two gentlemen that, if they held office "during pleasure," one word from the Lord Lieutenant and their dismissal was assured. The right hon. Gentleman could not suggest that this matter had come upon him by surprise. It was a very long way since the debate on the Second Reading. This matter had been fully gone into. The right hon. Gentleman had managed, with great dexterity, to meet matters of greater importance. He had indicated his intention to accept one of the Amendments on the Paper. He himself did not care which one was accepted, but let them have some words that would assure these two gentlemen in the greatest office, whether judicial or non-judicial—call it X—ever yet created in Ireland. It was an office that would have to deal with the evicted tenants, transplanting, congestion in the West of Ireland, the giving out of the £12,000,000, and it would have to do with the loan of £100,000,000. In fact, these two gentlemen, who had the tenure of ordinary removables, would have to exercise during the next twenty years, if they lived, functions of intimate relation with the daily and domestic life of the country. Therefore, it was utterly impossible, so far as the Irish Members were concerned, to hail with satisfaction the appointment of this Commission, unless some solid tenure, as good as Mr. Wrench's, was given to these two gentlemen.

*MR. HEMPHILL said it appeared to him that great and unnecessary difficulty

Mr. T. M. Healy.

had been made by the Chief Secretary with regard to this matter. He was not referring to Mr. Wrench's case at all. It was not desirable to make the other two Commissioners Judges in any sense of the word, or to bring them within the rule which would prevent this House criticising their conduct. He believed that rule was strictly confined to Judges of the Superior Court. County Court Judges held office on a different tenure, and he did not see any practical objection to giving these two gentlemen the same *status* and tenure as County Court Judges, but without calling them Judges. County Court Judges, under a recent Act regulating their appointment, now held office during good behaviour. That was a technical phrase, and when an office was created to be held during good behaviour the officer could not be removed as long as he behaved well. The Superior Court Judges were removable by an Address to the Crown from both Houses of Parliament. County Court Judges could be removed on certificate of the Lord Chancellor certifying to their incapacity. That certificate was laid before the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Lieutenant, by order in Council, could *in motu proprio* at the Privy Council remove County Court Judges. He had removed one or two of them. Why not adopt that machinery, adapting it to cases of other than physical or mental incapacity, to enable these two gentlemen to hold office during good behaviour in the first instance, and have at the same time the special power of removing them on the certificate of the Lord Chancellor. That would give control over them and a check upon them. In that way Parliament could ensure that they would have a tolerable tenure of office. Nothing had so much shaken the confidence of the people of Ireland in the administration of the civil and criminal law as the circumstance of reposing that administration in the hands of removable officers. For human nature was always the same, and when a man had before his eyes the possibility of being dismissed and deprived of the means of livelihood, that fact might possibly go far to influence him in the discharge of his duties conscientiously as between the public and the Government.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that as far as Mr. Wrench was concerned, the Chief Secretary was prepared to bring up words that would ensure that his salary would be brought under the criticism of Parliament without interfering in any way with his tenure as an Estates Commissioner.

MR. WYNDHAM dissented from this interpretation of what he had said.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said it came to this—that Mr. Wrench was to be levelled down to the position of security which Mr. Finucane and Mr. Bailey were to enjoy. This was not a question of salary so far as he was concerned. He did not question Mr. Wrench's salary in any way at all. He thought that Mr. Finucane and Mr. Bailey were very well paid with £2,000 a year. This was a question of tenure. Surely it did not pass the wit of man to let these two men draw their salaries and, at the same time, to secure that the salaries should be subject to the criticism of this and the other House of Parliament, and yet to provide that they should not be subject to dismissal by any Lord Lieutenant who might be in Dublin Castle in future, surrounded by landlords or ex-landlords. They should not be at the mercy of those men. That was what constituted the real difference between Ireland and other countries. They were dealing with Dublin Castle, and that was the real reason why Irish Members were anxious that the tenure of these two Commissioners should be secure. He did not wish to make them irremovables, but surely the Chief Secretary and his legal advisers could devise words which would secure them against being subject to dismissal at the mere pleasure, which might be interpreted as the mere whim, of the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. WYNDHAM said if there was to be general control on the part of the Government over those Estates Commissioners who were to administer public money, then there must be control of an effective character.

MR. DILLON said that they did not know where they were. The Chief Secretary had not even said that he

would present an alternative; he only said that he would cast about to see if possibly he could find words, but he had not been able to find words. This was one of the most vital matters that had turned up in the whole debates. In justification of his own Amendment he insisted that the whole of this difficulty had arisen from the introduction of Mr. Wrench. He was not quite certain whether he would not be prepared to go as far as to let the whole three Commissioners be appointed with their present tenure if there was no Mr. Wrench in question. But what was intolerable was that the landlord representative, or the landlord element, on the Commission was irremovable to be beyond and above criticism, and above fear, while the other Commissioners were to be placed in a position to be removable by the Government of the day. It was all very well to talk of the small chance of their being removed. That was not the fear; it was the effect on the minds of these men that they were removable; that they were not independent men. The Chief Secretary met their criticism by saying that there would be an addition to Mr. Wrench's salary. That was good, so far as it went; but he hoped it would be a very small addition. Mr. Wrench was a gentleman who had the reputation in Ireland of spending all his time in providing for himself and his friends, and in doing no public work; and he ventured to point out that so far as the purpose of criticism was concerned a £5 note would be enough.

MR. WYNDHAM said that in addition Mr. Wrench would have to give up his title to a pension.

MR. DILLON said they would have a word to say about pensions, the granting of which was one of the most remarkable features in recent Irish history. Mr. Wrench was to be placed in a position that he might lose £5 a year, but the other Commissioners might lose everything—their office and their salary. Was that equality? If Mr. Frederick Wrench retained his £3,000 a year and with nothing to do, nothing would please him better; and to hold out to the Irish Members the comfort that they

could punish Mr. Frederick Wrench by depriving him of his work and leaving him with his salary of £3,000 a year was the most monstrous proposition ever made. That was not equality. The Committee was in a most unfair position, because they had really obtained, so far as the *status* of the other Commissioners was concerned, no pledge of any kind from the Chief Secretary. He believed he spoke for the whole of the Irish Party when he said that they heartily supported equality in the members of an administrative Government Board, and that that Board should be under the constant supervision of the House of Commons.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) said they had been for close on two hours waiting to see whether the right hon. Gentleman could ascertain the views of Mr. Frederick Wrench—whether that gentleman would accept this alteration of service and the new conditions in regard to salary. Having regard to the fact that they all objected to the appointment of Mr. Frederick Wrench, he would, with all respect, ask whether it was worth while occupying the time of the Committee in discussing hypothetical conditions which depended upon Mr. Frederick Wrench. The right hon. Gentleman was misinformed by his legal advisers when he said that an officer appointed during pleasure was practically irremovable. No one knew better than the Solicitor-General that Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane would only hold office subject to the whim of the Government of the day. Mr. Charles Bourke, who had been Inspector of Prisons for a great number of years, and to whom the age limit of sixty-five did not apply, was dismissed by the Chief Secretary of the day. The Land Commissioners were to be charged with purely administrative business, and it was not to be tolerated for a moment that one of them should have a tenure of office which was practically that of a superior Judge, and therefore irremovable, while the other two were to be removable at pleasure. It was quite intolerable that this gentleman should be foisted into this place against the wishes of the Irish Members, and that he should be given a different tenure from that of the other Commissioners. He agreed

thoroughly with what had been said about the inefficiency of Parliamentary criticism in regard to the holders of a secure office. He had tried it in all its phases. When he entered the House Members were allowed to attack officers in the position of a Judge, but now they were not permitted to even sneeze a complaint. He would therefore be unable to approach such an austere gentleman as Mr. Frederick Wrench; that gentleman would be irremovable, and therefore his salary could not be discussed. He challenged the right hon. or any other gentleman to give an instance of a man who discharged administrative and executive duties as distinguished from judicial work, who was irremovable. Such a case did not exist. There was, he thought, a possible way out of the difficulty. There was one class of executive officers who, although they discharged executive duties, were not under the control of the Executive Government, but of the House of Commons itself. He meant the clerks at the Table of the House of Commons. These gentlemen's salaries were on the Estimates and were subject to Parliamentary criticism, but they were only removable by an Address carried in the House of Commons. If the Commissioners were made removable by an Address to the Crown by the House of Commons it would be a different thing from being removable by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland sitting in Privy Council. He wanted to keep the Commissioners from being subject to the back-door operations of some gentleman who had climbed up to Dublin Castle. If Mr. Bailey or Mr. Finucane were to be dismissed by the Lord Lieutenant in Council, Mr. Wrench himself might be summoned to that Privy Council and brought under the influence of Dublin Castle. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman for the mere personal matter of the pension or no pension of one man should obstruct the business. He impressed on the right hon. Gentleman the fact that the only instance of administrative and executive officers being removable was the case of the clerks of Parliament, who might be removed from the House itself. He pressed the right hon. Gentleman to himself make terms for Mr. Wrench.

Mr. Dillon.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON asked the right hon. Gentleman where he proposed to move the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman had stated would facilitate the change in the position of Mr. Wrench. He supposed it would be in Sub-section 3 of Clause 76.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he supposed that would be so. But he did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman would like to say anything further now to show how the change was to be brought about.

MR. WYNDHAM said these three officers were to have the same tenure, and Mr. Wrench's salary would be determined in one of two ways—either he would come on to the Votes at £3,000 a year, in which case his pension would be considered—there was no pension now, but in one clause of the Bill there was a provision for a pension—or his salary would remain on the Consolidated Fund, and in place of a pension he could have a separate salary as an Estates Commissioner, with the same *status* as the other Estates Commissioners. The *status* was to be the same, and the only point was what was the tenure to be. He could not say more than he had already said. They must be executive officers of the Government. If they were only to be removable for inability or misbehaviour that was the tenure of a Judge of the High Court, and that was a position independent of the Government, and the Government would not be responsible unless these gentlemen were responsible to the Executive Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman involved this. A vote in the House of Lords against A and B—A would say I am very sorry for having quarrelled with my Peers in Parliament, and would retire on his pension, while B would slip down a hole in the ice.

MR. WYNDHAM said the others were to have Civil Service pensions, under the Act of 1881, but by a mistake in the drafting it was not put into the clause.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that was a most marvellous statement. Now they found because Mr. Wrench was to get a pension Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane were to get one also. He welcomed the statement. No doubt it was a mistake in the draftsmanship, but where was the Treasury when that mistake took place? These gentlemen were not holding office under the Act of 1881, and it was absurd to say they were to have pensions under that Act. This discussion had been of some benefit, for it had, at all events, secured pensions to Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane, and if, as the result of attacks upon them in the other House, they were driven out, they would not go without a pension.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was wrong in his explanation though right in his facts. These gentlemen got a pension under the Superannuation Act of 1859.

MR. T. M. HEALY said there was no reference to the Act of 1859 in the Bill. What they wanted to know was, was Mr. Wrench to take a pension under the Superannuation Act of 1859, or was he to be left by this Bill with a pension. The right hon. Gentleman knew them perfectly well, and knew they never gave way on a good point. They had got a good point now and would stick to it till the facts were before the country. He last night advised the right hon. Gentleman to make up his mind in the few moments that remained, but he would not do so, and they had two hours discussion to-day in consequence. But the right hon. Gentleman must make up his mind to this. He believed the Treasury view was that Mr. Wrench should have the other two under his thumb, but he was determined to prevent that. He would not be a party to this thing.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said there were two points in this clause, and the Government had gone wrong in both. First of all there was the question of making two different kinds of Land Commissioners. Whatever they chose to do with the Land Commissioners should be done with all three. Under the present scheme one was to be responsible only to his conscience, and the other two,

who were to hold office during pleasure, were to be responsible to the Lord Lieutenant. They could not harness sheep and goats together in this way. They could only take the clause as it stood, and under the clause one of them would be master of the other two. Why the Government should have made an exceptional rule for one Commissioner, and left the other two under the other rules he did not know. What was the rule to be? Were the Commissioners to hold office during pleasure, or be practically irremovable like Judges, except on the vote of both Houses. There was a middle course which certainly would not make them as irremovable as Judges, but by which they could hold office during good behaviour.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that when he spoke of the Commissioners not receiving pensions he was interrupted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary, and referred to a subsequent clause; but it was not quite clear to him that that clause provided for pensions. They were also referred to the Act of 1859; but there was nothing in the Bill about that Act. Why should not the Government make it clear that pensions would be secured for those gentlemen? He was not quite sure that the Commissioners would find themselves very comfortable in their positions. A great deal had been said about the Commission not being a Court. He certainly did not wish them to have a judicial position; but they would be dealing with the property of the country. Further, the right hon. Gentleman ought to remember that the Bill had been entirely changed since it was introduced; and that the Commissioners were now vested with discretion, which it was not originally proposed they should possess. He did not wish to touch Mr. Wrench, and he did not believe his position could possibly be taken from him. Indeed, as far as he was concerned, the Government could do anything they liked as regarded Mr. Wrench; but he wished that the other two Estates Commissioners should have the same *status* as Mr. Wrench, and that Mr. Wrench should not have a superior *status* and be the consulting

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

party at the Castle. If that were done he would be quite content.

MR. WYNDHAM said that that was his intention.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that if the right hon. Gentleman would state that he was prepared to bring up words later which would change the position of these two Commissioners from being removable into a more stable tenure, at the same time not removing them from the cognisance of Parliament, that would meet the point. All the right hon. Gentleman had said up to the present was that he would look round and see whether it was possible to find such words, but the right hon. Gentleman gave the impression that it would be a hopeless task.

MR. WYNDHAM said, as he understood the hon. Member for South Tyrone, his position was that although he did not approve altogether of the course which had been taken, he would be prepared to accept it if all the Estates Commissioners were given the same *status*. Then the hon. and learned Member for Waterford asked what that *status* was to be, and he said that he was not satisfied with the words of the Bill. His reply was that those gentlemen would not have a judicial *status*, and that he did not know of any other phrase, other than the words in the Bill, which would not give them such a *status*. He had undertaken to endeavour to find words which would form a new tenure, but he did not yet know whether it would be possible. If there were a half way house between tenure at pleasure and a judicial tenure he would endeavour to find it, but beyond that he could not go.

MR. BLAKE (Longford,¹ S.) asked if the Committee was to understand that if there was a tenure which was a half-way house between tenure at pleasure and a judicial position, which would give those gentlemen a more stable tenure, but would not withdraw them from the cognisance of Parliament, the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to conduct the Committee to it?

MR. WYNDHAM said that was his policy.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked if the Commissioners were to be on the same footing as regarded pension.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had already stated all he had to state on that point. If the £3,000 paid to Mr. Wrench were taken off the Consolidated Fund, then they would have to specially consider his case.

*MR. HEMPHILL said the Committee had not yet been told what Mr. Wrench's present tenure was. When they knew that, all that would be necessary would be to raise the other Commissioners to the same level.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked if the right hon. Gentleman proposed to deal with the pensions of the three Commissioners in one clause.

MR. WYNDHAM said that if the hon. and learned Gentleman attached any importance to that, there would be no objection to it; but it should be understood that the pensions of the two Commissioners, other than Mr. Wrench, would be at Civil Service rates. He could not reopen the financial question; but he was informed by the draftsman that the tenure in the Bill did not require any explicit statement as regarded pensions.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that although the reply of the Government was not quite satisfactory, he recognised that there had been a concession. It was some concession to those gentlemen that they could not be turned out of doors without getting some *solatium*. For his part, he was prepared to wait until the Chief Secretary had introduced his clause. The position of Mr. Wrench was becoming extremely interesting; he seemed to be the fairy god-mother of the situation, and had already showered down pensions on Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane. What they had to do now was to concentrate their attention on Mr. Wrench's pension, and the pension Mr. Wrench would get would also have to be provided for the other Commissioners.

MR. DILLON said he had struggled hard to get out of the difficulty, but he was bound to say that he was not satisfied with the result. The whole matter had arisen from the introduction of Mr. Wrench. He would not put the Committee to the trouble of a division; but he certainly would not withdraw his Amendment.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL asked if the right hon. Gentleman would consider the precedents he had placed before him.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked when the right hon. Gentleman would put down his new Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said it would be put down before the Report stage.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL formally moved the following Amendment—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 30, at end, to insert the words 'Any member of the Land Commission who has been nominated or appointed as an Estates Commissioner shall not be entitled to be a member of the Congested Districts Board as the member of the Land Commission to represent forestry and agriculture.'"—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment, because it was not necessary. He did not think that the hon. Gentleman wished to put into an Act of Parliament a provision that a distinguished public servant should be given work involving no emolument because he was discharging work to which an emolument was attached. Mr. Wrench had informed him that his work as an Estate Commissioner would not enable him to undertake other duties.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he was not aware of Mr. Wrench's action. The Chief Secretary would admit that he was not ungenerous to Mr. Wrench. He would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. BUTCHER (York) said as the Bill stood the Estates Commissioners would be the servants of the Lord Lieutenant, and be subject to his orders. He proposed to leave out the words "shall be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant." The policy of the Commissioners ought not to be controlled by the Executive Government. They would have very large matters within their discretion, and they should bring all their mind and intelligence to bear on them without such control as was suggested, although it was quite right that their actions should be subject to discussion in this House. It was quite a different thing to say that their action should be dictated by the Lord Lieutenant of the day. It would not be right to put these men, who had to discharge most important duties, involving the exercise of judgment and discretion, under the control of the executive, with instructions to do whatever the Lord Lieutenant told them. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed —

"In page 12, lines 32 and 33, to leave out the words 'shall be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant.'"—(Mr. Butcher.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said it would be clearly improper to decide in essence the question which they had been debating when they had agreed to adjourn the actual decision until the Report stage. This was the old question in a new form. and he would not add anything to the argument, he had already adduced.

MR. T. M. HEALY entirely concurred in the judgment of the right hon. Gentleman, but he pointed out that this proposal relieved the Chief Secretary of any difficulty in giving these gentlemen the tenure which had been suggested. With such potent words as "shall be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant" in the Act, he could not conceive any difficulty in providing a proper tenure for these men.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had had these words in his mind during the whole of

the previous debate, and it was because he could not assent to the proposition that the words used in the case of a Judge would fit in with these words, that he could not agree that the words were applicable to the tenure of a Judge. These words expressed the policy of the Government.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB regretted the decision of the Chief Secretary. "Control" meant that the Lord Lieutenant would be able to influence the Commissioners in the way he wished them to go. What was wanted in the administration of this Department was continuity of principle uninterfered with by party exigencies on either side.

MR. BUTCHER agreed that these Commissioners ought to have their action considered in Parliament, and that they ought not to have such a tenure that they could not be removed. What he objected to was that in carrying out the provisions of this measure they should be subject to the daily and hourly control of the Lord Lieutenant. It could not be right for the Lord Lieutenant to give directions that the Commissioners should buy a particular estate or give a certain price for it. If that were done, the Commissioners would be prejudiced in the discharge of their duty, and he was unable to see what other meaning could be placed on the words.

MR. BLAKE said the words, when taken in conjunction with those that followed, seemed to lend themselves to some extent to the criticisms which had been made. He agreed that these gentlemen were to be executive officers, and there was no harm in making it perfectly plain that the Government were responsible for their conduct. That being so, the Government must be able in a general way to regulate the course the Commissioners should pursue, and that object was secured, not only by the tenure of office, but also by the words—

"Shall act in accordance with such general regulations as may be made by"

the Lord Lieutenant. But when the two provisions of this sub-section were taken together, it seemed possibly to be

intended that the Lord Lieutenant should exercise a daily and hourly control over the detailed performance of the work and the determinations of the Commissioners in regard to particular estates. He thought that could hardly be intended, and it would be well if the right hon. Gentleman explained exactly what the words did mean.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the hon. Member who had just spoken, having held high office in another part of the Empire, must be aware that a member of a Government could not interfere minutely from day to day in the detailed work of a great Department. These words merely meant general control and guidance, the Government being responsible for the success of the Act. The Government would not interfere in regard to a particular estate, or as to the sphere of the operations of the Commissioners. But seeing that the Government of the day would be criticised in Parliament if the hopes raised in the course of these debates were disappointed, it might be right for them to have a word as to whether the energies of the Commissioners should be directed towards dealing with congestion or some other of the objects of the measure. There was a great deal of policy in a Bill of this kind; and the Government were responsible for that policy; therefore it was necessary that they should have a general control to see that their intentions were carried out.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that in the administration of a new body with large funds at its back it would be intolerable if the Chief Secretary of the day, who would be constantly subject to criticism in Parliament, had not a directing voice. Especially would that be the case in regard to the present Chief Secretary, who was responsible for this Bill. If the measure failed to work satisfactorily, the right hon. Gentleman would be attacked on all sides, and it would be impossible for him to defend his position, unless he could say he had given the necessary directions, or something to that effect. It would be a satisfaction if the Committee could be told whether the regulations

were to be prescribed, published, or submitted to Parliament. He would suggest that they should be laid on the Table of the House with power to present a prayer against them if necessary.

MR. BLAKE said there was a great deal to be said for the position of the Chief Secretary, so long as the interference of the Executive Government was directed to the principles of action, to seeing that the Act was carried out in the spirit in which it was intended, and did not extend to the minor details of judgment, and so forth.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had not yet decided on the exact form of publication, but he agreed the regulations should come before the House in some way.

MR. BUTCHER said that as the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the control was to be merely a general control, he would withdraw his Amendment, and move the insertion of the word "general."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 32, after the word 'the' to insert the word 'general.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 34, to omit the word 'general.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. BUTCHER said that this Act was going to work for a considerable number of years before it was worked out, and therefore he did not like the Lord Lieutenant to be able to lay down any regulations he liked. He begged to move the Amendment standing in his name—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 34, at end, to insert the words 'and such regulations shall be deemed to be statutory rules within the meaning of the Rules Publication Act, 1893.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, London-derry, N.) was understood to say that he had no objection to the proposal of the hon. Member, but some other form of words would be necessary if the Rules were to be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. BUTCHER said he much preferred that they should be laid upon the Table. He begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. ATKINSON said if the desire of the House was that the Rules should be laid on the Table, he would bring up a clause on Report dealing with this matter.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) said he desired to move an Amendment leaving out the words "Judicial Commissioner," and insert "said Commissioners." The Chief Secretary had already stated that he was anxious that the Bill should be worked with the greatest possible expedition, and he thought this Amendment would expedite matters. It was only fair to assume that the Estates Commissioners who would be responsible for the administrative work of the Act would be the best judges in regard to the selection of the officials to carry on their work in the most satisfactory and expeditious manner.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, lines 36 and 37, to leave out the words 'Judicial Commissioner,' and insert the words 'said Commissioners.'"—(Mr. Cullinan.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Judicial Commissioner' stand part of the clause."

MR. ATKINSON said the clause enabled the Judicial Commissioner to appoint a staff to assist the Estates Commissioners. The Judicial Commissioner was the head of the Commission and he was the person who must decide what members of the staff he could spare to be transferred from his own Department to the branch presided over by the Estates Commissioners.

This Amendment would enable the outside body to strip and carry away the staff of the Judicial Commissioner against the wish or contrary to the orders of the head of that staff. That was a perfectly impossible state of things, for the Judicial Commissioner must have control over his own staff.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) said he agreed that the less the Judicial Commissioner had to do with the appointment of officials the better. He did not agree that it would be better if the appointment went to the Lord Lieutenant. He did not see why any objection should be raised to the proposal to give the appointment to the Estates Commissioners themselves. The hon. Member opposite said that if they got the proper men the work would be carried out in a proper manner, but many of them did not think that the present Judicial Commissioner was the man who was likely to make the best selection and carry out the work satisfactorily to the Irish people. He strongly supported the Amendment of his hon. friend.

MR. BLAKE pointed out that these officers would be the officers of the Commission. He did not see why the Judicial Commissioner should have the sole voice in the disposition of the staff. It seemed to him that if it was to be left to the Commissioners at all it should be left to the whole Commission to determine their officers, and then the Judicial Commissioner would have his say and the whole question would settle itself. He did not see why the Judicial Commissioner should be given this special patronage.

MR. DILLON said that the proposal of the Government was introducing a totally new departure into the administration of the Land Commission. As far as he understood it, the Judicial Commissioner at present had no such power as was proposed, and, as a matter of fact, he did not actually deal with this matter.

MR. ATKINSON said that the question of transferring some part of the staff elsewhere had never occurred before.

MR. DILLON contended that the question of dealing with the staff had arisen and arose continually, and the Judicial Commissioner had no special powers of this nature. It stood to reason that if this appointment was to be left in the hands of the Commission it should remain in the hands of the whole Commission, so that the matter could be arranged in consultation with the men who were to be responsible as Estates Commissioners. Those Commissioners were to be appointed as additional members of the Commission, and if they gave this appointment to the whole body then the Estates Commissioners would have a voice in the appointment of their own officers. Was that an unreasonable thing to ask for? He thought it was an extraordinary proposal that the Judicial Commissioner should be invited to have the sole voice in appointing the staff of this new Department, and it would be a very ill omen for the new Department if the staff was appointed without giving the new Commissioners a voice in the matter. What earthly objection could the Government have to allowing these Estates Commissioners to come into the room when these matters were being settled so as to have a voice in them? Really it was a matter of very considerable importance that these officials should know at the start that the men who were to be their masters and employers and directors had had some voice in appointing them, and it might tend to impair the smooth working of the official machine at the very start if these men were to look upon the Judicial Commissioner as their sole employer.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that the proposal was that the Judicial Commissioner should have the sole power of nominating men on the staff of the Land Commission to work under the Estates Commissioners. He contended that this was not a judicial act; it ought not to be confined to the Judicial Commissioner but ought to appertain to the whole Commission. There was an additional reason for that. Two of the new Estates Commissioners had been in the service before. One was a Land Commissioner, and the other had for fifteen or sixteen years been in the service as an Assistant Legal Commissioner. Consequently they knew all the men who had been doing this work and their

capabilities. It was no use putting too fine a point upon this question. They were not living in a foreign country. They knew what they were talking about, and they were not prepared to have this new organisation packed with anybody's creatures. He hoped the Chief Secretary would say that in a matter like this they should not distrust the whole Land Commission. This was not a question of distrusting the Commission but of trusting them, and in this case the three Estates Commissioners ought to have a voice with the other members of the Land Commission, and that would be very much more satisfactory than leaving the whole executive work to the Judicial Commissioner.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Attorney-General had stated that this case had not arisen before. He was sorry to tell him that it had. When the Land Act of 1881 was passed, Mr. Justice Lawson stated that the officers and clerks of the Church Temporalities Commissioners who were suitable would be transferred to the new Land Commission. He objected to the present proposal on the same ground that he objected to the other—namely, that they would pick out certain favourites for the appointments. Judge Lawson was then Judge of the Church temporalities; and the Committee could imagine what chance Catholics would have with him. He got a distinct pledge from the then Attorney-General that nothing in the nature of discrimination would be attempted, but what was the fact? They boycotted every Catholic, and a number of the men who received appointments afterwards took a prominent part in Orange demonstrations and had to be dismissed by the Land Commissioners. On the matter being referred to the Lord Lieutenant they were told to go back to the office, hang up their hats, and apologise. They did not want all this kind of thing over again. He did think it was a most invidious thing that all the nominations for appointments from the existing staff should be made by one man. He thought this was a matter in which the claims of the individual men should be considered. The proposal made was most unfair to Mr. Wrench, who was to be excluded from making appointments from the existing staff. He thought that for Mr. Wrench's sake alone they ought

to make a stand in order that he might not be put in the position in which the Bill proposed to place him in regard to these appointments. He hoped the Chief Secretary would yield on this small matter.

MR. WYNDHAM said it would be very difficult to frame words saying what the members of the Land Commission were to do in this matter. He thought the Government should nominate and appoint the persons. They would do that with due regard to the nature of the work to be performed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that so long as the nominations were in the hands of one man the appointments would follow. If the Judicial Commissioner nominated a certain number of men for duty, who in the Government was going to intervene to prevent the appointments? He suggested the substitution of the words, "Land Commission" for "Judicial Commissioner." The Judicial Commissioner was a Judge, and did not know the capabilities of the men. If the nominations were made by the Land Commission they would come from a body who knew the capacities of the individual men.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said a far more serious matter arose on this question than had yet been mentioned. He referred the Committee to Clause 76 of the Bill, which provided that—

"The Hon. Gerald FitzGerald, one of the Land Commissioners, shall, for the purposes of the Land Law Acts and Land Purchase Acts, but not further or otherwise, in addition to his existing powers, have all the jurisdiction and powers of a Judicial Commissioner, with the same rank and tenure of office as if he had, at the commencement of this Act, been appointed a Judicial Commissioner under the Act of 1881."

The Hon. Gerald FitzGerald would, therefore, have the appointments in his hands. That would be wholly objectionable to the people of Ireland, and to all parties in the country who had any dealings with the Land Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM did not think it was very convenient to cast upon the

Mr. T. M. Healy.

Land Commissioners the duty of selecting the staff. He proposed to put that duty on the Lord-Lieutenant, and to let the Government accept the responsibility.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 36, to leave out the words 'the Judicial Commissioner may nominate such officers of the Commission, and.'"

Amendment agreed to.

"In page 12, line 39, after the word 'of,' to insert the words 'land clerks of ten years service and.'"—(*Colonel McCalmont.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he objected to an Amendment which would specify these clerks. He had no doubt the gentlemen would be suitable candidates for employment under the Bill.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 12, line 40, at end, to insert the words 'and the remuneration of those persons shall be paid as part of the expenses of the Land Commission.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON (Londonderry) moved—

"In Clause 21, page 13, line 2, after 'Commissioners,' insert 'or by any vendor.'"

He said his object was to extend the same facilities to all landowners as to the class mentioned in the clause.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 2, after the word 'Commissioners,' to insert the words 'or by any vendor.'"—(*The Marquess of Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he had not had an opportunity of considering this matter. He asked his noble friend not to press the Amendment at present.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON said he would move it on Report.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. HEMPHILL said the Amendment he now wished to move was to leave out the words "and completed" from line 3 of Sub-section 9. He was aware that in moving this—which was one of a series of Amendments—he was taking a course which might not be very popular in the Committee, because, as a general rule, lawyers were not in great favour there. Why they should not be he never could understand, because this House was the fountain and creator of all law, and one would have thought that those who tried to administer the law should not be marked out for derision. He had observed that any clause bearing on lawyers' fees was received with a good deal—he would not say of obloquy, but with a great deal of discouragement—on both sides of the House. The scheme proposed in the sub-section was that sales of estates to the Estates Commissioners, and sales by those Commissioners to tenants and others might be negotiated and completed by any agents, solicitors, or other persons approved by the Estates Commissioners at a fixed price or percentage, according to scale fixed by the Estates Commissioners. That was to say, when a landlord wanted to sell, and a tenant to buy his property, neither landlord nor tenant could have any voice in the appointment of the solicitor but he was to be appointed by the Commission. In starting the original negotiations he thought it was right and reasonable that the landlord's or tenant's solicitor should not interpose or be recognised, and accordingly his Amendment did not interfere with that. It only enabled the negotiation to be carried to a completion by the solicitor of the landlord or tenant. Why should landlord and tenant be compelled to put their title deeds into the hands of a solicitor who was not nominated by themselves, of whom they knew nothing, and who could not be supposed to have their particular interest at heart? It was most unreasonable that such a novelty should be introduced into legislation. The object of his Amendment was that when the sale came to be completed the landlord and tenant should be able to exercise the ordinary citizen's right of nominating their own solicitor to carry out the contract to its completion. His Amendment was supported by the Incorporated

Law Society of Ireland, who could not be accused of being animated by selfish motives. After a great number of years' experience he could say that there was no more intelligent and honourable profession in the Empire than the solicitors of Ireland, who, under great temptations, and struggling under very trying circumstances were an example of public trusteeship of which any country ought to be proud.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 3, to leave out the words 'and completed.'"—(Mr. Hemphill.)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and completed,' stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said that the sub-section did not by any means lay down that solicitors other than those connected with the particular properties were to be employed by the Estates Commissioners. It was a permissive clause, subject to the goodwill of the Treasury. He was quite sure that the Treasury would not permit the Estates Commissioners to employ a solicitor to the detriment of the solicitors who were connected with a particular estate; but the right hon. Gentleman would see that it might occur that if the solicitors to the estate were compulsorily employed it might put a certain premium on factitious opposition to the completion of the transaction. He had no doubt that in a great number of cases the family solicitor would be employed; but he could not accept the Amendment.

*MR. HEMPHILL begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester moved that Sub-section 9, line 3, should be amended by leaving out "agents, solicitors, or other persons" and inserting "land agent or solicitor nominated by the landlord and"—approved by the Estates Commissioners.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 3, to leave out the words 'agents, solicitors, or other persons,' and

insert the words 'land agent or solicitor nominated by the landlord and.'—(*Sir John Rolleston.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment. As he had already stated the Estates Commissioners would, as a rule, employ the solicitors connected with the property, but some discretion must be left to the Estates Commissioners.

Question put, and agreed to.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON had an Amendment on the Paper to insert in Sub-section 9 relating to the scale of fees to be paid to the solicitors, the words—

"Such scale to include in the case of a land agent of an estate acting in that capacity on the twenty-fifth day of March, nineteen hundred and three, a three per cent. negotiation fee, but such negotiation fee shall, in the case of a land agent in receipt of an annual salary less than five per cent. of the rental of the estate, be assessed on the proportion the salary bears to five per cent. of the rental, and the negotiation fee shall be reduced accordingly."

*THE CHAIRMAN ruled that the Amendment was incompetent, as it was outside of the Money Resolution of the Committee of the Whole House.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said in moving his Amendment he desired to direct the attention of the Chief Secretary to the enormous number of employees under land agents who would be deprived of their livelihood because, having regard to the number of years they had served as land clerks, it would be impossible for them to obtain other occupation at their age. Could nothing be done for that class of workers who had been most faithful in doing their duty to their masters?

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): Let the masters do it themselves.

MR. SLOAN said they should not be left without any occupation; and he submitted the Amendment to the kind consideration of the Chief Secretary.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 8, at end, to insert the words 'On the sale of any estate under the Land Purchase Acts, whether to or by the Land Commission or otherwise, one fourth of the percentage or fixed price allowed to an agent for the negotiation and completion of the sale shall be paid to the land clerk employed in the office of such estate, and if there be more than one land clerk employed in the office of the estate the said amount shall be distributed to the land clerks in proportion to their number of years service as land clerks in Ireland respectively.'—(*Mr. Sloan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment. Where the Estates Commissioners employed a person in any capacity, the scale of payment would be arranged between the Commissioners and the Treasury; and justice would be done as regarded any work done for the Department. As regarded the second part of the Amendment, they ought not to interfere with a landlord who was conducting his own negotiations. He assumed that the landlords would do their best to see that those who had been in their service would not suffer. He wished to repeat what he had already stated, that in administering the Act they would, wherever they could, do their best to see that persons would be compensated in meal where they could not be compensated in malt. He knew that it had been suggested that in addition to the bonus there should be a grant; but his colleagues and himself could not see their way to adopt that policy. In administering the Act it would, however, be their earnest desire to give as much employment as they could to agents and others concerned.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) said he should like to ask, on a point of order, at what particular point the interests of the land agents could be discussed on this clause?

*THE CHAIRMAN: The interests of the land agents is rather a large question. Financial compensation for land agents could not, I think, be introduced at all in this Bill without obtaining previously

a Resolution, which would have to be proposed in Committee on the authority of a Member of the Government, as it would involve the expenditure of money; and the Committee could not initiate expenditure of money without obtaining the authority of the Government.

Question put, and negatived.

*MR. HEMPHILL said that the clause enabled the Commissioners, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, to make rules for carrying the Act into effect. In several recent Acts of Parliament the President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland had been included on the rule-making body; and the Incorporated Law Society thought that where the interests of their clients were so deeply involved as they were in this Bill, it was only reasonable that a representative of the solicitors' body should be a member of the rule-making body. The Amendment had, he believed, been submitted to the Chief Secretary and to the law officers; and, of course, if the Chief Secretary was unable to accept it he would not occupy the time of the Committee further. It appeared to him, however, to be an eminently reasonable proposal; and it was a practice which was followed in England as well as in Ireland in all modern Acts of Parliament which provided for the making of rules.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.) asked if there was a salary attached to the position.

*MR. HEMPHILL said there was no salary.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 9, after the word 'Commissioners,' to insert the words 'and the President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland for the time being.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment as it stood. Many of these rules would be administrative rules, but he would undertake to consider whether the

President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland should not be brought in on particular occasions.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that although no salary was attached to the membership, it would involve work; and he thought that the Government ought to welcome an independent mind in regard to those rules. When they had a gentleman who, in the interests of the smooth working of the Act, undertook to go over the rules without pay, the Government should jump at such an offer. The offer was, he understood, made by a responsible body of great experience, and it followed English precedent as well as Irish precedent. He did not think it would water the wine of the Estates' Commissioners if they had to act with a grave and reverend seignior of the legal profession who had long experience. He did not know the present president, but he thought the Amendment should be accepted here and now. If the words were too wide they could be limited. He should like to know if the Chief Secretary was resisting the Amendment on the advice of the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General.

MR. ATKINSON said the clause covered duties which would not be discharged by solicitors at all. As regarded the professional duties of solicitors, it would be a matter for consideration whether the co-operation of the President of the Incorporated Law Society should not be secured.

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) said he hoped the Chief Secretary would reconsider the position. He joined in the request which had been made by the hon. Member for North Louth.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would reconsider the matter before the Report stage.

*MR. HEMPHILL said on that assurance he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.) said the Amendment which he wished to move would greatly expedite sales.

Several solicitors had informed him that otherwise there would be no end of delay. Indeed, it would be a great improvement if there was an examiner appointed in each county town.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 10, after the words 'Lord Lieutenant,' to insert the words 'appoint two examiners of title in each province and.'"—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said it was not possible to accept the Amendment, as it would upset the work of the staff altogether.

Question put, and negatived.

MR. BUTCHER said the Amendment he wished to move was to the effect that the rules under Section 10 should be laid on the table of the House. He had been given an assurance to that effect with regard to Section 6.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 13, line 19, at end, to insert the words, 'All such rules shall be made by a majority, of whom the Judicial Commissioner shall be one; and such rules shall be deemed to be statutory rules within the meaning of the Rules Publication Act, 1893.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON replied that these were rules of a wholly different character.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (*Hackney, S.*) thought it was very desirable that they should know that these rules were for the costs and expenses of the Land Commission. That ought to be made quite clear.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (*Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University*) said it was desirable wherever publication was required, that it should be publication of the same kind whether under the Act of 1893 or by laying on the Table of the House, and he would promise and undertake

Dr. Thompson.

that the Government would provide that wherever publication was required it should be publication of the same kind.

**SIR JOHN COLOMB* (*Great Yarmouth*): Does the hon. and learned Gentleman acknowledge that these rules should be published, and it is only a matter of form as to how they shall be published?

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL replied that would depend upon the scope and nature of rules. Some it would be ludicrous to lay upon the Table. Others might relate to such important matters that it would be desirable they should be laid.

**MR. BUTCHER* asked who was to be the judge of whether they were of sufficient importance to be published or not. He pointed out that there were rules "for carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of this Act," and it might be necessary they should be considered by the House. He suggested that all should be laid upon the Table of the House so that the House could have control of them. If some were laid and some not there would be great confusion.

MR. BLAKE concurred in thinking that the general description of the rules in this section involved the proposition that they might be of far-reaching importance and ought to be laid.

MR. T. M. HEALY regarded the position taken up by the Government as not at all unreasonable. There were rules so insignificant in their character that it would be absurd to ask Parliament to discuss them.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL thought they might say that all rules made in pursuance of "such and such" should be laid on the Table. That might bring in the subsection they were then dealing with.

**MR. BUTCHER* said he would be content with this assurance, and ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DILLON said, with reference to the last sub-section, he hoped the Government were not going to assent to the Report of the Estates Commissioners being simply and solely a financial report. It was desirable that the Commissioners should furnish a much fuller Report than was received from the Land Commissioners. He suggested the Report should be more of the character of that of the Congested Districts Board. It was not a question for Amendment, and he merely made that suggestion.

Clause 21, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 22.

*MR. BUTCHER said the objection to Sub-section 3 was that where there was a sale by the landlord to the Estates Commissioners by the operation of the preceding clause, the landlord would get $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the purchase money until the final distribution of the purchase money took place, but the effect of this clause would be that when there was a sale by the landlord to his tenants he would get the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but part would come out of the purchase money if the investments did not earn sufficient to pay it. Why should that distinction be made between the two methods of sale? He believed that sales to the tenants were the best, and he desired to encourage them, and that that could best be done by leaving out this sub-section. He therefore begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 14, line 1, leave out Sub-section (3).”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 3 stand part of the clause.”

MR. ATKINSON said the two cases were entirely different. When an estate was sold to the Land Commissioners the purchase price was immediately paid into Court, and during the twelve months the money lay in the bank the Government gave $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon it, although the receipts from the land might not amount to that. By so doing they did away with one of the great deterrents that prevented landlords from selling, which was the fear that the percentage on the purchase price would

not be sufficient for them to live upon. Where a landlord sold to the tenant, the Commissioners were in an entirely different position. In that transaction the Commissioners lent the money and the landlord received it at once. Therefore the State did not feel themselves bound to come forward and, out of public money, provide what might be necessary to meet the claim of the landlord measured at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But in order that he might receive something equivalent to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., they provided that if the produce of the money was insufficient to pay him $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., he should be entitled to go upon the principal for sufficient to keep his income up to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. level for twelve months. It was true that that was at the expense of the remainderman, but inasmuch as the landlord had chosen to deal with his tenant direct, if anybody was to suffer it was more rational that it should be the remainderman rather than the State, who, in the transaction, only assumed the character of a lender of the money.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that as an estate meant anything the Commissioners chose to call an estate, it might be a portion of an estate. In such a case a landlord who sold three or four holdings might get advantages from which another landlord selling an equal number of holdings direct to his tenants would be precluded. The transfer of land in many parts would be best promoted by a gradual process, and he knew several cases where two or three tenants had bought, and then the surrounding tenants, when they saw the advantages, had come in afterwards. Sales would not be accelerated by penalising the landlord who, from the circumstances of his estate, desired to deal with the individual tenants.

MR. BLAKE said there was no doubt that in many cases the uncertainty as to whether the purchase money of an estate would produce the income of the landlord had acted as a great deterrent to purchase, and the right hon. Gentleman had stated that this provision had been inserted to get rid of that deterrent. To the extent to which that deterrent had been removed in the case of sales to

the Commission, its existence had been emphasised in the case of sales direct to the tenants. The two methods of sale ought to receive equal treatment, but here a preference was given to one mode as against the other. In the one case the landlord secured $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while in the other he ran a certain risk.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON thought it very unfair that the landlord who dealt direct with his tenants should have to take money from his children or the remainder men to bring his income up to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. level. It was rather shabby on the part of the Treasury to insist on that, and he hoped the Chief Secretary would avoid making this invidious distinction.

MR. JOHN REDMOND had always understood the view of the Government to be that direct sales should be the normal transaction. This provision, however, would offer the greatest possible incentive to the landlord to sell to the Land Commission; in fact, it would be quite sufficient to prevent men selling direct who otherwise would do so. The provision was altogether inconsistent with the view the Government had over and over again expressed. It was necessary to have both methods of sale, and in many parts of the country it might be desirable that the sales should be largely to the Commission, but fair play must be given to both systems. This provision penalised the very procedure which the Government had declared they wished to see generally adopted.

MR. GORDON could not see any logic for the reason given for the distinction. If the Treasury were put to greater expense or had to provide a large sum of money, he could understand it, but neither of those conditions obtained. In each case they were dealing with the difference between what the price would produce and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It was desirable that landlords and tenants should deal direct with one another as far as possible, and that no distinction should be made. He hoped the Government would give way on the point.

Mr. Blake.

MR. WYNDHAM said that in the opinion of the Government this sub-section, if it favoured either, favoured the landlord who dealt directly with his tenant rather than the landlord who sold to the Commission. The landlord who sold to the Land Commission went at once on the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis, whereas the landlord who conducted his own negotiations continued to draw rent for a longer period, so that the gap before the cessation of the rent-paying and the investment of the purchase money was shorter.

MR. JOHN REDMOND pointed out that the Attorney-General had just declared that the existing system acted as a deterrent, because the landlords were afraid they would not get sufficient money to preserve their income. That was inconsistent with the argument the right hon. Gentleman was now adducing.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not hear the speech of the Attorney-General, but he was clear that the sub-section acted rather in favour of the direct sale than otherwise. In the case of a sale to the Land Commission, as soon as the estimated price had been assented to by the landlord and three-fourths of the tenants, and the estate was vested in the Land Commission, the landlord immediately went on the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis. In the case of the landlord selling direct the question of the three-fourths did not arise, and the interval was shorter than in the other case. Under Sub-section (2) the Land Commission would be drawing rents for a certain period, out of which it would be easy to take $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so that, while the Treasury would not gain they were not exposed to loss, and the solvency of the land purchase transaction would be strengthened. In the case of a direct sale the contingency of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. not being available was very remote; but it had to be provided for, and, as the money was there, the Government held it was better that the landlord should have a certainty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. than be exposed to the chance of less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of course, in the long run, the landlord was anticipating the aid grant, but in the opinion of the Government the interregnum in the case of a direct sale

would be shorter than in the case of a sale to the Land Commission.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said the speeches of the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General were absolutely inconsistent. It was the distribution that caused the delay, and the landlord after he made his agreement could not draw rent; and he would only be getting interest on his purchase money. The Chief Secretary had stated that the owner who had sold to his tenants direct could prolong the payment beyond the date of the agreement. He could not get rent beyond the date of the agreement, and after that date a whole year must elapse in most cases. The consequence would be that they would have the sales blocked because under Section 8 the Land Commission could not hold more than £50,00,000 worth of property.

MR. DILLON asked if it was not a fact that when a landlord sold an estate and the agreement was arrived at, in the interval between that and the final completion of the transaction and the payment of the money the tenant had to pay 4 per cent.

MR. ATKINSON said that when a landlord came before the Land Commission, and the Commission agreed, a vesting order was made immediately. The money was then put into Court and the Commission had their fund out of which they could get the money to pay 3½ per cent. on the purchase money for twelve months. In the other case, when the agreement was made between the landlord and the individual tenant, rent ceased at the date of the agreement.

MR. DILLON asked if it was not a fact at the present moment when they sold an estate in Ireland, that when the purchase agreement was signed the rent stopped, and then the tenant went on and continued to pay 4 per cent., on the purchase money. In that case the statement of the Attorney-General was not in accordance with the facts, because he stated that the moment the agreement to sell was signed all rents stopped, and there was no fund except that which arose from the investment of the purchase money.

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MR. ATKINSON said that when the vesting order was made then the tenant's payment of 4 per cent. ceased.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was rather difficult to explain how these things worked out. He was perfectly clear, however, that the general effect of contributing under Sub-section 3 would be to put a premium upon the direct sale of land. When the landlord sold directly to the Land Commission he got 3½ per cent., but when he sold to his tenants he went on getting the rents for a longer period. They could not lay down a rule that it would take so long in one case and so long in another, but the general effect would be that 3½ per cent. would be paid for a longer period in the case of a tenant of the Land Commission than in the case of the landlord. He was perfectly satisfied that if he left out this sub-section hon. Members, after considering its ramifications, would wish to have it re-inserted.

MR. CLANCY said that he thought the right hon. Gentleman must admit that the landlord who sold direct to his tenants could not get rent after the date of the agreement for purchase. A whole year elapsed in most cases, and during that time he would not be getting rent, but instalments of purchase money, which might be insufficient.

MR. WYNDHAM said that, as a matter of fact, where the landlord sold direct to the tenant all the agreements for the whole estate were signed about the same time. In the case of a sale to the Land Commission a period of negotiation came after the sale. Consequently, the 3½ per cent. period was longer than the other.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said this clause simply referred to a case after a vesting order had been made or the money had been paid into the bank. When the money was paid into the bank it was invested at a lower rate of interest than 3½ per cent. It would be absolutely impossible to have any other result. In the one case the Land Commission received the rent, and therefore they could afford to pay 3½ per cent. ;

but in the other case they received the rent-charge, which was about the same thing. He thought it would be very shabby on the part of the Government to throw what he still considered an obstacle in the way of direct sales to tenants.

MR. BLAKE said that under this sub-section interest was to be paid at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He contended that this applied to both classes of cases and in each case $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was possible. The section seemed to apply to both classes of cases. In that case the deficit would have been paid out of the purchase money, and the transaction was going to be a more profitable one. The net result would be that there would be more money to meet the intervening period. It was rather a singular provision which was contemplated in this case while no deficit was contemplated in the other case. He thought this must mean a general provision for the payment of interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but in case of direct sales if there was a deficit it was to be borne by the purchase money.

MR. WYNDHAM said that in the case of a sale to the Estates Commissioners there could be no deficit. In this case if they were to drop the sub-section the only result would be that if there was any deficit the landlord would bear it. There was no proposal to spend money upon this, and certainly no money would be spent on direct sales to the Land Commission. They certainly did not propose to spend money on direct sales to the tenants. After all, the position of the Irish landlord was not so very bad that they would have nothing left of the purchase money. He promised to consider the propriety of doing something in the case of men who were really bankrupt.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.) asked whether the bonus would be available in cases where bargains were made between landlords and tenants direct.

MR. WYNDHAM was understood to say that it would.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Robertson.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 14, line 8, after the word ‘claim’ to insert the words ‘or in respect of any premium or any policy of insurance charged on the lands sold.’”—(*Sir Lewis McIver.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

SIR WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) expressed the hope that the Government would accept this Amendment. What was proposed was just and reasonable.

MR. ATKINSON said there was some difficulty in this matter. He knew the kind of case to which his hon. friend referred. It was the case where a tenant for life went to an insurance company and gave a mortgage on the land at 5 per cent. The tenant for life insured his life at a certain premium, and he charged this premium on the land in addition to the mortgage debt and the interest. It was more or less a contingent liability. While he thought it was quite right that the mortgage and the interest on it should be paid out of the proceeds of the sale, he was very much afraid that a collateral and contingent charge of this kind might very often crush out some pecuniary encumbrances. It was not by any means clear how that had been charged. It was not an annual charge. It was only ultimately in the case of default by the insurer that the land was come down upon. More consideration would be required to see what particular method could be adopted whereby the placing of this contingent liability, in addition to the mortgage and interest secured by it, might not crush out a pecuniary encumbrancer.

*SIR LEWIS McIVER (Edinburgh, W.) instanced by way of illustration of the nature of the liability the case of an ordinary investor who instructed his solicitor to invest £1,000 in land mortgage in Ireland on a life interest. The invariable practice in such cases was to receive a policy of insurance as collateral security, and to make the premium on that policy a charge on the land of the mortgagor who had the life interest. These premiums were an integral part of the

mortgage. They were not contingent. They were simply part of the transaction. All that he claimed by the Amendment was that the mortgagees should have the full benefit of the mortgage of which the policy of insurance was only an incident.

MR. ATKINSON said he could not accept the Amendment at this stage, but he would consider the matter.

Question put, and negatived.

*MR. HEMPHILL moved the proviso to Sub-section (6) of Clause 22, with the object of safeguarding the interests of parties concerned in cases of sale where disputes arose over the distribution of the purchase money. This sub-section was a most important one, because it laid down what was to be done with the purchase-money after an estate had been sold, the vesting order made, and the tenant put in possession as the owner in fee. Of course the tenant was in no way interested in what was to be done with the purchase-money of the estate. He thought they might assume—and he said it with some regret—that a majority of the estates in Ireland which would be brought within the provisions of this Act were encumbered—some of them very heavily encumbered. He doubted whether there was a single owner of an estate with a clean bill of health, as it were, who would take advantage of the Act. The sub-section dealt with an important part of the purchase-money in a perfunctory way. It said—

“After the vesting order, or the payment into the Bank of Ireland, as the case may be, has been made, no proceedings shall be taken, without leave of the Land Commission, in respect of any claim against the purchase-money, or the income thereof.”

In dealing with his Amendment he asked the Committee to keep in view the eighth sub-section, which went on to show how the purchase-money was to be dealt with. What he proposed was that the money in dispute should be paid into Court, that being necessary for the protection of the encumbrancers. When the money was in Court it could not be paid out until close investigation had taken place as to whether the whole or part was due to

the claimant, and also as to the relation in which he stood to the other encumbrancers. This was a matter they could not deal with by any rule of thumb. The proviso he proposed to add did not interfere with the general policy of the Act, or in any way retard the conversion of the tenant into the fee-simple proprietor. It was all very well in theory, but when it came to practice that was a different thing. He gave the three Commissioners credit for being, if they liked, the greatest administrators that had ever sat on any tribunal, but there were only three of them, with only three brains, and three hearts to keep alive, and they could not go through all this business without considerable assistance. If an attempt was made to force these enormous duties upon them there would be innumerable mistakes, and great injustice would be done to the community. The time had gone by when technicalities caused delays in the Court of Chancery, and there was now no more difficulty in getting money out of the Court of Chancery than out of any other Court. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 14, line 22, after the word ‘thereof’ to insert the words ‘Provided that any person making any claim against the purchase money, or the income thereof, may apply to the Judicial Commissioner to have the said purchase money paid into the High Court to be distributed thereby; and the Judicial Commissioner, if satisfied that the said claim is *bona fide*, and that a dispute exists as to the title to, or distribution of, or payment of the said purchase money, or any part thereof, or of the income thereof, shall make an order for the payment of the said purchase money, or any part thereof as to which a dispute exists, and the income thereof, into the High Court, to be distributed among and paid to the parties entitled thereto in the same manner as if it were the proceeds of the sale of lands ordered to be sold by the Chancery Division of the High Court under its ordinary jurisdiction.’”—
(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

MR. ATKINSON said that there was an axiom that the multiplicity of suits ought to be obviated, but under such a clause as was proposed by his right hon. friend it would be possible to establish half a dozen Chancery suits, or more. [An Hon. MEMBER: That is what he wants.] In addition to the general provision made for the distribution of the purchase money

the 64th Clause provided that questions of law arising under the Land Purchase Acts might be taken to any Division or Judge of the High Court. All the rest thereof was a matter of administration. It would be most unfortunate if the purchase money was to be consumed in Chancery costs.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 14, line 23, after the word 'estate,' to insert the words 'where the purchase money thereof is sufficient to discharge all claims affecting same, and.'"—(*Sir Lewis McIver.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said he could not accept the Amendment.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 14, line 40, after the second word 'the,' to insert the words 'Local Registration of Title Office.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 22, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 23.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 15, line 24, to leave out the words 'twelve months,' and insert the words 'two years.'"—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'twelve months' stand part of the clause."

MR. ATKINSON said that the period of twelve months had been chosen after great consideration; it at once protected the landlord, and gave a stimulus to despatch.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 23 agreed to.

Clause 24 agreed to.

Clause 25.

Mr. Atkinson.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) moved—

"In Clause 25, page 16, lines 11 and 12, leave out 'two and three-quarters,' and insert 'three.'"

So far as he could gather, there was no probability of raising this huge loan of £12,000,000 at 2½ per cent., because at the present time Irish land stock stood, not at par, but at 92 for every 100. The most recent example of the Government issuing stock was the Transvaal Loan, but that was not issued at 2½ per cent. but at 3 per cent. The Transvaal had enormous possibilities compared with Irish land; it had enormous quantities of gold and diamonds, and he did not know that Irish land was as valuable as gold and diamonds. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to give an explanation as to how this money was to be raised, and at what price it was estimated it could be raised. As he understood, the right hon. Gentleman was going to raise something like £5,000,000 a year for the next two years. If they took the present price at 92, that meant a loss of £8 on every £100 to be raised, which meant a loss of £400,000 a year. But, as the right hon. Gentleman said the rate of purchase should be accelerated, the loss which would have to be made up by the British taxpayer would amount to not less than £800,000 a year. The whole financial Press, and the whole financial opinion of the country, was against the view that the £112,000,000 could be raised at 2½ per cent. This £800,000 a year could not be covered by an equivalent grant of £185,000 a year, and really he did not see from the point of view of an Englishman why this equivalent grant should be used. He apprehended that in the future they would have Irish Members asking for more money for educational purposes that were required so urgently in Ireland. His own impression was that the rate was put at a low level in order to artificially increase the price of land in Ireland. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to give some explanation as to how this money would be raised, and at what price it was estimated that it could be raised, because the whole financial Press and the whole financial opinion of this country was against the

view that the £112,000,000 could be raised at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. He further thought that the right hon. Gentleman would have a very considerable difficulty when he placed this loan in competition with other loans of a similar character. Surely the Transvaal loan gave as good security as this Irish loan, and that had to be raised at 3 per cent., so that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not count upon raising the money on lower terms. What grounds had the Chief Secretary for supposing that in the future money could be raised on cheaper terms than at present? It might be cheaper, but it might, on the other hand, be dearer, especially if the present policy of the Government were pursued. Therefore without going into questions of detail he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give some information upon this most important point because it affected very considerably the security of the Treasury in guaranteeing this £112,000,000 at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 16, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words 'two and three-quarters,' and insert the word 'three.'—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Member had invited him to make a statement that would be more appropriate on a First Reading than on a clause in Committee. He would refer the hon. Member to his speech in introducing the Bill when he made a careful justification of the financial foundations of the measure. It was difficult—even impossible—in Committee to develop once again the arguments he then laid before the House. He thought the hon. Member must realise on reflection that his colleagues and the Guardian of the Purse would not have assented to the financial provisions of this Bill except after long and anxious investigation. The hon. Member could take it from him that this was not a plan devised on the spur of the moment. In arriving at it recourse had been had to persons not connected with the

Government, whose opinions on financial questions were valuable and always on such occasions obtained. He had received from many sources—perhaps people more competent to advise on financial matters than the hon. Gentleman could pretend to be—prospects of the future that could be regarded with equanimity. The hon. Member seemed to think that the difference would fall perpetually on the Irish development grant. That was not so. Assuming the loan as floated at £95 or even £92, the interest on the difference was to be paid at the same rate as the repayment by the purchaser—viz., at sixty-eight and a half years. It would be found that the charge would not fall as a heavy burden on £185,000 a year. He apprehended no difficulty on that score. The hon. Member had challenged his estimate of the security of the whole transaction, and had asked them only to lend the money to Ireland at 3 per cent. He could not repeat what he had already said on the question of security. They had felt it their duty to Ireland, to this country, and to the Empire to lend the money at the lowest possible rate. Had the finances of the Empire justified it they would have been glad to lend the money at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and then the period of repayment would have been less. In view of the facts referred to, however, that had been found to be an impracticable policy. They had followed the most-favoured-nation policy in respect to Ireland by letting her have the money at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., as it was their duty to do. He could not accept any Amendment which would shake the financial foundation of this Bill and bring it with a crash to the ground.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said the purpose of the Government should always be to raise a loan at a natural interest and to issue it at par. They knew that last year a loan of £30,000,000 was issued at par, and 3 per cent. was the rate of interest upon which it was found possible to raise the money. If $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. was the right price of issue, then the price of the Transvaal loan was wrong, and something ought to be done to reconcile the difference between the two loans.

He really could not allow these financial clauses to pass without reminding the Committee of the existence of the British taxpayer, and of the fact that the security for this loan was the security that he furnished, as any default would have to be made good out of the Consolidated Fund, in which the British taxpayer was so greatly interested. It was an invidious thing to utter a discordant note when two sides of the House so seldom in agreement were ready to fall upon each other's necks and embrace each other. If he were to describe the present condition of things from the fiscal point of view, he should picture up a remote and inaccessible cave in which a band of brigands was engaged in cutting the throat of the British taxpayer, and complaining that he did not bleed to death quickly enough. Far be it from him to disturb the harmony, but he felt it his duty to say again that in his opinion there was no adequate security furnished for these sums to be advanced by England. There was absolutely no limit to the amount of the loan. £100,000,000 and £150,000,000 had been suggested, and even £200,000,000 had been mentioned that day on the opposite Benches. So far as he could see, so long as there was land to be sold in Ireland for more than it was worth, and there were tenants to buy for less than it was worth, so long would the British taxpayer have to furnish extra millions. He would not go into the reasons for thinking that the security was inadequate. In his opinion the whole finance of the Bill was most disappointing. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that he had taken the advice of financial experts, but if that had been done surely he would have been advised to follow the course taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and deal with the matter not on sentimental or political, but solely on fiscal grounds. If he had done that this stock would have been issued at 3 per cent. He did not want to stop the passage of the Bill, but although he stood alone he felt he must make a protest on behalf of the British taxpayer against the facility, and even the wantonness, with which the Chief Secretary had

persuaded his colleagues to pledge the credit of the British taxpayer to an enormous and incalculable extent. If this stood alone it would be bad enough, but these sums were to be put on our shoulders at a time when other vast sums were also being placed there. He confessed that he was very far from envying the position in which a Chancellor of the Exchequer some three or four years hence would find himself.

MR. DILLON said that this was a most important clause, and he desired to say all he had to say upon the clause, on this particular Amendment, because he went very strongly in the opposite direction to the Amendment. He would point out that in this Bill, for the first time in the history of Irish land purchase, the financial scheme proposed to issue the stock at a higher rate of interest than the rate of interest on Consols. Many Irish Land Acts had been passed, commencing with the Ashbourne Acts, and in every single instance the land stock, whether paid to the landlord direct as by the Act of 1891 or the Act of 1888, the stock had always been issued at the same rate of interest as Consols. But that was not all. This stock was to be irredeemable for thirty years. He objected very strongly to that and urged that it should be issued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE :
And at the same price as Consols.

MR. DILLON said it was not for him to say. His desire was to point out what a serious effect this would have on the people of Ireland. On such a large transaction $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. was a very important matter. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment spoke of the present state of the money market and pointed out that Consols were much below par, but hon. Gentlemen must remember that within the last seven years the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, owing to the rise in the price of Consols, declared the price to which they had risen to be a public danger. Consols, it was true, were below par now, but he saw no reason why, if there were no fresh war, they should not rise above

par in the course of the next five or six years. In that case this $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, which was not redeemable for thirty years, might rise to 115 or even 120, and the effect on the Irish tenant would be unfortunate, for his redemption period would be considerably lengthened, and he would be obliged to pay a great deal more money. When Consols rose to 114 five years ago they were told by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer that the whole of the debt would be paid off in twenty-five years, and if the Sinking Fund were to rise to the figure mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech Consols would undoubtedly go up. This stock ought to be issued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The result no doubt would be that for the first two or three years a heavy loss would have to be made up by a comparatively small charge on the savings from Irish expenditure, and on the Irish equivalent grant. And if at the end of three or four years it was found the stock was not rising, and there was no prospect of it standing at par, then it would be competent for the Government by a one-clause Bill to alter the stock and turn it into $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. If they began with a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock they could not turn back. Then, again, by making the interest on the annuity $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. instead of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. the Government were taking another vicious departure from a financial point of view, for they were cutting down the Sinking Fund to a point unsafe both for the tenants and the Treasury. The principle on which the decadal system was founded was the proper principle to adopt. That system was a great advantage both to the tenants and to the Treasury. Then further reductions were given at the end of the second and third terms of ten years, and by that system great relief was afforded to the tenants, while it was also a great system of insurance for the taxpayer. As far as human foresight could do it, that system provided against all future contingencies or depression in agriculture, and the whole matter was placed on a secure basis. By fixing the interest now at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the annuity at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Government proposed to cut down the Sinking Fund from £1 5s. to 10s., with the result that

it would be absolutely impossible to give any decadal system of reductions worth considering. He spoke in this matter for himself; but he had a strong view as to the desirability of making this a sound system of finance. In 1877, if any one had proposed to settle the land question by the perpetuation of the then existing rents, the proposal would have been accepted readily; and the result would have been national bankruptcy. Who could say with confidence that a reduction of 20 per cent. on the present judicial rents would be sufficient to carry over the events of the next sixty-eight years? The system of decadal reductions was one of the greatest improvements introduced into the system of land purchase, and he deeply regretted that the Government had made this departure from that plan. He was strongly opposed to the finance of this Bill as unjust to the tenants, and, having regard to the vicissitudes of agriculture, as less safe than the system which had worked so admirably in the past. He would have wished to see the stock issued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for the first few years at any rate, whatever the price it would fetch, and the annuity fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) said that the Chief Secretary had exercised a very wise discretion in fixing the rate of interest on this new stock at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This stock was to be issued gradually, and its amount was an unknown quantity. That fact in itself would operate against any undue rise in the value of the stock.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he had heard with intense gratification the encomiums the hon. Member for East Mayo had poured upon the Land Act of 1896.

MR. LAMBERT said that as he had received no support except from the hon. Member for King's Lynn he should not press his Amendment to a division.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 25 agreed to.

Clauses 26 to 39 agreed to.

Clause 40.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 21, line 4, to leave out Sub-sections (1) to (6), inclusive, and insert the words '(1) Every advance shall be repaid by means of a purchase annuity, calculated at the rate of three pounds five shillings for every hundred pounds of the advance, and so in proportion for any less sum.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

And, it being half-past seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[*Mr. J. W. LOWTHER* (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 40.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) protested against the abolition of the rent-charge. It was a large, democratic proposal for a Unionist Government to submit, and he complained that there had been no opportunity to discuss it.

Clause 40 agreed to.

Clause 41.

MR. DILLON asked for some assurance that from time to time the Treasury regulations under this clause and similar clauses would be communicated to Parliament, in order that it might be seen that the tenants were receiving fair-play.

MR. WYNDHAM thought that the suggestion was a proper one, and he would act upon it.

MR. TULLY suggested that some provision should be made whereby the tenant who had saved money, say in a good harvest year, might be enabled to

send it through the Post Office in order to reduce the amount of his indebtedness to the Land Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would consider that suggestion also.

MR. HEALY pointed out that if a tenant had an exceptionally good harvest it was quite possible that he might like to pay 2½ yearly payments at once.

Clause 41 agreed to.

Clause 42.

**MR. ASHTON* (Bedfordshire, Luton) said he was afraid the voice of the British taxpayer was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," but he could not allow a clause which proposed to raid the Treasury to the extent of £12,000,000 to pass without a protest from an English representative. He had no objection to the landowners of Ireland being fairly, even generously, treated in the matter of the purchase money; but the purchase price to be offered by the tenants for the estates was treating them very generously. They were proposing that the landowners should get a price amounting to from twenty-five to thirty years purchase of the rental, which was far in excess of the general price which had been paid to them in the past. Therefore no one could suggest that the taxpayer was not treating Irish landowners generously, quite apart from this £12,000,000. In his judgment this payment was entirely unnecessary. It was said that it was to be given as a bribe to induce the Irish landowners to sell, but he saw no reason why the Bill should not have been made a compulsory measure. If that had been done there would be no necessity for this bribe. Why should this not be a compulsory Act? They had reached in this country the point that where they considered the purchase of any property was to the public interest, private interests must be over-ridden. That had been done in the case of the London Water Board, to which the water companies were compelled to sell their property at a fair price because it was considered to be in the public interest, and

in the Act which governed that matter a clause specifically stated that no compensation should be given for compulsory sale. The same thing is happening in the case of the London docks, and the case perhaps was a better analogy to this case because there the dock companies had to part with real estate. He failed to see why special compensation should be given to Irish landowners when, in the public interest, it was withheld from the owners of the metropolitan water companies and of the London docks. He regarded this as the greatest blot on the Bill, and said it could only be defended on the ground that it was necessary to secure the assent of the House of Lords to the passing of the measure. He looked upon this compensation as a bribe to satisfy the House of Lords, who always looked after the interests of their friends, and he hoped the British people would recognise that this was not the first occasion on which they had had to pay a considerable price for such an anachronism in the twentieth century as that Assembly. He protested against this grant of £12,000,000, which in his opinion was absolutely unnecessary. He therefore begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 9, to leave out Sub-section (1)."*—(Mr. Ashton.)*

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause."

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said those who felt strongly on the principle underlying this transaction, and at the same time felt warm sympathy with the wishes of the Irish people to obtain a settlement on this land question, thought it only right to enter their protest against what they considered to be a wrong application of public money. A large share of this burden would fall on the Irish taxpayer. It would fall far more heavily on him than on the English taxpayer. He had voted two years ago with the hon. Member for South Tyrone for compulsory land purchase and sale at a fair price. But it seemed to him to be absolutely unsound where they were proceeding on a voluntary basis as in the present Bill, with all the credit of the United Kingdom behind it, that

this enormous bribe should be given in addition to stimulate artificially these transactions. He had spoken on the Second Reading strongly against the pressing of purchase on terms economically impossible for the Irish tenants in view of the profitable working of their holdings in the future. He had protested then against the extra burden thus placed on Irish agriculture, and though the evil had been lessened by the wide and generous concession of the right hon. Gentleman as to bargaining outside the zones, the protest still held good. Now he had to protest against this bonus also. It was obvious the bonus would have the effect not only of inducing the landlords to sell, but also of inducing the tenants to buy at a far higher price than they would otherwise do. The amount of the rents estimated by the right hon. Gentleman in first introducing the Bill was £4,000,000, which, capitalised at the average years purchase contemplated in the Bill, meant at least a sum of £100,000,000 to be advanced by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. But at the average price under the Ashbourne Acts, eighteen years purchase, £72,000,000, was the actual market value of the land. With the bonus of £12,000,000 provided by this clause, and the excess sum of £28,000,000 given by the terms of the Bill in excess of the true market value, the Government were giving £40,000,000 in excess of what would have been given to the landlords if they had to part with their land under compulsory sale at a fair price. That sum of £40,000,000 represented an addition of about 60 per cent. to the value of the land instead of the usual 10 per cent. for compulsory expropriation. They were actually giving about six times the amount of compensation which would be given to an English landlord who was expropriated in the public interest. Of that £40,000,000, £28,000,000 would be paid entirely by the tenants of Ireland, and this £12,000,000 fell with wholly disproportionate weight on Ireland. Of the £390,000 in any one year, £250,000 was to be found by economies in Irish administration, and much of this meant a loss to Ireland. It seemed to him that the immense advantages which the landlords of Ireland got out of this Bill

were such that they could very well do without this £12,000,000. Even if the total price could now be bargained down a little towards the Ashbourne level, it was unjust, and more unjust even to Ireland than to England, to add five to eight years purchase by means of this bonus. Most of these estates—those not included in the congested districts—had their “slum” corners—areas in which there was no economic rent whatever, and the whole value had been created by the tenants themselves. Yet we were buying out such districts as if they were English managed estates, and at enormously enhanced values. He had always supported land legislation for Ireland in which the principles to which he attached great importance were not violated, but they were now being asked in a thoroughly unsound scheme to guarantee to a certain class of Irish landlords, who, in nine cases out of ten, had contributed nothing to the land, a sum three, four, and five times more than they would get in this country if they were compulsorily expropriated from estates where they had made all the improvements, and very nearly half as much again as they would have got in their own country under a fair assessment of the value of their land. They all knew perfectly well that such proposals would never have been made or supported but for the fact that the Irish landlords exercised a controlling influence in another place, and were thus able to dictate the terms on which any Bill should pass. He wished to protest in the name of Ireland quite as much as on behalf of the British taxpayer against this proposal.

MR. WYNDHAM said that if he were to attempt to make a comprehensive reply to the hon. Member's remarks, he should be driven to repeat almost all he said upon the Second Reading of this Bill. The hon. Member said on previous occasions he had voted for a compulsory scheme. He would not take up the time of the Committee urging what he had often urged, namely, the extreme difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding a practical plan of compulsion. He would not now be led away into arguing that point. The real point was that the House, on the Second Reading of the Bill,

by a majority of over 400, in which all parties were included, had declared its readiness to support this voluntary scheme of land purchase, and an integral principle of that scheme was that a bonus of £12,000,000 must be supplied by the general taxpayer to meet the drop in the incomes of the landlords which was inevitable under any system of land purchase in Ireland. That was the great difficulty. The plan of the Government had received the general assent of the House. It was supported on the Second Reading by the Leader of the Opposition, although the right hon. Gentleman expressed at a later stage in the proceedings some doubt as to whether the first Clause would receive the unanimous support which the Bill as a whole commanded. He thought he might claim that that had not happened. As he could claim that the Government had the general support of the House in its policy, he did not think he would be justified in replying at any greater length to the supporters of the Amendment.

MR. DILLON thought it was due to the Liberal Party that their considerate attitude towards the Bill should be acknowledged on behalf of the Nationalist Party. He was aware that many Liberals entertained the very strongest objections to some of the provisions of the Bill: yet their action with regard to it had been marked by great self-restraint, and great generosity towards Ireland. He had a sneaking sympathy for the views put forward by the supporters of the Amendment. He agreed that the landlords were getting too much under the Bill. But there was no prospect of ending the land trouble in Ireland in any other way than by offering this inducement to the landlords to sell. Would they be worthy of the praise or support of any intelligent man if they rejected the offer made by a powerful Government to devote £250,000 to inducing Irish landlords to meet the tenants and put an end to this land war instead of continuing to spend that money upon police and prosecutions necessary to carry on the war. Was it not a great deal better to devote this money to such a purpose, even if the landlords did get too much, rather than carry on this land war for another twenty or thirty years? In

conclusion he again desired to take this opportunity of acknowledging the generous attitude of the Liberal Party towards this measure.

MR. TULLY said he had always regarded the Bill as a landlord relief Bill. The landlords were getting entirely too much under it. He would give some figures which had been prepared by one of the best intellects in Ireland. The Chief Secretary's estimate of the rental of the Irish landlords was £4,000,000. From that they had to deduct cost of collection, estimated at 12½ per cent., which amounted to £500,000; and interest on mortgages upon Irish land at 4½ per cent., amounting to £1,800,000, which represented the interest on £40,000,000. That left a net income to the Irish landlords of £1,700,000. He could assure hon. Members that he had got his statistics from the best authority in Ireland. From these figures it was clear that the Irish landlords were getting £220,000 in excess of the price they had themselves been asking for their land, and therefore he desired to express his protest against this Clause.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway) pointed out that the Bill was voluntary, and a sale could only take place by an agreement between landlord and tenant. If the course suggested by his hon. friend were adopted and the bonus disappeared it would put an end to the Bill at once.

MR. TULLY said he did not suggest that.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN said that was the inference from the hon. Member's criticism. The whole thing would drop at once if they dropped the bonus. If the Bill passed without the bonus what would the result be? There would either be no sale of the land or else the tenant would have to pay more. They ought to do everything they could to render the position of the tenant as easy as possible, and the State came to his rescue in the matter with this bonus. The tenant's position must be considered, because he had the hardest road to travel. The tenant after he had purchased had to pay for the land, and it should not

be forgotten that he had to face the competition of farmers in America, who got the land for nothing. The hon. Member for South Leitrim had expressed himself unfavourably to the granting of this £12,000,000.

MR. TULLY: No, no.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN repeated his contention that if this bonus disappeared from the Bill the measure would have no effect in Ireland, because the landlords would refuse to sell. Coming from one of the poorest parts of Ireland he had no hesitation in supporting this grant of £12,000,000 to the landlords, because it was absolutely necessary in order to bring about a settlement of the land question in Ireland.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. WYNDHAM said the next Amendment standing in his name on the Paper was simply a drafting Amendment, the object of which was to make it quite clear that the guarantee fund would not be responsible for any part of the bonus.

Amendment proposed.

"In page 22, after line 21, to insert—
(3) The provisions of this Act with reference to the repayment of advances by the Land Commission to the National Debt Commissioners shall not apply to advances under this section."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 42, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 43.

*MR. BUTCHER said he desired to move the Amendment on the Paper standing in the name of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for South Glamorganshire. He strongly held that the bonus should be treated as an accretion to the purchase-money. It would be a perfectly legitimate transaction for the State to contribute some of the purchase-money for the purpose of bridging over the gap between the price at which the tenant might fairly be expected to buy and the price at which the landlord might fairly be expected to sell. But there were the gravest

objections to treating this bonus as a bribe and paying it over to the vendor whether the land was settled or not. In cases where the seller was the absolute owner of the land it made no difference whatever, but in the majority of the estates which would come under the operation of this Bill the vendor only held a very limited interest, either as tenant for life, or in some other capacity. If a vendor obtained a bribe for selling property in which he was only partially interested, that bribe ought to go into the purchase-money for the benefit of the other persons interested in the property. There was not a man in the House who would say that was not the view of the case that any Court of law would take. He could not see the difference between a bribe given by an ordinary purchaser and a bribe given by the State. The State ought to insist upon the bonus going into the purchase-money. As the Bill stood, the whole of this bribe would go to the vendor, and a landlord who had mortgaged his life interest and whose interest in the property was small, could, provided that he kept within the zones, make a bargain, not the best bargain, to sell and carry off the bonus. That was unfair having regard to the interests of other persons. If the man was selling his own property no one cared what bribe was given to him, but in the case he was putting the man was not selling his own property. He was selling in the position of a trustee for other people. His interest was to sell at almost any price in order that he might pocket the bonus. That was not a fair position in which to put the tenant for life. The Chief Secretary in the course of the debates had intimated that there were certain cases where it would not be proper to give the vendor the bonus. Perhaps his right hon. friend had in view cases of bankruptcy. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had said that in the case of a tenant for life who had a very small interest in the property it would not be right to give him the bonus. He was glad those cases would be excepted from the operation of the bonus clause as it stood. He did not think it would be possible to frame a clause which would be sufficient to avoid such injustices as

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he had suggested. It would be only fair to let the bonus go into the purchase-money. He knew of only one argument which was put forward as a justification for this extraordinary novelty, and that was that the bonus would be an inducement to a tenant for life to sell. He did not believe that was a sound argument. If there were a case in which a tenant for life was unwilling to sell, unless he was allowed to pocket the bonus, he did not hesitate to say that it was better he should not sell, rather than this vicious principle should be admitted.

Amendment proposed—

“ In page 22, line 22, to leave out Sub-section (1), and insert the words (1) In the case of every estate sold the Land Commission shall, by means of advances to be made to them by the National Debt Commissioners out of the said fund, receive a sum equal to a percentage on the purchase-money of such estate according to the scale set forth in the First Schedule to this Act, and shall apply such sum as follows—namely, they shall in the first place pay thereout the expenses properly incurred by the owner incidental to the redemption of superior and intervening interests, the investigation of titles, the distribution of the purchase-money, and other like matters, and shall pay and apply the balance by way of addition and accretion to the purchase money.”—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, “That Sub-section (1) stand part of the Clause.”

MR. WYNDHAM said that some minutes ago he was pained, though not surprised, to hear some hon. Members opposite describe the bonus as a bribe. He did not know whether he was more pained or surprised at the opening sentences of his hon. and learned friend. He drew a picture of a private transaction in which a secret commission was offered to a man to induce him to sell his property to the detriment of his creditors; but private transactions had nothing to do with a large measure of public policy, brought in with every circumstance of publicity, and accepted by all parties in the House of Commons. That was not a secret or a discreditable transaction.

MR. BUTCHER: I never referred to it as being secret. I objected to the bribe.

MR. WYNDHAM said his hon. and learned friend, as an Irishman sitting for an English constituency and wishing to

see voluntary purchase succeed in Ireland, had supported the Bill as one who had the grievances of the landlords at heart. To-night he came forward and urged the claims of the remainder-men. He could only repeat what he had said before. What was the position of the remainder-man in the remote future if land purchase was made impossible in Ireland? If the Government were justified in their policy, which had received so much support, they were also justified in saying that the winding up of the present impossible and, he would say, intolerable position in land tenure in Ireland was a big public object. Take the case of a landlord who had but a small margin to live upon. If he failed to hang on he surrendered; and the encumbrancer, who probably lived in England, suddenly found himself the landlord of an impoverished Irish estate. The Government wished to save him from that unexpected windfall. But he did not think it was impossible to arrive at a general agreement on this. It was quite impossible to accept the Amendment, but he thought hon. Members opposite would see from the cogency with which this point of view was put forward that it was proper to make a concession in respect of the man who was deriving no profit from his estate. He thought that it would be only fair, though he should resist all attempts to put the bonus into the purchase-money as a general rule, that when an estate was so encumbered that the owner was not entitled to receive any part of the rents and profits the bonus should be added to the purchase-money. He was prepared before Report to consider an Amendment to that effect.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. JOHN REDMOND moved an Amendment providing that, for the purposes of aiding the sale of estates under this Act and "preventing improvident purchases by tenants," the Land Commission may pay to the vendor a percentage according to the scale in the first schedule. He said that by the last Amendment the hon. and learned Member for York, who had been regarded as representing the landlords, proposed to deal with the bonus in such a way as practically to prevent the landlords from deriving any benefit from it at all. The Amendment

which he was now proposing would have exactly the opposite effect. This Amendment had been laid down by the National Convention in Dublin. The Committee would remember that the Land Conference based its Report upon the idea that the whole of the gap between what the tenant could afford to give and what the landlord could afford to take should be provided by the State, and their idea was that £20,000,000 would be required for that purpose. He regretted that amount was not forthcoming. He gave notice of an Amendment to the effect that the State should give £20,000,000 instead of £12,000,000, but he did not move it because he felt that it would be impossible to get it accepted. It was clearly the interest of the landlords and the tenants to preserve the whole of this £12,000,000 bonus to the landlords, and from the tenants' point of view his idea was that the more the bonus was the less the tenants would be called upon to pay, and that in their bargains with the landlords they would take into account the number of years the landlords would receive in the shape of bonus. If there was a large inroad in the bonus for the cost of proving titles, or for other matters, by so much would the tenant be injured in making his bargain. Therefore he desired that the whole of the £12,000,000 should go intact to the landlord. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 23, to leave out from the word 'and,' to the first word 'the,' in line 28, and insert the words 'preventing improvident purchases by tenants.'—(Mr. John Redmond.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said that the opinion of the hon. Member was that the expenses referred to in the words he wished to omit should fall on the State. There was no provision to that effect in the Bill, and the Government were not prepared to insert any to that effect. The financial arrangements of the Bill were arrived at after very careful consideration, and they did not go as far as the hon. Member and his colleagues in the Land Conference desired. But the Government

had tried to carry out the spirit of the Report as far as they could with the facilities at their disposal. The facilities which had been suggested were not at their disposal, so that the effect of omitting the words would not be to throw the charges on the public funds but to omit an indication of some of the reasons which lead the Government to think that a bonus should properly be given. The bonus was not a bribe but a contribution absolutely necessary on many grounds, among others because these transactions were costly and did deter many landlords from selling their estates. The hon. Member wished to insert other words which would also be an expression of opinion. He did not maintain that the words which the hon. Member proposed to omit were more than an indication of some of the reasons for giving an aid grant or bonus; and he thought the simple course would be to leave out the words altogether and put nothing in substitution.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he was very glad that the hon. Member for Waterford had felt able to move an Amendment of this kind. The basis of the Land Conference Report was that the landlords should get their net income. He should like, before committing himself to this proposition, to know what would be an improvident purchase by the tenant. "Improvident" must qualify something, and he should like some sort of definition from the hon. Member as to what would be an improvident manner for a tenant to become the owner of his holding. Did it mean that he was to give the landlord twenty-five or twenty-eight years purchase? He did not wish to vote for this Amendment in the dark. He wished to be told by the hon. Member what he thought would be an improvident acquisition of a tenant's holding. All through he had endeavoured to give as much support as he could to the general principles of the measure. They were now told that there was a rash method of land purchase, and that there might be cases in which purchase would be the height of folly. What were these cases? Was it sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or twenty-five years purchase? Who was to be the judge of improvidence? Was it the tenant, the landlord, or the Land Commission? He

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did think it would be better if they could have a frank understanding in regard to this matter. This was not a frank Amendment. If there was an improvident method of acquiring a holding, the hon. Member for Waterford ought to put down an Amendment in that sense. He ought to tell the tenants what price they should give, and what price they should refuse to pay. He regarded this Amendment as one of the sham Amendments that had been proposed to this Bill to cover up the tracks of the Land Conference Report.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to leave out these words.

MR. WYNDHAM said there was no great objection to keeping them in; they were in the nature of a preamble, and they had no legal effect on anybody.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said it was better than nothing.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that the words which it was proposed to leave out stated that the fund was not a dole or a bribe, but was for the purpose of "making contributions towards the expenses incidental to the redemption of superior and intervening interests, the investigation of titles, the distribution of purchase money, and other like matters." Why, he asked, should the words be omitted which showed what the money was to be used for?

MR. TULLY said that the hon. Member for Waterford had brought over this Amendment and Mr. Cherry to coach him; in fact he was cherry ripe. The hon. Member for Waterford ought to give some better explanation than he had done of this point.

*MR. BUTCHER said he hoped if the Chief Secretary was going to keep any part, he would keep the particular words which showed what this payment was for. If these words were simply taken out he would feel bound to call this a bribe of the most naked, barefaced, and shameless description; but if the words were kept in they showed that an

inducement was given, and that that inducement was justified to a certain extent.

MR. WYNDHAM: Does the hon. and learned Member wish to leave the words out?

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I think so.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. and learned Member for York takes strong objection to that course.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: He objects to the bonus altogether.

MR. DILLON said he thought the words ought to be left out. As to the hon. Member for York, he knew what that Gentleman's position was—he objected to the bonus altogether.

*MR. BUTCHER: I do nothing of the sort. I am entirely in favour of the bonus, but it should be added to the purchase money.

MR. DILLON said that he and his friends entertained strongly the opinion that the bonus should be dealt with as the Bill provided. He always understood that the justification for the bonus was that it would facilitate land purchase. He really was not very much alarmed at the threat of the hon. Member for York.

*MR. BUTCHER said his argument was that he objected to the words being cut out, because in that event the costs of sale would fall entirely on the purchase-money, which, he thought, was wrong.

MR. WYNDHAM said that these words could not have any effect one way or the other. They were, as he had already stated, in the nature of a preamble. As his hon. and learned friend the Member for Waterford made a great point of this, he should like to give effect to his wishes and those of his supporters; but he would remind hon. Members that it was impossible for a Minister in charge of a Bill to accept a proposal at one moment and refuse it the next moment.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that the words in the Bill specified for what purpose this money was to be applied. If they were of no earthly use why were they put into the Bill? His complaint was that these words being in the Bill his right hon. friend, without discussion, calmly got up and proposed to chuck them overboard. In that the right hon. Gentleman was premature.

MR. WYNDHAM said that so far he was guilty of haste.

Question put, and negatived.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put and agreed to.

MR. JOHN REDMOND moved—

"Clause 43, page 22, line 29, leave out from 'estate,' to end of line 30, and insert 'agreed to be sold within five years after the commencement of this Act a bonus of fifteen per centum of the amount of the purchase-money of said estate, such bonus to be paid upon the completion of the sale.'"

This Amendment, he said, had been adopted by the National Convention. It was in two parts—the first dealt with the allocation of the bonus, and the second with the proposed limit of time. As to the distribution of the bonus, the scheme of the Bill had been by universal consent given up. The proposal in the Bill was that the bonus should be distributed in an inverse ratio to the purchase-money; but the general opinion was that the bonus ought to be distributed by a fixed amount all round, and that had received the sanction not only of the National Convention but of the Land Conference and the Conference of the Landlords. His proposal was that a bonus of 15 per cent. of the amount of the purchase-money should be paid all round upon the completion of the sale. His second proposal was that the benefits of the bonus should only be obtained by landlords who agreed to sell within five years after the passing of the Act.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 29, to leave out from the word 'estate,' to end of line 30, and insert the words 'agreed to be sold within five years after the commencement of this Act a bonus

of fifteen per centum of the amount of the purchase money of said estate, such bonus to be paid upon the completion of the sale.'”—
(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

MR. WYNDHAM said he was unable to accept the Amendment. The more convenient opportunity to discuss the distribution of the bonus would be on the Schedule. He did not intend to adhere to the distribution set out in the first Schedule. The limit of five years was not the policy of the Government, and he believed that it would lead to precipitate action, and embarrass the financial operation of the Bill.

MR. DILLON said he wished to impress on the Chief Secretary that a percentage involved a vicious principle, and would form a dangerous precedent. He would urge the right hon. Gentleman to take into consideration the principle of a fixed number of years' purchase. As the Bill stood, the more the landlord got for his land from the tenant the more he would get from the State. That was most irrational. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had taken up a stand on the time limit, because he thought the time limit was essential. The Land Conference were unanimous on the point, and the Landlords' Conference accepted it. The almost universal acceptance in Ireland of the voluntary principle of the Bill was based solely on the express understanding and assurance that there was to be a time limit; and all those who were really anxious to see this controversy brought to a conclusion by voluntary arrangement should accept the time limit.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the Government were not rigidly wedded to the first Schedule as it now stood, and he thought, as he could not accept the Amendment, it would be convenient to adjourn any debate on the distribution of the bonus until they got to the Schedule.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that it was very important that time should be given to the landlord to make application. The

Schedule was one thing, but it was upon this clause that they had to determine the time limit. He could conceive of nothing which was more calculated to bring about peace in the country than that the tenants of Ireland should know that a large number of the landlords had made application to sell. That could not be done by the Schedule, and he believed that it would pacify large districts. He thought that there should be a prescribed period, and that the Government should use some such phrase as was in the Act of 1881—that the landlords should make their application on or before the appointed day, so that there should be something hanging over their heads so as to induce them to quicken the pace and come in at the earliest possible moment. If there was no last day appointed for something to be done, there would be nothing done. Why, then, should not the right hon. Gentleman say that the landlords must apply for the bonus on or before the appointed day, and leave the Land Commission to settle the appointed day? He attached much more importance to the time limit than to the question of amount. He did not think that any of them were competent to decide the question of the amount. As to the manner in which the schedule had been arranged, in that respect it was a credit to the Conservative Party. If it had been put in any other way it would have been said that it was an effort on the part of the big proprietors to grab the money for themselves. But the schedule was passed so as to avoid that suspicion. No doubt it was a difficult task to allocate ten or twelve millions, but the landlords had not indicated any want of confidence in the Commission. Why not, then, leave the matter in a fluid condition. The province of Connaught deserved, he thought, more of the money than any other part of Ireland because of its poverty. The poorer estates should come in for a larger part of the money than the richer estates. The Committee, however, was not competent to decide that question. The best plan was to leave it to the Estates Commission. It would be a mistake to deal with it by rule of thumb. The right hon. Gentleman would do well to consider whether the best way

out of the difficulty was not to allow the guillotine to fall at the end of five or ten years.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that two years ago the demand made in that House, supported by the voice of Ireland from one end to the other, was for compulsory sale, but it had been agreed to waive the question of compulsion for the time being. The representatives of the tenants had loyally adhered to the bargain they had made, but they had, all the same, incurred a great deal of blame in Ireland. There were thousands of Irish tenants who did not hesitate to tell them, in vulgar language, that they had "sold the pass." They could only in reply refer them to the Land Conference. It was a strange thing that whenever that Conference procedure was in favour of the landlords it was freely quoted by the Government and by the landlords, but when it was in favour of the tenants it was coolly set aside. The Chief Secretary talked about adhering to the spirit of the Conference; let them have a little of the letter as well as of the spirit. The Land Conference suggested that the bonus should be limited to transactions initiated within five years of the passing of the Act, and they must be done with the Conference Report if they were to observe the spirit of it when it suited the landlords, and were to ignore both the spirit and the letter of the Report when the interests of the tenants were concerned. He knew that the majority of the landlords in the south and west of Ireland would close with these terms, but they would not be a sufficient inducement for a large number of what were called commercial landlords in Ulster, landlords not of the old stock, but men who had bought the land out of profits made in trade. A time limit was absolutely necessary so that Parliament might be able to take stock at the end of five years and say what they were prepared to do. It would be perfectly impossible to allow a state of affairs in which three-fourths of Ireland would be under freehold occupation and one-fourth held under landlords. Let the Government accept a time limit for the bonus and say that to ensure participation in it sales must be initiated in

five years. That would help them in resisting the demand for compulsion.

DR. THOMPSON said he too was in favour of the Amendment. It was most important, and Irish Members were unanimous in the view that it was necessary. Perhaps the difficulty would be met if the Chief Secretary would accept his Amendment lower on the Paper to the effect that landlords should register their desire to sell within five years.

MR. BLAKE said this was a subject of enormous practical importance with respect to the successful working of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had objected to any proposal which would indicate completion or anything of that kind within five years, on the ground that it would involve congestion of the machinery for working the Act. He, however, saw no difficulty whatever in setting a time limit. There would be ample time for the proper organisation of the machinery, and officials, when once trained to the work, would find it easy to accelerate operation. He was sure that if any increased expenditure was necessary in order to issue the stock a little faster, the House would not begrudge it. On the contrary it would willingly vote money to bring about a more rapid accomplishment of the beneficent objects aimed at in the Bill. The time limit should not be left to the Commissioners, but should be settled by Parliament. They ought to declare that this money was only for the benefit of those landlords who made up their minds within five years. With regard to the allocation of the bonus he thought the plan of his hon. friend was a great improvement on the Government plan. The purpose was to grease the wheels of purchase. Some thought the grease should be applied to the tyre, but if they wanted to make the machine go they must apply it to the axle, which in this case represented the tenant for life. It must be applied in relation to the difficulties and friction with which the wheel had to contend. The difficulties were the greater when the wheel had to travel over roads in the congested districts, and therefore more of the money was wanted in Mayo

than in other parts of Ireland. It was the smallest and poorest estates that required the greatest amount of axle grease. Then let them use the bonus where it would do most good.

MR. WYNDHAM said that with reference to the allocation of the bonus he had nothing to add to what he had already said. With regard to the time limit, the reason of the Government for not accepting it was this. The issue and management of a loan estimated to be of £100,000,000 was not only a vast, but a very delicate, operation. The responsibility for undertaking it was a heavy one resting on the Government, and they could not undertake an operation so delicate and so vast if a sudden inrush of people under an adventitious stimulus should mean that, instead of coming, say, for £10,000,000 or £20,000,000, they might have to come for £60,000,000.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We only ask that the applications shall be made in a given time. You can delay the issue of the stock as long as you like.

MR. WYNDHAM reiterated that financial operations were very sensitive. A false report in the newspaper might prejudice the flotation of a large loan, and it was not the business of the great financiers of London to measure the exact result of 40,000 people coming in to subscribe their names. They might suppose that that might mean a great demand for money in excess of the forecast already drawn up, and, therefore, on financial grounds, and on financial grounds alone, the Government could not entertain the suggestion of putting in an adventitious stimulus in the shape of a time limit.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he fully appreciated the delicacy of the operation, but he felt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary had omitted to take account of the way in which this matter would work. He would go the full length of saying that, if the matter could be stated absolutely in the way the Chief Secretary had put it, the Amendment was impossible. But that was not the way the matter would work. Nobody was more anxious

Mr. Blake,

than he was to do justice to the admirable manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had befriended Ireland on this occasion. They knew that in him Ireland had a thorough friend. They were anxious that an immediate anodyne should be applied to the Irish problem. As a method of bringing that about they suggested that the tenantry on every estate should become aware that their proprietors were anxious to make bargains with them. There was all over the country an anxiety on their part to bring this question to an issue. Land purchase must, however, take time. The Treasury would not have to issue money at once. He was satisfied that it would not prejudice the issue of the loan if the Government were to know that within a prescribed period there would be an application for a given amount. The matter was absolutely within the control of the Treasury. They need not issue the loans. They could dribble them out according to the exigencies of the market. This was not a matter which would prejudice the landlords, who had met them very fairly in that House. He had been astonished at the spirit in which the hon. Member for York and his colleagues had met them. There had been no friction between them, and they were all agreed that it was reasonable to have this position arrived at at the earliest possible moment. Let them fix a time limit then. The clause said that the Estates Commissioners should be under the control of the Lord Lieutenant, and, therefore, the Treasury would be the commanding body, and the stock would be issued according to the necessities of the case. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not take up a final attitude in the matter now. The Amendment would make for the peace of the country, and from the English point of view, as well as from the Irish point of view, it would be much better if it were adopted.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said that the representatives of the great majority of the landlords had already endorsed the demand for a time limit. The right hon. Gentleman should remember that in this matter he was listening not merely to a request from

one party, but a request which had been endorsed by the representatives of the landlords as well as the representatives of the tenants. Surely it was a very serious thing for the Chief Secretary, if it could possibly be avoided, to deny a demand which was practically unanimous on both sides of the House. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to facilitate, as far as possible, the idea which they had in Ireland that under this Bill the landlords would be willing to sell and the tenants to buy. The Government ought to be glad that such a demand had been made, as it showed that there was a real anxiety on the part of those most interested that the Bill, when it was passed, should not be a dead letter, but should carry out its object, namely, to transfer the land from the landlords to the tenants on fair terms.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said that he quite appreciated the financial objections which had been stated by his right hon. friend, and on them he would express no opinion. Personally, and speaking for himself, he was in favour of a time limit. He had always held that this was not a landlords' question, but a tenants' question. The landlords in this House had practically no friends. The only way he was conscious of to buy friendship in this House was by votes; and the landlords had no votes. Therefore, this was a tenants' grievance, and the only tenants' grievance that he knew of that did not inflict injustice on the landlord. Looking at the Bill as a great State measure for the pacification of Ireland his private opinion was that the sooner it was carried out the better. He lived in the peaceful Province of Ulster, but he should certainly put in his application within six months of the passing of the Act. He could not conceive any landlord in Ireland who was of the same mind who would refuse to take advantage of this Bill. That there were difficulties in connection with the time limit he admitted. Five years was probably too short, as the preliminary negotiations would take time; and the fault might not be with the landlord, but with the tenants. The tenants might delay the purchase for various

reasons, and therefore a five years limit would probably be too short. At the same time, it ought to be prominently brought before the minds of the landlords that there was a limit, and that they should make up their minds for or against accepting the Bill. That might be called compulsion, but it was not compulsion, because if a landlord wished he could remain outside the Bill.

* MR. HEMPHILL said he wished to urge on the Chief Secretary, in common with other hon. Members from Ireland, the desirability of adopting the time limit. They all knew very well that matters would come to a point more quickly if there was a limit, instead of an indefinite period. There were no people more likely to procrastinate in coming to an agreement than Irish landlords and tenants, and the time limit would be a stimulus to both of them to come to terms. The object of the Government by this great measure was to improve the social and political condition of Ireland, and why should not they be anxious that that happy result should be brought about as speedily as possible. It might be said that some effect would be produced upon the Stock Exchange if Irish landlords and tenants appeared too anxious to avail themselves of this beneficent measure. Surely the inference from that was that the Government expected that the operation of the Bill might be indefinitely postponed, and that twenty-five years might elapse before the £100,000,000 was called into being. That was a very unreasonable attitude to assume to the Irish Members. What they wanted was that the Bill should be brought to a speedy trial, and that its results should be enjoyed by the present generation, and not be put off indefinitely. The measure, he presumed, was brought in with the real and great object of benefiting all classes in Ireland, and some time limit should be imposed. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that it was a very common thing to fix time limits in railway and other Bills; and nothing would be easier when the end of the five years was approaching than to introduce a short Bill extending the limit, if there were a great many estates on which the Act had not been brought into play. His own constituents were most anxious

that there should be a time limit, in order to induce both landlords and tenants to come to a speedy agreement.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he himself was certainly not in favour of a time limit nor could he see how it would practically work. Indeed, he could not see how it would have any other effect than to block sales to the tenants, and for this reason. Only property to the value of £5,000,000 could be disposed of during the first year; and if all the landlords hurried up the whole operation would be blocked, and with the court blocked it might be twenty years before the landlord would get his money at all. He thought it would be very desirable, after the enormous expectations which had been aroused in Ireland in connection with this Bill, if some *modus vivendi* could be found by which the position of landlords and the *status* of the tenants could be somewhat modified. The difficulty was to find a remedy; but it could not be found by asking the landlords to give notice within five years. What the tenants wanted was to get possession of the land. That was the anodyne the tenant wanted. He himself thought that the time limit was wholly impracticable and impossible. He would rather move in the direction of Clause 36 of the Act of 1896.

Mr. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.) said there was nothing distinct or feasible about the observations they had just heard. The Bill would not run in the North of Ireland unless there was a time limit; and he begged the Chief Secretary to introduce a time limit if he wished to see the Bill a success.

Mr. Hemphill.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE said he approached this question not so much from the point of view of the landlord or the tenant, but as a member of the London Stock Exchange. He perfectly acquiesced in the desire expressed by hon. Members opposite that purchase should be carried out as speedily as possible; and he quite appreciated the first part of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Waterford. He spoke as a member of the Stock Exchange, of which he was a member for sixteen years, and he thought the remarks of the hon. Member for North Tyrone were somewhat precipitate. The Stock Exchange was the barometer of the National credit; and his experience during his membership of that institution was in entire contradiction to the statement of the hon. Member for North Louth, who said that everything on the Stock Exchange was discounted beforehand. Sometimes it was the case and sometimes it was not. It certainly would affect the prosperity of the City to have a large loan hanging over the market. He would instance the War and Transvaal loans, which had greatly depressed the money market recently and had hung like a pall over it. If they were to have loans floated of £10,000,000, £20,000,000, £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 one after the other, it would be a very dangerous experiment for the money market here, and he believed it would render the procuring of money by the Government from time to time very difficult. It would also militate very severely against this Act.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that as they went on they would liberate a large quantity of money which would seek

investment. The potential investors would naturally seek trustee securities. [Mr. RITCHIE dissented.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer shook his head; but, babes and innocents though they were, they knew what had happened before.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon) said they would not put it in $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he spoke humbly in this matter, but it must be remembered that there would be, not only landlords, remaindermen, and so forth, but great societies, insurance companies, and Trinity College, to whom security was a necessity. They would not only have $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their sales, but they would have the bonus in addition. He thought what would happen would be what had occurred when Mr. Goschen's conversion scheme and previous conversion schemes were carried out, namely, that there would be a vast volume of money seeking investment and finding it not. They would be driven to come upon the market and buy up this stock. The Government had the matter entirely in their own hands; they could issue the stock as they pleased and when they pleased; and, having regard to the effect it must have on the peace of the country, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would further consider this matter.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) assured the hon. Member for South Tyrone that all the estates in the South of Ireland would not come in unless there was a time limit. He also pointed out that the fixed percentage of distribution in the matter of the bonus would work very unfairly as between various counties. Taking the case of a £2,000 rental in Kildare, he con-

tended that a landlord would be able to get five years more purchase than a landlord in Kerry, and his bonus would be £7,500 as against the Kerry man's £6,000, so that, by fixing the limit at 15 per cent. all round, the tenant in the poorer districts would be placed in a most unfair position.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) felt that this question was a most important one. Unless a time limit were inserted the men in the poorer districts of Ireland, who had been debarred from the benefits of past land legislation, would continue to be debarred from them for another ten or fifteen years. The object of all parties in the House was to secure peace as far as the agrarian struggle was concerned, but if the Irish Members were forced to go back and tell these men that they must wait for years longer, that object would be frustrated. They would carry the land war on to the end if necessary, but they preferred peace, and he appealed to the Chief Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reconsider their decision.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said he had heard nothing in the debate to convince him that there were any serious objections to a time limit. Five years might possibly be too short, but that there ought to be a limit of some sort was the unanimous opinion of representatives from all parts of Ireland. He hoped the Government would not refuse this important concession. They all desired this Bill to settle the land question, but if its operation was to be put off from year to year its benefits would be frittered away, new causes of agitation might spring up, and from that point of view it was desirable that a time limit should be fixed. He felt sure that the financial

difficulties, if there were such, could be overcome.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said it was evident from the debate that landlords and tenants were absolutely united on the question; and it would be a great misfortune if the Chief Secretary or the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not make a concession to that feeling. He would withdraw his Amendment if there was a promise given that the matter would be reconsidered on the Report stage.

MR. T. M. HEALY suggested that opportunity for consideration should be afforded by reporting Progress. He pointed out that possibly a way out of the difficulty might be found by distributing the bonus on a graduated system according to the speed with which landlords made their application.

MR. RITCHIE said he would not offer any opposition to the proposal to report Progress, but it must not be supposed that there was any intention to agree to the time limit. Having regard to the interests of British credit and British taxpayers he felt bound to associate himself with what his right hon. friend had said in deprecation of any unnatural stimulus of the kind. The Government had met the demands made upon them in a broad and liberal spirit, feeling that it was well to do so with hope for the restoration of peace and quiet in Ireland. Feeling this fully, he still felt it would be unwise, in the interest of British credit as well as in the interest of the Bill, to risk disturbing the financial basis upon which the Bill rested—the raising of money at 2 per cent. It would not be to the interest of British credit that they should

Mr. Charles Craig.

be called upon by some unnatural stimulus to go to the money market for large sums of money. They had before them the probability of having to raise considerable sums for other purposes, and to add this would be detrimental to the working of the Bill itself. If money could not be raised at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the Bill would not work. As far as he was concerned, speaking as the representative of the British taxpayer and of British credit, and also in the interests of the Bill, he could not hold out any hope that the Government could consent to any proposal which would give an unnatural stimulus to land purchase in Ireland.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

BANKERS' (IRELAND) ACT REPEAL BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Debate arising.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) complained that an enormous amount of pressure had been brought to bear in order to obtain the passing of the Bill practically without discussion. The measure was being promoted in the interests practically of the Bank of Ireland.

And it being midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Adjourned at two minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 2nd July, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Pentillie Estate Bill [H.L.]. Reported, with Amendments.

Blackheath and Greenwich District Electric Light Bill. Reported without Amendment.

Middlesbrough Corporation Bill; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill; Merthyr Tydfil Urban District Council Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.]. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported with Amendments.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. Reported from the Select Committee with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

East Ham Improvement Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, no parties having appeared in opposition thereto; read, and ordered to lie on the Table:

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

The orders made on the 16th of June and Monday last discharged, and Bill committed.

Nelson Corporation Bill; Hampton Court Gas Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1; and referred to the Examiners.

King's College, London, Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Ipswich Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Great Western Railway Bill; Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway Bill; Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway (Extension of Time) Bill; Romford and District Tramways Bill; Wood Green Urban District Council Bill; Beckenham Urban District Council Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Abinger be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Berwick; read, and agreed to.

Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

City and South London Railway Bill; The consent of the Prince of Wales signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; House in Committee (according to Order): An Amendment made: Standing Committee negatived: The Report of Amendment to be received To-morrow.

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Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14.) Bill. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bills to be read 3^a on Tuesday next.

Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Lanarkshire Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Lanarkshire Tramways was presented by the Lord Balfour (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, sections 8 and 9); read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 153.)

PETITIONS.

LAND REGISTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

Petition against: of Society of Advocates in Aberdeen. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

ROYAL DECLARATION BILL [H.L.].

Petitions in favour of: of Roman Catholics in St. John's Institution, Boston Spa, Yorkshire; Coventry; Princethorpe; Southam; Solihull; Eccleshall; Convent of Poor Clares, Levenshulme, Manchester; Greenwich. Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Order in Council of 25th June, 1903, entitled "The Swaziland Order in Council, 1903."

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

Accounts presented of all deposits received and paid during the year ended 31st December, 1902, and of the sums received and paid by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Fund for the Post Office Savings Banks in the same year.

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUE.

Eighty-first Report of the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, for the year 1902-1903.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898.

Order in Council altering the scale set out in the Second Schedule to the above Act, for the purpose of the levying of light dues, in pursuance of such Act.

PUBLIC WORKS LOAN BOARD.

Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Public Works Loan Board, 1902-1903 (with appendices.)

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

TREATY SERIES No. 9 (1903).

Convention between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands regulating the allowances to witnesses in fishery cases: signed at the Hague, 26th April, 1902 (ratifications exchanged at the Hague, 22nd May, 1903).

NATIONAL GALLERY (IRELAND).

Report of the Director to the Board of Governors and Guardians for the year 1902.

MINT.

Thirty-third Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Mint, 1902.

Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Order in Council of 25th June, 1903, authorising the Corporation of Trinity House to appoint sub-commissioners for the examination of pilots for certain ports in the County of Cumberland.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894,
AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

***LORD MUSKERRY:** Your Lordships will be fully aware from the Memorandum appended to this Bill that its object is to restrict the commanding and officering of British ships to British subjects, and also to put an end to the practice of granting certificates for British pilotage waters to aliens. Since I last introduced this measure, or a somewhat similar Bill, under the title of the "Certificates Bill," important developments have arisen which have more than ever convinced me—and which, I trust, will convince your Lordships—that the important principles which it embodies should now be accepted by the Legislature. It is, of course, not unusual for me to find that in my efforts to promote the interests of our merchant service as a whole—not only in regard to our mariners, but in regard to our ship-owners—I meet with the stubborn opposition of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, and I do not presume that anything to the contrary will be the case this afternoon. I should like, however, with your Lordships' permission, to touch briefly on the arguments which were used by the then representative of the Board of Trade, my noble friend Lord Dudley, as against my previous efforts in connection with this measure.

Your Lordships were informed that this was the thin end of the wedge, and that the Bill meant protection pure and simple. But I do not for one moment consider that either protection or free trade can be considered in connection with what, after all, is the defence of our country, and the source of our supplies in case of future conflicts with other nations. If my noble friend Lord Dudley meant that the Bill was a protection for British captains and officers and to British ships carrying food-stuffs in time of war, I cordially agree with him. Your Lordships were told that it was a return to the old navigation laws which were repealed fifty years ago. We have gained a good deal of experience in that time, sufficient to know that some of those laws contained wise provisions. Shipowners, so far as I can gather, are unanimous as to the present Merchant Shipping Act being obsolete, even though

I was informed by my noble friend that he did not think it could be legitimately argued or urged that clauses which Parliament had inserted in a Bill in 1894 had already become antiquated and out of date. As a matter of fact, however, the Merchant Shipping Acts were introduced about the year 1854, and the Act of 1894 is simply a consolidation of the Acts for the convenience of all concerned.

We were also informed that the Bill would be a source of inconvenience to British shipowners possessing vessels trading between foreign ports. My noble friend went on to point as an example to a British vessel trading between, say, Genoa and Brindisi, calling at the intermediate ports, showing how much more easy it would be for the shipowner to employ Italians, who would know the language and customs of the country. But, my Lords, it is a matter of common knowledge that no such trade could be carried on with a British vessel owing to the simple fact that, as with practically all other Maritime Powers, Italy reserves her coasting trade to her own vessels. We were also informed that the captains and officers of merchant vessels could not be drawn upon for Naval purposes in time of war; but it must not be forgotten that even our Navy was an offspring of our merchant service, and, as our men of the merchant service rendered yeoman service to their country in time of old, they are equally capable and ready now. Their magnificent work in the transport service is a perfectly sufficient illustration of this.

It may be argued that, as times have changed in the Navy, so also have they changed in our merchant service, which even yet is second to none for its magnificence and its efficiency. But I would ask what would be the effect on our merchant service were it denuded in time of war—as it most certainly would be—of the 25,000 men and 1,900 officers of the Royal Naval Reserve who serve in our merchant ships? I emphasise, what would be the effect, when already we have such an alarming percentage of foreigners in the service? I would also point to the 100 gentlemen of the Royal Navy who are on the supplementary list, and who, on the authority of a distinguished Member of this House, have proved an unqualified success. They have shown of what quality for naval purposes are our

captains and officers of the mercantile marine. The Report of the Naval Reserves Committee states that—

“The Committee do not overlook the importance, both as regards naval and other considerations, of securing that as large a proportion as possible of the crews of merchant ships shall be of British nationality.”

and that—

“The mercantile marine is, and should continue to be, a valuable source from which to draw a portion of the Naval Reserve.”

and—

“The present mode of supplying a reserve of executive officers is satisfactory, except that a weeding of the list of Royal Naval Reserve Officers and an extension of numbers are required.”

Then, my Lords, there was advanced the argument of retaliation by other Powers. I think that is a most cowardly argument, and had it been used and acted upon in olden days England would never have been the Power she is. I would point out that the other Powers cannot retaliate, for they have long adopted the principles of the Bill now before your Lordships, and will have none to command and officer their ships but their own subjects. There they show their wisdom, but they have no Boards of Trade and no Marine Department of that body. It is not for other Powers to retaliate, but for the British Government to support and encourage our mercantile marine and to see that our seamen are not robbed of their birthright by foreigners. My noble friend, Lord Dudley, said that what your Lordships all desired to see would be the employment of as many British subjects as possible in British ships. I cordially agree, and this would be a step—an important step—in the right direction.

I hope to make my remarks in the briefest possible form, not desiring to unduly detain your Lordships. Therefore, with your permission, I will simply touch upon the principal important developments which have arisen since this Bill was last introduced into this House. I believe, from the latest official Returns, that there are 592 alien captains and officers in our merchant service. I will be told by my noble friend who represents the Board of Trade that the number has diminished since the issue of the previous Returns.

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I do not deny the fact, but with the great number of foreign seamen in our ships there may at any time be a large number obtaining certificates as masters or mates of British ships. Also there are certain signs of the times which undoubtedly point to the fact that, unless measures are now taken to prevent it, many aliens will eventually become certificated to act in British ships. I understand, on very excellent authority, that there are certain English ships, particularly those which have been in Continental ports, which now carry foreign apprentices, paying a premium for their training, and as some proof of this I might draw your attention to the Board of Trade Inquiry into the stranding of the “Foxglove,” where it came out in evidence that she was carrying two foreign boys as apprentices. I have a letter here addressed by the manager of the Sailors’ Home at one of our largest shipping ports to a British shipmaster, stating that the Danish Consul had asked him (the manager) to assist in getting three of his training-ship boys on board a British sailing vessel. I do not know whether it is the duty of a manager, such as I have mentioned, to co-operate in this way but I am not inclined to think that it is to the benefit of our own seamen.

There has been much talk about the Shipping Combine, and although the Government have, as they say, entered into an agreement requiring the ships of this American concern to carry British officers, it is just as well that we should not live in a fool’s paradise. Therefore, I should like to call your attention to what Mr. Griscom, President of the American line, says about this International Mercantile Marine Company, as it is called. He says—

“If the President and Congress will meet the indisputable economic facts by legislation, it is not too late to hope that a fair portion of the steamers hereafter required by the new company will be built in the United States, manned and officered by Americans, and become part of the National Naval Reserve.”

Therefore, I say that, whilst it is a serious thing that no less than 592 aliens command and officer British ships to the exclusion of our own subjects, everything points at the present moment to a considerable increase of aliens obtaining British certificates. We have

at present a Royal Commission deliberating upon the immigration of aliens into this country, and the serious consequence thereof. It is not for me to foretell what will be the result of their deliberations, although I do not think that there is much difference of opinion as to how this country suffers by reason of its being invaded by the scum of other nations.

From the Report of the Naval Reserves Committee it appears that in the year 1857 there were 96,914 petty officers and sailors British subjects; whilst in 1901 there were only 44,290, or a reduction of over 50 per cent. I find also that the percentage of foreigners in the foreign trade has increased from 20 per cent. in 1891 to 26 per cent. in 1901; whilst in foreign-going sailing vessels the percentage of foreign seamen went up from 39 per cent. in 1891 to 45 per cent. in 1896, and to no less than over 52 per cent. in 1901. These are alarming figures. With what I have said in regard to a promised invasion of, for instance, Americans, as certificated captains and officers of British ships, it is somewhat significant that on the American Combine being initiated particulars are to hand as to the establishment of a nautical preparatory school conducted under the principles of the navigation laws of the United States. She is to be a 3,000-ton vessel of the most advanced type of steel construction, with twenty-five officers. The number of pupils is to be limited to 250, and the object is distinctly to train up officers for service in vessels owned by Americans, in which, of course, may be included the American Combine. It is not a great stretch of the imagination to consider that these officers may supplant our own subjects in these ships in time to come, unless your Lordships take steps to prevent it now. All other maritime Powers, with the exception of Japan, stipulate that the executive of their ships shall consist solely of their own subjects, and I may say that even Japan would follow suit were it not that she has not an adequate supply to meet the demand of her ships; although I understand that in the largest merchant fleet belonging to Japan they have in each of their ships at least one Japanese officer.

Let me illustrate to your Lordships how the attitude of this country in the matter affects some of our most deserving subjects. It is not very long ago that the Scottish Oriental Steamship Company, Limited, with a fleet of fifteen steamers, was sold to the Germans. Within fourteen months, all the Britishers who had served for some considerable time in the fleet had notice to leave, and very shortly after they were wholly replaced by German subjects. Questioned before the Subsidies Committee as to the immediate effects of the transfer of a British Line, Mr. Norman Hill, Secretary to the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, referred to two lines carrying exclusively English captains and officers. He said—

“When the lines were taken over the Englishmen on board consisted of twenty-four captains, forty-eight officers, and seventy-two engineers. Of these, sixteen captains, forty-three officers, and fifty-eight engineers have been displaced by foreigners, and the owners of the vessels stated in their report that they hoped shortly that all the other Englishmen would be displaced.”

The percentage of aliens in our merchant service is no less than 26 per cent., and, therefore, there is no wonder that the President of the Board of Trade describes it as—

“A blot on the record of our merchant service, and a state of things which none of us could view with satisfaction.”

A per centage of 26 per cent. is sufficiently alarming in itself, but the condition of affairs is still worse when we know that it is principally in what are termed “tramp” steamers and sailing ships—which form by far the largest proportion of the service—that these foreigners exist. In most of our leading lines you will find the British seaman wholly and solely; but go to the “tramps” and sailing ships, and you will find that the percentage of foreigners amongst their crews would approximate, I am safe in saying, to considerably over 50 per cent. Many of our large steamers' crews are composed of Greeks, Arabs—in fact, of any but British seamen. A gentleman writes that he has been in conversation with one of the crew of a certain vessel, and was informed that the only Englishmen in the ship were the engineers and donkeymen, the master, both officers,

and all other members of the crew being aliens. I would also quote the following paragraph from a paper by the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Glasgow, addressed to the Chairman of the Subsidies Committee—

“The directors take this opportunity of adverting to the fact that at present there is no security that ships flying the British flag are really British ships, as they may be owned and manned by foreigners, and they suggest that vessels flying the British flag should at least be officered by British subjects and have a preponderating British ownership.”

It is only a year or two back, when the proportion of foreigners was even less than it is now, that the then President of the Board of Trade ventilated his opinions in another place as follows :—

“Take, for instance, the question of war—the question of a war where the Naval Reserves were called out—that would be to deplete the British ships of British seamen, and instead of being partially manned by foreigners they would, under existing circumstances, be altogether manned by foreigners. That, I think, is a matter for very great regret, and if any suggestion can be made to remedy that state of things, or to endeavour to remedy that state of things, which the whole House regrets, then the House would do wrong not to consider any suggestion that might be made.”

I have read an important letter addressed to *The Times* by Admiral Sir John Hay, who, in speaking of the Navy, says—

“We have no doubt seamen and mariners of the finest quality in sufficient numbers to man our present ships, but we have absolutely no reserve, and the mercantile marine trains no men for the Navy beyond the Naval Reserve which would be wanted for the Navy on the opening of a naval campaign. The 50,000 foreigners whom our mercantile marine train would have to leave it on the outbreak of war, as subjects of belligerents or neutrals, and there are no British seamen to take their place.”

I feel, therefore, that I have sufficiently indicated to your Lordships, not merely by my own opinions, but by the statements of great authorities, the weight of which we cannot deny, the strength of my case. I say that the vessels upon which the food supplies of this country mainly depend—I refer to what are known as “tramp” vessels and sailing ships—are manned chiefly by aliens, and if we are to protect these food supplies it seems utterly folly for us to allow the ships conveying them to be commanded and officered by aliens, who, whilst sailing under the

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protection of the British flag, could transfer to our enemies immense cargoes of, perhaps, grain, of which this country might be in dire need.

I have always had to contend with the strongest opposition on the part of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade to my efforts in connection with this Bill, and therefore I feel some degree of satisfaction when I know that His Majesty's Government have now practically adopted the principle of the Bill. After the flutter in the dove-cote which was caused by the transfer *holus-bolus* of great lines of British ships to American ownership, the Board of Trade were forced to realise—as usual, too late—what our shipping trade was likely to come to. We find the Government actually lending money for the construction of two new vessels for the Cunard Line, at an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and from the time the new vessels commence to run the Government are to pay the Cunard Line at the rate of £150,000 per annum, instead of the present Admiralty subvention. Though there was really not very much cause for it in connection with the Cunard Line, which employs none but British subjects, His Majesty's Government, in their agreement, stipulate that the Company shall remain in every respect a British Company, managed by British directors, and—I emphasise this particularly at the moment—to be officered by British officers. We then turn to the agreement with the Atlantic Shipping Combine—it is called the “Atlantic Shipping Combine,” although I may state, for your Lordships' information, that somewhere about 40 per cent. of the tonnage of this concern is employed in purely British trade between this country and her colonies. The agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Combine is to the effect that for thirty years every ship now flying the British flag, and that half the ships hereafter to be built for the Combination, shall continue to be British ships, and shall continue to fly the British flag; that they shall be officered by British officers, and manned in reasonable proportion by British crews.

Turning away for a moment from His Majesty's Government, I come to the

Report of the Select Committee on Steamship Subsidies, wherein the following important recommendation is made—

“That on subsidised vessels the captain, officers, and a proportion of the crew ought to be British subjects.”

In my Bill I go a step farther than this in ensuring that, for instance, vessels carrying large quantities of food supplies for the country—such as “tramp” steamers and sailing ships—should also be officered by British subjects. Mr. W. R. Lawson, in a powerful article contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, says that—

“Apparently we have missed our chance of nationalising the railways of the country, but the merchant marine is still available; with better reason the nationalising idea may one day seize on it. We have at a single step—as shown in the Cunard agreement—advanced from our old Free Trade standpoint to the acceptance of special relations between the State and shipping companies. It is a pregnant idea and may be destined to influence strongly the commercial history of our generation.”

Admiral Sir E. R. Fremantle in an article contributed to the “National Review” refers to the White Star Line, one of the constituent parts of the Combine, being the great supporter of the Naval Reserve—and they deserve every commendation for it. Admiral Fremantle, however, shows that—

“Notwithstanding the pledges given by the White Star Line specially to the nation in making a point of manning their ships by the Naval Reserve, there does not appear to be any arrangement made as to their future. Yet it will be very hard on these men to be obliged to choose between their nationality and Naval Reserve retainer and become American citizens, or be thrown out of employment and probably ruined, if they remain British subjects. How little of patriotism—of the public good, the good of others—lies in this neglect.”

With your Lordships’ permission I will now turn to an additional important provision which I have inserted in the Bill, to limit the granting of pilotage certificates for British waters to British subjects. That granting these certificates to aliens is a pernicious practice is so palpable that it should hardly require me to advance arguments. So far as I can gather, it is not only a general but emphatic opinion—with the exception of the Board of Trade—that this granting of pilotage certificates to foreigners is a very serious matter. The following resolution was

passed at the last Annual Conference of the United Kingdom Pilots’ Association—

“Resolved—that this Conference views with considerable alarm the steadily increasing number of pilotage certificates granted to aliens, which impoverishes the native pilot and gives to foreign ships an advantage over our own. We would respectfully urge Parliament to take immediate steps to abolish a system which must be fraught with danger to the nation.”

It is regrettable that the authorities should give facilities to aliens to study and become familiar with the intricate navigation of our home waters. I understand that in the year 1888 there were about thirty-five aliens holding these pilotage certificates; the number of aliens with such certificates now approaches 100, and they are acting at ports pretty well all round our coasts. A month or two ago the President of the Board of Trade received a deputation from the pilots of the United Kingdom on this matter. This deputation was headed by Sir John Puleston, Lord Claude Hamilton, Sir R. Penrose Fitzgerald, M.P., Major Seely, M.P., Alderman Joyce, M.P., and Lieut-Colonel Evan Llewellyn, M.P. Sir John Puleston informed the President that over 100 Members of Parliament would have attended had it been necessary to trouble him with so large a deputation. The President of the Board of Trade, in replying to the deputation, proposed to communicate with the Admiralty asking their views with respect to the alleged national danger from the granting of pilotage certificates to aliens. I shall be interested to learn from my noble friend, the representative of the Board of Trade, as to what the opinions of the Admiralty are. The President of the Board of Trade also stated that he felt it to be a strong argument that no reciprocal advantages were given in this direction of pilotage certificates by other countries. Before the Parliamentary Select Committee which sat in 1888, the view of the national danger of aliens being granted pilotage certificates was supported with unanimity by the Trinity Houses of London and Hull and by other witnesses, and I venture to hope that your Lordships will coincide with the opinion of the country by supporting the clause in my Bill.

I have also introduced a clause with a view to avoid injustice being done to

foreigners who have already been granted certificates of competency and to those shipowners employing them, but I make it a stipulation that these foreigners shall take the necessary steps to naturalise themselves at the earliest possible time. The Bill will, therefore, inflict no injury upon shipowners, of whom I would like to see more like Sir A. L. Jones, head of the great shipping firm of Elder, Dempster and Co., who, in expressing himself as to the confidence he had in his captains, also said that—

“He was exceedingly proud to be a British shipowner with British staffs of officers and engineers.”

I would also quote the following remarks made by Admiral Sir E. R. Fremantle in distributing prizes on the training-ship “Worcester”—

“He asserted that more encouragement ought to be given to the mercantile marine than had been accorded hitherto. On that subject he quite agreed with Lord Brassey and others who had expressed themselves to that effect. He did not believe in the Navy which was unsupported by a proper mercantile marine. That mercantile marine ought to be manned by British sailors and commanded by British officers.”

In regard to this Bill, a very well-known shipowner in the North of England writes to me as follows—

“I take notice that you are going to bring forward a Motion to amend the Shipping Act, and I am pleased to read that you are taking an interest to stop these aliens from entirely manning our British ships, and also to prevent them from holding pilotage certificates unless they become naturalised British subjects. I have been for twenty years a Managing Owner, and for many years was on the Pilotage Board of the Tyne Dock Commissioners, and I was always strongly opposed to the granting of pilots' certificates to foreigners, no matter of what nationality, for the very reason you are going to extend in your Bill, that we are cultivating foreigners to navigate any foreign foe right into the heart of our country.”

I am extremely sorry that I have detained your Lordships for so long in drawing your attention to the case for my Bill. You will, I trust, observe that it is by no means my own individual opinions which I advance, but those of other authorities which I hope your Lordships will not ignore. It is unfortunately the case that though the national character of our mercantile marine is at odd times recognised by those in power, still when attempts are made to make this national

character much more of a reality than it is at present, they are frustrated in every possible way. In all the enthusiasm of a post-prandial speech, the President of the Board of Trade said a very little time ago—

“If we were to lose our mercantile marine it would mean nothing less than the destruction of the British Empire. That empire is essentially the empire of the seas. It rests upon two great supports—upon the Navy in the first instance, and upon our mercantile marine in the second instance, and each of these supports is necessary to the other. If we were to lose our supremacy of the seas, the ocean, which at present unites the different parts of the British Empire and welds them into a single whole, would no longer unite them, but would divide them. And then there would come necessarily the falling asunder of the parts and the eventual dissolution of the Empire.”

I fully endorse the words of the right hon. Gentleman and after this expression of his views I do not see how one of the Departments under his rule can consistently oppose the Bill.

Is it too much to ask your Lordships to give effect to this Bill, which can only serve to strengthen our mercantile marine, to encourage our worthy and loyal fellow-subjects who serve in it, and, by eliminating aliens from the quarter-decks of our British ships, render greater security to our property when the paramount position of the British Empire may be at stake?

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.
—(*Lord Muskerry*.)

LORD ABINGER: My Lords, I trust that the Bill now before your Lordships may meet with the earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government. It seems to me that in these days, when the foreigner is holding more than his own, it is our duty to guard ourselves against alien incursion. I recognise that it is impossible, on account of the numbers at present available, to ask the Government to restrict the manning of our mercantile marine to British subjects. The figures at the present moment are as follow. Of 43,791 men in the mercantile marine only 28,698 are British. During the ten years ended 1901 there has been a decrease of 11,096 British sailors, and an increase of 8,730 foreigners in the British mercantile marine. There is a danger that aliens, knowing the intricacies of our coast as they do, may in war be able to

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transfer British ships and cargoes to the lines of the enemies. The fundamental principle of this Bill has been accepted by the Government in the negotiations concerning the Shipping Combination and the Cunard Company, and are also recognised by the Shipping Subsidies Committee, who recommend that none but British officers shall command or officer subsidised vessels. I trust that this measure, which has for so many months engaged the attention of my noble friend, will receive consideration at the hands of the Government.

LORD WOLVERTON: My Lords, I desire at the outset to correct some of the statements of the noble Lord who moved the Second Reading of this Bill. The noble Lord said that we had accepted the principle of the Bill. My Lords, I am here to-day to ask your Lordships not to grant a Second Reading to the measure now before the House. This is not a new Bill, it is an old friend. We had it before us in 1899, and again in 1901, when my noble friend Lord Dudley was representing the Board of Trade in this House. In asking your Lordships not to read this Bill a second time I do not propose to follow my noble friend through the highways and byways of free trade and protection. That is a question which will no doubt be raised later on in this House. What I think would be the courteous thing for me to do would be for a few minutes to follow the lines of the Bill, for my noble friend rather strayed away at times from the subject matter of his measure, and dealt with subjects for which I am not answerable, and which would more closely come under the purview of my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Memorandum to the Bill contains several inaccuracies. The declared object of the Bill—to prevent aliens from obtaining the sole control of British ships and property—will not be attained by the methods of the Bill. I admit, certainly, that the law at the present moment allows such control, but this would not be altered by compelling all masters and mates to be British. The real object of the Bill is to restrict competition, and to form a sort of close corporation in the interests of British certificated officers. Among the serious inaccuracies which

the Memorandum contains is a statement that—

“All the other leading maritime Powers restrict the commanding and officering of their merchant ships to their own subjects.”

I find on inquiry that neither Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Chili, nor Ecuador adopt this principle; and Spain, Italy, and Denmark only adopt the principle with regard to the master of the ship. Your Lordships are asked by the noble Lord to—

“Check what promises to be a large influx of foreigners intending eventually to obtain certificates entitling them to command British ships.”

On that statement I will trouble the House with a few figures. It appears that out of a total number of 24,037 persons who, in the five years from 1897 to 1901, obtained certificates as masters, mates, or engineers, only 483 were foreigners. My noble friend quoted the figure as being 582, but I am sure he will take the correction from me. Besides that, I ask special attention to the fact that the numbers are showing a great tendency to decrease. In the year 1897 they were 130; in 1898 they were 91; in 1899, 93; in 1900, 91; in 1901, 78; and in 1902, 76. I look upon that as a satisfactory decrease. The noble Lord stated that the percentage of aliens in our merchant ships is increasing to an alarming extent. I think this is an exaggeration. Noble Lords who have travelled a great deal, as I have, will have noticed that one-third of the number of aliens are Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, and I am sure that, after British seamen, there are no finer seamen in the world than these.

My noble friend also touched on the very important matter of the holding of pilotage certificates by foreign masters and mates. The Board of Trade have been in communication with the Admiralty on the subject, and they have received the following figures. Out of a total of 4,000 masters and mates who hold pilotage certificates, only eighty-seven are foreigners. That is a comparatively small figure, and in the further correspondence with the Admiralty on this subject, it was pointed out that any sharp and intelligent sailor would soon pick up a knowledge of a port by often

entering it, and that with the present day charts he could practically go into any port without a pilot. My noble friend stated that Clause 3 of his Bill would avoid any injustice being done to foreigners who have already been granted certificates of competency and to those shipowners who are employing them. That is rather a technical matter, and the view of the Board of Trade is that it would be most unfair to those to whom certificates had been granted less than six months before the Bill became law. My noble friend has rather implied that he has the shipowners on his side, but I hold in my hand a letter addressed to my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade by the Shipowners' Parliamentary Committee. I will read it to the House, and I am afraid my noble friend will derive very little satisfaction from it. The letter is as follows—

"Sir,—I am directed by this Committee to respectfully call your attention to a Bill entitled 'A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894,' which Lord Muskerry has introduced into the House of Lords and the Second Reading of which he proposes to move on Thursday, 2nd July. The objects of the Bill are to preclude any person who is not a British subject from obtaining a certificate as master or mate in the British Merchant Service, or from obtaining a licence to act as a pilot in British waters. When similar Bills to the present were introduced by Lord Muskerry into the House of Lords in the years 1899 and 1901, both of them were opposed by the Earl of Dudley on behalf of the Board of Trade, and the Second Reading stage was upon both occasions negatived without a division. I am directed by this Committee, which represents nine-tenths of the merchant shipping tonnage of the United Kingdom, to respectfully express their hope that the representative of the Board of Trade in the Upper House will oppose Lord Muskerry's Bill for the following, among other, reasons:

"1. That although the Bill only proposes to prevent foreigners from obtaining Board of Trade certificates of competency as masters or mates in the merchant service, or as pilots, the acceptance of the principle of the Bill by Parliament would nevertheless involve a reversal of the policy which has been deliberately adopted by Parliament and the country since the repeal of the Navigation Act in the year 1849.

"2. That British shipowners believe that if the Bill were to be passed it would be followed in a very short time by a demand that every certificated officer of a British ship

(whether employed in the navigation of the vessel or in the engine-room) should be a British subject, and, also, that all seamen and firemen who are employed on board of British vessels should be British subjects.

"3. That the proportion of foreigners holding master's certificates in the British mercantile marine is exceedingly small. Lord Dudley, on behalf of the Board of Trade, indeed, stated in the House of Lords on 24th February, 1899, that on 25th March, 1896, only 180 foreigners out of a total of 10,389 masters held certificates of competency as masters.

"4. That a large number of British subjects are at present employed (especially as engineers) in vessels which belong to foreign nations. If, therefore, Lord Muskerry's Bill were passed it might easily lead to these nations adopting a retaliatory policy in this matter, to the loss and injury of many of His Majesty's subjects.

"5. That no valid reason has been shown why British shipowners should—alone of all employers of labour in this country—be forbidden by Parliament to employ foreigners in their service.

"6. That if such a measure be required it should be introduced by yourself as President of the Board of Trade into Parliament with the authority and upon the responsibility of His Majesty's Government and not be left to the initiative of a private Member of the House of Lords."

That is the view taken of the Bill by the shipowners, whom this question most intimately concerns, and I hope your Lordships will not give it a Second Reading.

***LORD MUSKERRY:** I quite agree with the Shipowners' Parliamentary Committee that this is a Bill which ought to be introduced by His Majesty's Government, but if the Government will not do their duty, and as this is a much needed measure, some private Member must do so. My noble friend referred to the shipowners, but apparently he does not know that they are the most disunited body of people in the whole of the United Kingdom. Just before I came into your Lordships' House I received a telegram from the Greenock Chamber of Commerce, warmly approving of the Bill and wishing it success. This is a matter of national defence, and I am compelled to press the Bill to a division.

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Abingdon, E.	Cross, V.	Monkswell, L.
Belmore, E.	Goschen, V.	Mostyn, L.
Camperdown, E.	Portman, V.	Mount Stephen, L.
Carrington, E.	Sidmouth, V.	Muncaster, L.
Chesterfield, E.		O'Hagan, L.
Denbigh, E.	Aberdare, L.	Poltimore, L.
Egerton, E.	Annaly, L.	Ribblesdale, L.
Faversham, E.	Avebury, L.	Robertson, L.
Grey, E.	Balfour, L.	Tweeddale, L. (<i>M. Tweeddale.</i>)
Hardwicke, E.	Burghclere, L.	Tweedmouth, L.
Jersey, E.	Calthorpe, L.	Ventry, L.
Lauderdale, E.	Clanwilliam, L. (<i>E. Clanwilliam.</i>)	Wimborne, L.
Malmesbury, E.	Coleridge, L.	Windsor, L.
Mansfield, E.	Dunboyne, L.	Wolverton, L.

THE INQUIRY INTO OUR FISCAL SYSTEM.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in rising "to make further inquiry as to the investigation by His Majesty's Government into our fiscal system," said—My Lords, the object of the notice which I have placed upon the Paper is simply and solely what it purports to be. I do not in any way wish to engage in any disquisition as to the general question of policy. I only wish to obtain information on a subject on which His Majesty's Government have been singularly reticent, and I wish to add to my notice these words, "and to move for any Papers relating to the subject."

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: Is that in order?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Everything is in order. I am encouraged to do this by the fact that in the other House, as I understand, the Government have to-day acceded to the request of private Members for Reports from foreign countries, and they have also promised to Mr. Bowles extensive and accurate tables which will assist the nation in some degree to arrive at a judgment on the important issue which is being in so strange and unusual a manner submitted to us. After our discussion the other night I do not think

that I should so soon have returned to the subject if it had not been for the singular and inexplicable levity with which the Government treated this important subject. They have promised an inquiry on a subject which I venture to say is the most vital that has ever been submitted to the judgment of the nation for the last half-century—an inquiry which, if it would do justice to the subject, should be the most deliberate, the most well-reasoned, and—if I may use a word by which I set more stress than His Majesty's Government—the most efficient they could set on foot.

I will say at once in a word why I think so much of the question of inquiry. It is because I believe it is not too much to say of the issue that you are submitting to the country that it is setting the Empire itself at stake. I say deliberately that, somewhat hastily as I think, and certainly without sufficient reflection and inquiry, His Majesty's Government have in the last month done nothing less than put the very Empire itself at stake. Now, when I say that I do not mean that, going one way or the other, the result of their operations may be to put an end to the Empire. No, that is perhaps beyond even the power of His Majesty's Government. But I do say that even already the relations between this country and the outer Empire have been altered by what has taken place;

and how far they may eventually be modified by the operation of the policy of His Majesty's Government—if His Majesty's Government have a policy, and if it ever come into operation—I cannot pretend to predict. But one thing I am quite certain of—that if your hypothetical policy, or the policy of some of you, does come into effect, you may increase the wealth of the country as you promise to do, you may improve the fiscal condition of the Empire as you promise to do, you may increase the price of the food of your people as you promise to do, you may raise the wages of your population as you promise to do; but of one thing I am quite certain, that the Empire which you will produce by these means will be very different from the Empire we have known. We have been anxious to prove to the world that our Empire meant peace. You propose, by your system as far as we understand it—and I limit myself in discussing it entirely to what has been said, and not to hypothetical systems which do not exist—you propose by your policy to make this an Empire bristling with tariffs at every point, brimful of retaliation on the slightest pretext, and no longer affording a peaceful mart to the nations at large, but rather a point of resistance and attack wherever our Empire exists in the world.

I say that the Government treat this matter with levity. I do not for a moment charge them with treating it in their hearts with levity; but I do charge it in their proceedings and in their speeches. I will, however, acquit the Colonial Secretary of any want of earnestness in his speeches. But the rest of the Government in their proceedings and speeches do treat this matter with a levity which is as reprehensible as it is incomprehensible. The other night we ventured to ask in humble accents of the Government some little information as to this inquiry, upon which the future, and to some extent the fate, or at any rate the shape, of this Empire depends. We had two statements in answer—because the Foreign Secretary did not devote himself to that branch of the subject, but addressed himself to the point raised by Lord Portsmouth. We had the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty, which I think I may say,

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without rushing to any hasty conclusion, had been prepared for some other occasion. But how did the First Lord of the Admiralty treat this matter? He treated it in a long preface of jokes; and here I wish to guard myself from bringing any charge of levity against the jokes of the noble Earl. But what he said in a more serious vein was that he was prepared to answer the inquiry as to the nature of the investigations in which the Government is involved. He said—although he is not so reported in *The Times*, which I consulted this morning, but I heard him with my own ears—he said that it is to be “a grand inquest of the nation.” What is a “grand inquest?” I have looked at all the ordinary sources of information, and I find that in the strictest sense it means a grand jury. I am sure that the noble Earl did not mean that we were to investigate this question by means of grand juries. I am sure that he meant to use the phrase in the ordinary and metaphorical sense in which it is used—in the sense of the House of Commons. But it is quite certain that the Government have no intention of investigating this subject through the medium of the House of Commons, because they have denied any possibility of discussing the matter to the House of Commons, unless the responsible Leaders of the Opposition bring forward a Vote of Censure.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: Hear, hear.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: Exactly; that is the way in which the noble Duke proposes to deal with a matter which ought to be removed from Party conflict as far as possible. Members of the House of Commons are only to treat it as a Vote of Censure if they wish to discuss this matter of an inquiry. It is quite certain that the Government do not wish to investigate this matter in the High Court of Parliament, and even the occasional and fitful discussions in the House of Lords are not wholly welcome. What is this grand inquest? It is to be conducted, says the noble Earl, by the Press and by all Parties. The Press? Well, the Press was extremely reticent about the matter for a long time after the first pronouncement of the

Colonial Secretary. They carried the banner of protection high, but also they carried it closely furled; and although they are now beginning to open out on the subject, it is not such an investigation—the mere canvassing of this matter by the Press—which is needed on a matter of such Imperial importance. I do not know what the noble Earl means. There is a very popular journal which, in the beginning of August, usually opens a grand inquest on such questions as “Is Marriage a Failure?” and “What shall We do with our Sons?” I do not know whether the First Lord of the Admiralty suggests that at the beginning of August the various newspapers should set up as a subject for correspondence, “The Future Fiscal Relations of the Empire.” I confess that I regard the answer of the noble Earl as a rhetorical flourish, which leads us no further and gives us no information on a subject on which we have a right to information. Then there came the noble Duke. The noble Duke told us that there was no need for the Government to require further information. They had already the information; what they wanted was arrangement. The information was at their disposal; they only wanted to arrange it.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: I said the materials were at our disposal.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I do not know exactly what distinction the noble Duke draws between information and the materials at their disposal. I suppose he means the Returns of the Board of Trade. We know from an answer of the Colonial Secretary that no information has reached the colonies on this point since the Colonial Conference of last year. Therefore, I can only suppose that the noble Duke looks forward to the preparation of statistics that are now before the Board of Trade, and, to some extent, the country, as the sole investigation which the Government propose to set up. I am led from these answers, and the other answers given in the other House, to the irresistible conclusion that there is no inquiry at all. If there were an inquiry the noble Duke would be able to explain it. There is no one who can make a better statement when

he chooses than the noble Duke, and there is no one who can make his meaning more clear and more succinct; and I confess that I am led to the conclusion, not hastily—and I strongly suspect the great mass of the nation have arrived at it—that there is no inquiry at all, but that the allegation of inquiry amounts simply to this, that some *via media* has to be found for arranging the irreconcilable differences of the Cabinet; and, therefore, permission has been given which was not, I suppose, in the least degree needed, to each Member of the Cabinet to investigate the matter for himself.

There is one peculiar feature in this inquiry—always taking the hypothesis that it exists—there is a unique condition in this inquiry. Ministers have said that Cabinet inquiries are constantly held, and that the result of them is not necessarily, or even generally, communicated to the public. That is perfectly true. It is a platitude. But who in the world, or in the history of England, ever heard before of an inquiry conducted by a Cabinet into a policy which is already announced? The Prime Minister takes great pride in his plan. He says—

“Compare my plan with the methods adopted by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone.”

Well, I have the greatest respect and friendship for the Prime Minister, but I confess that in matters of precedent, of Cabinet precedent, political precedent, I would rather follow Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone than I would the Prime Minister, with all his virtues and abilities. But he says—

“Look at my plan and compare it with the plans of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone; they broke up their Parties; I am keeping mine together. How otherwise would you have proposed to announce a policy of this kind?”

I will tell the Prime Minister at once. There is an ordinary and recognised method of communicating any departure in the fiscal policy of the country which is furnished by the annual Budget. But I am not aware that there was any indication, except the repeal of the corn tax, in this year's Budget which could lead us to imagine that any great fiscal change was meditated. The Prime Minister says that by his method he is keeping his Party together. I wonder if that is so. I must say that I admired

the courage of the First Lord of the Admiralty the other night. If I had nothing else in his speech to admire, I admired his courage; because it seemed to me that the whole of that inestimable quality for which the Navy is so justly distinguished was embodied in the First Lord of the Admiralty when he taunted the Opposition with their political divisions. Does the First Lord of the Admiralty think that there are no divisions in his own Party? I do not deny that the Liberal Party have had their distractions, but they have only two recognised leaders—Lord Spencer, whom we are all so sorry not to see here, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; and I am not aware of any differences in the expression of the public views of these politicians which are notable, certainly not reprehensible. I do not think that the First Lord of the Admiralty can say this of the present Cabinet. I say it is the first time in history in which we have had an inquiry by the Cabinet into a policy which they have already announced, and I say frankly that the explanation furnished by the Government will not do.

Consider what is the history of this matter. The Colonial Secretary goes down to Birmingham and announces his programme quite plainly and clearly. At the moment the Prime Minister is vindicating the repeal of a tax on food to a body of enraged members of his Party—this united Party—in London. The Colonial Secretary stated quite succinctly what his procedure is going to be; I cannot pay that compliment to the First Lord of the Admiralty. I suppose it is supported by the mass of His Majesty's Government. There is, first of all, to be an interminable discussion, or rather a discussion terminable at such a moment as the Government may think it expedient to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. The Government are, at a given moment, when they think it most convenient for this purpose, to appeal to the country. If they receive a mandate, which in this case will be a blank cheque, because the plan is not to be previously disclosed—then what are they to do? Are they to produce their plan? No; they are then to consult the Colonies. To everybody outside a pantomime one would have

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thought that the preliminary to these discussions, to the disclosure of policy, and to the General Election would have been consultation with the Colonies. Then, after a consultation with the Colonies, I suppose, at last, we shall be made acquainted with the real policy of the Government. I say this will not do; it will not wash. It is not even a representable programme for the Government; and it does not explain the position of the inquiry into which it is the special object of my Motion to investigate.

The First Lord of the Admiralty told us the other night that I was employed in discussing schemes which have no existence, and in rejecting them. I defy the noble Lord to produce any instances to prove the allegation. I will read two capital sentences, on which every intelligent mind of the country is fixed, which represent the clear and intelligible policy arrived at, I suspect after much private inquiry, and which has been laid before the country by the Government. The Colonial Secretary has said in one speech—

“If you are to give a preference to the Colonies you must put a tax on food.”

This is an intelligible proceeding. But the second declaration is by far the most important declaration ever made by a responsible Minister in my lifetime, and I want to ask the serious attention of the noble Duke to this sentence. The noble Duke said last Monday that he agreed with the speeches delivered by the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary on Friday. He remembered, or did not remember, seven subjects of investigation which they had proposed with which he entirely concurred. I do not, therefore, presume to ask him with reference to these seven subjects of investigation, but I do ask his most earnest attention to this sentence—

“A system of preferential tariffs is the only system by which this Empire can be kept together.”

That condemnation of our past and present Empire, that sentence so full of omen to the future of our Empire—because, after all, it means this, that if the country cannot be persuaded to adopt preferential tariffs our Empire is gone—that sentence, I say, is the gravest utterance I have heard by any

Minister in my lifetime. What I have to ask the noble Duke is this: Does he include that sentence in his agreement with the Colonial Secretary's speech? [The Duke of DEVONSHIRE dissented.] Then I think he used words rather wider than he intended last Monday, and I rejoice to hear his explanation and his repudiation; but in view of these declarations on questions of policy which have been put before the country, neither of which have been repudiated by any Member of the Government before this moment, we have a right to know what is this grand inquest on which the Government is engaged. Nothing more important has ever engaged the attention of the nation. It cannot be conducted behind a closed door or a drawn curtain, and it is useless for the Government to try and fence with the question. I do not think that it is possible for Parliament or the country to retain any vestige of that spirit which formerly it was believed they possessed if the Government can keep this secret up their sleeve. At any rate I am sure of this, that they are unworthy of public confidence if they do so.

I will quote the Prime Minister against the Government, and against the position of the Government. Very frequently this year—I am afraid almost *ad nauseam*—I have urged a plan in which I conscientiously believe that Lord Kitchener for the moment is the best person to hold the Seals of the Secretary of State for War. When I brought forward that proposition I was read a crushing lecture by the Prime Minister. He says that I was digging at the very root of Ministerial responsibility. What is Cabinet responsibility? he asked. It is a body of men united by a common bond and a common policy which they are prepared to defend in public on all occasions. How could Lord Kitchener, it was asked, with no politics, fit into such a system as that? From what I can see of the Government, I conceive that Lord Kitchener could fit in very well if he had no politics, and I am not sure whether he would not be one of the most valuable Members of the present Cabinet. At any rate, I cannot understand how it is that the Prime Minister, when he seeks his pillow at

night, can reconcile the present position of his Government with the doctrine he has laid down so strongly of Cabinet responsibility. I think, then, that I have shown ground for pressing for further information as to the nature and constitution of this inquiry. I think we see a distracted Cabinet. We hear of a programme of proceedings which is by no means in accordance with the best political traditions of this country. We see a studied reticence as to the inquiry in which our future and our fortunes are so largely engaged.

I appeal, then, to His Majesty's Government to give us some further information. I would ask them if the inquiry is definite and organised. I would ask if it is collective or individual, because I am bound to say that from some indications I am inclined to think it is much more individual than collective. I will ask them if there are any defined subjects of inquiry, or whether anyone can inquire about what he thinks fit. I ask them, further, if the results will be made public, or whether the nation is to be left entirely without guidance as to the proceedings and objects of this grand inquest. I will hand the noble Duke my Questions if he wants to look at them more carefully. [The noble Earl handed a paper over to the Duke of Devonshire.] I think I have the right to make a personal appeal to him in this matter, because he has laid down the doctrine which I did not think was peculiarly applicable when he laid it down, but which, at any rate, has peculiar pertinence at the present moment. He will recognise his words which I turn into the plural—

"I think the country will be disposed to take, at their true value, the declarations and criticisms of statesmen who, for reasons which are not very easy to understand, declined to give their guidance to the country or Parliament at a moment when that advice and guidance might have been useful to influence the decision of Parliament, and, I will add, the opinion of the nation."

These were words addressed to me by the noble Duke, because I declined to join in a Vote of Censure on the Government. I think the noble Duke might take them to heart at this moment, and might respond more fully and largely than hitherto to the

just demand of the nation for further information as to this inquiry.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The DUKE of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, I am indebted to the noble Earl for his kindness and courtesy in presenting me with a list of Questions, to obtain answers to which has been his sole object in addressing the House to-night. I only regret that it did not occur to the noble Earl, if he required information in answer to these Questions, to have taken what I should have thought would have been a very obvious step—namely, that of giving me notice a little earlier. But the noble Earl avails himself, I think somewhat fully, of the rather lax rules which govern the proceedings of this House. Under cover of a notice to make further inquiries respecting the investigations that are being conducted by the Government—a notice absolutely vague and indefinite in its character—the noble Earl takes occasion to make a speech in which, so far as I can recollect, only in the last sentence has he asked for any information whatever respecting the investigation which is going on. The noble Earl has taken advantage of this somewhat vague notice which he has given to reply to speeches which were made in this House two nights ago, and to some speeches which have been made in the other House and in the country. My Lords, I have no doubt that all of us sometimes feel, when we go home after taking part in these discussions, a deep regret that we had forgotten to say something, or that we had not thought of something which we very much wish had occurred to us in the course of the debate. But it is not given to all of us to make for himself an opportunity, by putting down a perfectly colourless and meaningless notice, of saying all the things which he wished he had said on a previous occasion.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: May I ask my noble friend how I could have answered the speeches on a previous occasion when I spoke before those speeches were made?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: The noble Earl has made a good many

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references to speeches which have been made not only here, but in the other House of Parliament and the country, and the noble Earl might, if he had thought fit, have taken advantage of the debate which we have already had in this House on this subject to reply to those speeches without raising a fresh debate on his own account. If all of us, even in this House, took that course, I think it would be somewhat inconvenient, and obviously one which it is quite impossible could be permitted in the other House of Parliament. I do not suppose that either the notice itself which the noble Earl has given or the speech which he has made upon it would have been allowed for one instant to be in order in the other House of Parliament. And I doubt very much whether it is to the advantage of our debates that such extreme laxity as the noble Lord chooses to assume for himself should be permitted in our House. The noble Earl charges us with treating this question with extreme levity. He says we have put the Empire at stake—I do not know exactly how he formulated it—but I understood him to say that we have put the Empire at stake, and that our explanations and our statements in respect of the grave issues which have been raised are wholly inadequate and insufficient. The noble Earl was very indignant when I suggested that it was possible that a Vote of Censure should be brought forward. If the noble Earl holds the opinion he has expressed to-night, and as I gather from his speech that he does hold, that His Majesty's Government are trifling with a great subject, why does he not put that opinion in the form of a Resolution? Why does he not invite the House to express its opinion upon that culpable negligence on the part of the Government? And if the noble Earl replies, as he probably will, the day after to-morrow, to my speech—

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: I promise the noble Duke I will reply to it this evening.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: If he replies with his usual complaint that he is in a helpless minority in this House, I ask the noble Earl whether there are not in the House of Commons members of his Party who sufficiently agree with him to challenge the conduct

of the Government in that House on what he considers to be the culpable negligence of the Government. The noble Earl at last concluded his speech by asking some Questions about the nature of the inquiry. I have not been able to give sufficient time to the extremely condensed Questions which he has addressed to me; but I will endeavour in the course of what I hope will be the not very long observations which I shall address to the House, to try—I am afraid I can do little more than repeat—to try to explain to the noble Earl what, in my judgment, is the nature of the inquiry which the Government are instituting. My Lords, the noble Earl has, I think, on two occasions gone back on the history of this question, and I may say one or two words about it, as, in order to explain myself, I think I ought to do. The Colonial Minister made a speech, as he stated, entirely on his own responsibility, and not committing the Government to any expression of policy which was contained in it, in which he said that his attention, as Colonial Minister, had been directed to certain questions affecting the fiscal policy of this country, especially as regarded their bearing on, and connection with, the colonies and closer colonial union. He referred in that speech to the present fiscal relations between ourselves and our colonies, between ourselves and foreign countries, and also between foreign countries and our colonies; and he expressed his desire that these questions should be fully considered and examined by the country before the country is called upon to proceed to another election. The Colonial Secretary stated on that occasion, with perfect clearness, as the noble Earl has admitted, what he hoped the result would be. He hoped the result of such an inquiry would be that the Government of which he is a member would ask for a mandate, and that the country would give to the Government a mandate, which would enable him to enter into negotiation with the colonies with the object of ascertaining whether it would be possible to establish any closer fiscal relations between ourselves and them. Well, I believe that was and is the position of Mr. Chamberlain. The

noble Earl and the House will see that that position is a very long way from the point of making definite proposals to Parliament, as to which it will be, of course, constitutionally necessary that the Government, when it makes such proposals shall be united in opinion as to the action which we may propose to Parliament. The noble Earl says that the proposed process is a wrong one. He says that we ought to have consulted the colonies first. I am not going into that matter now, but this is a subject which has been fully dealt with by the Colonial Secretary himself. He has said—whether he is right or wrong—that he holds the opinion that it would be most impolitic to ask the responsible colonial statesmen to come and discuss with him the question of preferential tariffs when he had no authority from Parliament, or when Parliament had no authority from the country, to justify him in entering into such negotiations. What would be the position of the Colonial Minister if he was to ask the Colonial Premiers—

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Did not he discuss it with them last year?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: He discussed the subject generally, but he had no authority. He expressly told them on that occasion that he had no authority to make proposals to them. In the Colonial Secretary's view, and I am bound to say also in my view, I do not see what would be the advantage of asking the Premiers to come here and discuss definite detailed proposals for preferential treatment of our colonies if, after they had returned to their colonies, they should find that the Colonial Secretary had no authority either from Parliament or from the country to make such proposals. That, I understand, is the position of the Colonial Secretary. When I come to the position of the Government, I admit it is a different one; but I do not admit that it is a position which in any degree conflicts with that of the Colonial Secretary. We are agreed with the Colonial Secretary that the time is ripe for a review of the results of our fiscal policy of the last fifty years—that the time is ripe for a review of the results of

a policy which alone amongst all the great nations of the world we have adopted—of the results of that policy upon our home trade, our trade with foreign nations, our trade with the colonies—of the results of that policy upon our manufacturing industries, and on the condition of our people—of the results of that policy on our relations with our colonies. We entirely agree with the Colonial Secretary that the time is ripe for such a review. But, whether the result of such an inquiry will be to join us in asking the country to give to the Colonial Secretary the mandate which he hopes to receive—that is a question which can only be decided after the inquiry is concluded. My Lords, it will depend on the result of that inquiry whether we shall be in a position to ask the country for a mandate at all on the subject, and, if so, what mandate—whether it be a mandate extending to the large policy which has been indicated in the Colonial Secretary's speeches, or whether it be a mandate far more restricted in its scope. But until the time comes when we are called upon to ask the country whether we are to receive a new mandate on this subject or not, I fail to see that any case has been made out why it is necessary that we should all be in perfect harmony and agreement in our views upon these questions.

The noble Earl wants to know what is the nature of the inquiry. I do not think it is possible, at this stage at all events, fully to answer the question. I have always said, and I desire still to say, that it is not inquiry alone, but discussion, that is necessary, in my opinion. I do not think it is possible at this stage of the inquiry and discussion strictly to define or to limit the subjects which are to be inquired into and discussed. I referred the other night to the speeches delivered two days before by the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary. I did not say, or at all events did not intend to say, as the noble Earl seems to have understood, that I agreed with everything that was contained in those two speeches. I referred to them as indicating the nature and scope of the inquiry. The Prime Minister indicated four points which he considered were subjects for inquiry. The first was whether the necessary provision of

capital applied to our industries was imperilled by the importation of foreign goods below cost price. He instanced in connection with that question the Sugar Convention, which has already been entered into; and quoted, I think, some words of Mr. Gladstone in elucidation of his point of view. The second subject for inquiry was whether tariff negotiations with other countries were not rendered increasingly difficult and almost impossible by our present fiscal system. The third was whether the colonies were unable to give us, even if they desired it, preferential treatment without running the risk of foreign intervention. The fourth point was whether union with the colonies by closer fiscal relations could not be made possible. And the Prime Minister further indicated, although he did not name it as one of the subjects of the inquiry, that in his judgment there was no logical or substantial reason why such a policy as was indicated by the Colonial Secretary should not be carried out without any increase in the cost of living to the working classes.

On the same occasion the Colonial Secretary indicated one or two subjects which he desired to see inquired into. He asked whether it was a fact that the exports of our manufactures to the colonies exceed our exports to all the protected States and the United States of America combined. He asked next whether it was a fact that our exports to the protected States are diminishing in quantity and in value. He asked a further question, the form of which, I believe, was not perfectly accurately stated, whether it was not better to cultivate trade with 10,000,000 of our kinsmen—I believe he stated the figure too high—he said £10 per head—but that does not invalidate the argument—at a large amount per head than to conciliate 300,000,000 of foreigners who only trade with us to the extent of a very few shillings per head. I am not in the least saying that this is an exhaustive or definite list of the subjects to be inquired into. There may be, and undoubtedly are, other subjects which will occur at once to the mind of every man who has paid any attention to the problem;

there are others which undoubtedly will develop in the course of the inquiry. But I ask, taking that list only, whether the noble Earl or noble Lords opposite are prepared to say that these are questions which they have considered so fully and completely as to be satisfied that no inquiry is necessary, or whether, on the other hand, they are prepared to say that those subjects are absolutely immaterial and have no relation to the question whether our fiscal policy does or does not require some revision to meet the altered circumstances of the country and of the Empire.

This being the nature of the inquiry, I say that it is absolutely impossible to limit its dimensions, to confine it within strictly defined limits. It is impossible to say beforehand, at the very commencement of this inquiry and discussion what subjects lie within it and what subjects are outside it. Neither can we, in my opinion, limit the number or the character of those who may be called upon, or whose duty it will be to take part in the inquiry. We have already said that, as a Government, we have considered it our duty to enter upon this inquiry; and we shall avail ourselves of all the means at our disposal to make it a thorough and, we trust, a satisfactory inquiry. We are quite convinced that we cannot—nor do we desire to—exclude any other body of our fellow subjects from taking their part in this inquiry also. In my view, every Member of Parliament, every candidate for a Parliamentary seat, and, so far as he is able to make himself acquainted with the question at issue, every elector is bound to take his share in this inquiry; and I believe that even those who most deprecate the raising of this question, those who are apparently convinced that we live under the most perfect fiscal institutions that can be conceived, will be compelled—indeed, they have already found themselves compelled—to take their share in the inquiry. The noble Earl himself, in his first speech on this subject, delivered, I think, at the City of London Liberal Club, took a very useful and a very prominent part in this inquiry, and produced a great variety of arguments which led him to doubt—as many of us doubt, and as I myself gravely doubt—the expediency of

imposing a tax on the food of the people. Those who have taken up a still more pronounced position than the noble Earl, those who deprecate any investigation whatever, are also bound by the very necessity of their position to join us in this inquiry. Their view is that we occupy the best possible position under the best possible fiscal system; and it is for them, after the lapse of fifty years, and especially after the experience which has been gained during the last twenty years, to establish that view. I think I said on the first occasion that I addressed the House upon this subject that upon those who advocate this change in our fiscal system rests the burden of proof; and I adhere to that opinion. But I also hold that upon those who assert—if there are any who do assert it—that the advantages of the present system are so firmly, conclusively, and absolutely established as to be beyond inquiry also rests the burden of proof of the accuracy and justice of their assertion. I can only say in conclusion that I deeply regret the noble Earl should have postponed to the very end of his able and eloquent speech the Questions of which he might have given me notice a day or two ago. At all events, I am not prepared to enter into a detailed definition of the scope and course of this inquiry without further notice than that which the noble Earl has thought fit to give me.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I do not intend to enter into the general discussion of this important subject, and so far as I have any remarks to make they will be entirely directed to the speech we have just heard from the noble Duke. The noble Duke took exception to the speech of my noble friend Lord Rosebery, because, he said, until the last sentences there was no attempt on his part to press the Question which formed his notice on the Paper.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: There was no Question.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I maintain that my noble friend's speech throughout was one continuous demand for further information with regard to the nature and the scope of the inquiry

which has been instituted by the Government. The noble Duke has given no information whatever in his speech beyond that which has already been vouchsafed either in this House or in the other. He has not extended by one iota that information, and he has not attempted to answer any one of the four points specially pressed on his notice by my noble friend Lord Rosebery. The noble Duke cited seven propositions.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: Not propositions.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Well, seven subjects for inquiry, put forward in the other House by the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary, and asked whether they were not fit subjects for inquiry. Of course they are fitting subjects for inquiry, and I hope that especially the points raised by the Colonial Secretary will be taken up in this inquiry and thoroughly searched. We have no fear of the result of such a search. The noble Duke took exception to the weighty words of my noble friend when he described the situation as one which involved the position of the Empire being at stake. Well, my Lords, I think sufficient proof of that may be found from the lips of the noble Duke's colleagues and ex-colleagues. One ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer has described the situation as—

“A gamble with the food of the people.”

Another Chancellor of the Exchequer has described this policy as—

“Deeply injurious to the country, and one which would do more to dis-unite than unite the Empire.”

Whilst the present Chancellor of the Exchequer says—

“I cannot be a party to a policy which, in my opinion, would be detrimental both to this country and to the colonies.”

The noble Duke then says, “If those opinions are shared by the Opposition, if they think that so grave a state of affairs has been arrived at, why do not they challenge the Government by a Vote of Censure? I will answer the noble Duke by another question. Will the Government give us a straight issue on the simple point, Is it good policy that preferential tariffs shall be placed on the food of the people?”

Lord Tweedmouth.

I will tell the noble Duke why such a Motion has not been put forward; indeed, he gave the answer to his own question in the very next section of his speech. He said that, after all, there was no policy adopted by the Government; that the Colonial Secretary on his own motion had put forward certain proposals; that those proposals were not adopted by the Government, and that they were merely subjects for discussion. The noble Duke knows perfectly well that if a Motion were brought forward in the other House challenging the point it would be met by the Government with the statement that they had merely offered certain proposals of the Colonial Secretary for examination and discussion by the country, and they would taunt us with the charge that we were afraid of inquiry, and that our cause was so bad that it could not stand investigation. My Lords, we are not afraid of inquiry, and we find no fault with the proposal for an inquiry, but what we do find fault with are the methods and the manner, and the condition under which this inquiry is going to be held, or, rather, I should say the method and the manner, and the conditions under which this so-called inquiry is not going to be held. This is a matter of the highest interest. It is a matter of extreme intricacy, and one would have imagined that this inquiry would have been held by statesmen, by experts, by professors of economics quietly. One would have thought that even the Colonial Secretary himself might have sat as a learner from the results of such an inquiry. Again and again has it been said that this is not merely an inquiry, but, still more, a discussion. Well, I contend that the words discussion, debate, and inquiry are almost contradictory of one another, and to suppose that a matter of this sort can be fairly, squarely, and impartially decided upon by discussion on the platform and in the Press seems to me to be a curious view of the situation. Then the noble Duke said that this question of preferential tariffs had not been before the colonies. That is one of the most extraordinary statements I have ever heard made. This subject was brought before the Colonial Premiers at the Colonial Conference, and was, moreover, made

the subject of a paragraph in their Report, which I will venture to read in order to remind the noble Duke of what the views of the colonies were as expressed by their Premiers at that Conference. On page thirty-nine of the Report will be found these words :—

“ In connection with the discussion of preferential trade the Conference also considered the point raised by the Commonwealth Government as to the possibility of the colony having most-favoured-nation treatment in foreign countries in the event of their giving a tariff preference to British goods. As, however, the exports from the colonies to foreign countries are almost exclusively articles of food or raw materials for various industries, the possibility of discrimination against them in foreign markets was not regarded as serious, and as the exports of foreign countries to the colonies are mainly manufactured articles, it was recognised that if such discrimination did take place the colonies had an effective remedy in their hands.”

Therefore the Colonial Premiers absolutely put it on record that, in this matter of preferential discrimination, they themselves had the power in their own hands to do whatever was necessary in the way of retaliation against foreign countries. The noble Duke says that the position of the Government does not conflict with that of the Colonial Secretary. Well, my Lords, that seems to me to be a strange statement. At any rate the position of the Government so far conflicts with the opinion of the Colonial Secretary that they are not ready to make themselves responsible for this policy which he puts forward as the only one which can bind the various parts of the Empire together. Surely there can hardly be a greater conflict between responsible Ministers of the Crown than when the Minister who is responsible for the Government of the colonies says to his colleagues such and such a policy is absolutely essential to keep the colonies together, and then his colleagues say : “ This is a matter of secondary importance. It is one only for inquiry, and we must postpone this policy till some future occasion when further discussion has taken place upon it.” If these are conditions under which responsible Cabinet Government can be carried on in this country they are entirely novel ones, and I think the precedent of the present Government will not be held up by future ones in preference to those of earlier Governments and Ministers who

were more careful and particular as to agreement amongst themselves.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND : I have no intention of entering into the discussion raised by the noble Earl on the cross benches, but I think the speech of the noble Lord who has just sat down may be regarded as the best justification for the noble Duke's challenging those who take such strong views on this subject to produce their Vote of Censure. The noble Lord said they did not know what they had to censure, and then he proceeded to formulate a Vote of Censure. He went on to show that the Vote of Censure which they were prepared to move was to the effect that any imposition of a tax on the food of the people was objectionable. If that is the Motion they are prepared to move—well, why don't they move it ?

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY : My Lords, I do not think the noble Duke has much reason to complain of the laxity which, he says, I allowed myself in enlarging in my speech the subject of which I had given notice, because I observe that the noble Duke had made no inconsiderable preparations to deal with all those subjects, which seems to me to prove, either that we were both out of order, or that he anticipated with some confidence the discussion that has taken place.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE : I knew you.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY : I trust the noble Duke also knew the House of Lords, although I observe that he indicated a wish to reform its procedure, from which I would advise him to desist, having had some experience of that matter. I would only call attention to one or two points raised by the noble Duke. The Government always tell us what they are going to inquire into. They never tell us who is going to inquire. It is not enough to tell me that I may inquire. I can do that without the permission of the Government. It is not enough to tell candidates for Parliament that they may inquire. They can do that without the permission of the Government.

The noble Duke always says: "We think that the inquiry should do this; we think that after the inquiry has taken place we should do that;" but my question is what the inquiry is, and who is conducting it, and by what methods? The noble Duke must tell us that. Is the Cabinet sitting like the Council of National Defence, to inquire? Is it a committee?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: The Prime Minister, answering a Question in the other House, said the inquiry would be conducted by His Majesty's Government, and not by a Royal Commission or a Committee of the House, or by any Departmental Committee. The inquiry would be conducted by the Cabinet itself, and would not necessarily lead to a Report.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Then may I ask the noble Duke for a distinct answer to this question? Is the Cabinet, or is it not, conducting any inquiry into these matters?

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: The Cabinet is conducting an inquiry.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Then at last we have a definite understanding. The twenty members of the Cabinet are conducting an investigation into the fiscal system of the country. I am very glad to hear it. I do not deprecate it. I do not think it the non-partisan committee which ought to investigate this matter, but, at any rate, we have at last, after a month of questioning, elicited the information that the Cabinet has begun to inquire. That is really the gist of the whole matter. We now may hope that when the Cabinet hold their meetings they are not conducting the ordinary administration of the country, but that they are investigating the fiscal system. That is all we know. The noble Duke called attention to the fact that I did not challenge the opinion of the House by a Vote of Censure on the proceedings of His Majesty's Government. The noble Duke supplied one answer, and I had already supplied the other. He supplied the answer that it would be preposterous for any one without a considerable

The Earl of Rosebery.

following in this House to challenge a Government which owns the almost unanimous support of the House, and that it would give a very false notion abroad as to the division of public opinion on this matter. I supplied by anticipation the other answer, and it was this—that I do not think that the future or the fate of this Empire as defined by the Colonial Secretary should be made a question of Party recrimination and partisan discussion. For my part, however much the Government may wish to throw it into the arena of Party politics, I, at any rate, shall endeavour to keep it, as far as can be, out of it. The noble Duke in his speech has indicated a perfectly new theory of the functions of Cabinet Government in this country. He says—

"We are to discuss and we are to investigate, but there is no reason why we should be a united Cabinet on this policy until we have disclosed it."

Surely that is one of the most remarkable theories of Cabinet Government that has ever been disclosed in this country or in the world. On the most important fiscal question, and, as it affects the Empire, the most important of all questions which touch the honour of the country, the Cabinet is allowed to be a disunited body, to make speeches in any direction they please until they have arrived at a conclusion, at a policy on which they can unite. I venture to say that the whole theory of Cabinet Government has never been reduced to such a nullity or to such ridicule.

The Motion was not pressed.

REGIMENTAL CANTEENS.

EARL GREY asked His Majesty's Government if it was quite clear that under the new rules for the management of refreshment branches of regimental institutes, 1903, every regimental commanding officer had the power to apply the co-operative principle to the management of his regimental canteen.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of HARDWICKE): I can assure the noble Lord

that when the regulations were framed the intention of the Secretary of State and of the Commander-in-Chief was that the attention of general officers commanding should be called to the subject; but it was never contemplated that officers in command of regiments would be refused permission to manage their regimental canteens in the way they thought most suitable. Until the noble Earl suggested the doubt, none of the military authorities were aware that it was possible to entertain such a doubt. The tendency of the regulations is to give large authority to the general officers commanding, but also to allow officers commanding regiments to conduct their canteens in the way they consider best.

EARL GREY said that the answer was quite satisfactory, as removing the doubts which had existed.

BOROUGH FUNDS BILL

Amendment reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Tuesday next.

COUNTY COUNCILS (BILLS IN PARLIAMENT) BILL.

EDUCATION (BORROWING) BILL.

CONTRACTS (INDIA OFFICE) BILL.

Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [H.L.].

Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 2nd July, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Erith Tramways and Improvement Bill. Read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. As amended, considered, to be read the third time To-morrow.

Frinton-on-Sea Sea Defences Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill. Reported [Parties do not proceed]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Plymouth, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Renfrew, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN IRELAND.

Petition from Dunfermline, against establishment; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 25th June, 1903, under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, authorising the Corporation of Trinity House to appoint Sub-Commissioners for the

Examination of Pilots for certain Ports in the County of Cumberland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MERCANTILE MARINE FUND) ACT, 1898.

Copy presented, of Draft Order in Council altering the Scale set out in the Second Schedule to the Act, for the purpose of the levying of Light Dues in pursuance of the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 25th June, 1903, entitled The Swaziland Order in Council, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MINT.

Copy presented, of Thirty-third Annual Report of the Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Mint, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LIABILITY FOR INCREASE IN BRITISH SOLDIERS' PAY).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 15th May; *Sir Charles Dilke*]; to lie upon the Table.

PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

Return ordered, "showing, with regard to those countries where we do not enjoy, *de jure* or *de facto*, most-favoured-nation treatment the character and amount of the advantages granted to other countries; showing also the amount of British trade with such countries for the five years preceding and the five years succeeding the date when the differentiation came into force in each case."—(*Sir Edgar Vincent*.)

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.**

Savings of Working Classes at Home and Abroad.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General, if the Returns furnished to him by the post offices of the United States, France, and Germany, enable him to give the House any means of comparing the savings of the working classes in those

countries in savings banks with the savings of the working men of the United Kingdom in the Post Office Savings Bank; and, if not, if he can obtain this information through the Foreign Office or otherwise.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*)

There are no savings banks in connection with the post offices of the United States or Germany, and the conditions of the post office savings banks in France and the United Kingdom are so different that any comparison would be worthless. For example, no one may have an account of more than £60 in the French bank, whereas the limit in this country is £200. On the 31st December, 1901, there were 3,806,000 depositors in the French Post Office Savings Bank, and the amount to their credit was £43,215,600. On the same date there were 8,788,000 depositors in the British Post Office Savings Bank, and the amount to their credit was £140,393,000.

Report of Indian Irrigation Commission.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state when the Report of the Irrigation Commission will be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.*) I am informed by the Government of India that, owing to delay in printing, the Report of the Irrigation Commission will not be ready, in India, before the 4th of July. As soon as I receive the copies which I have asked the Government of India, to send they will be distributed to hon. Members, but at present I cannot say when this will be.

Agricultural Banks in India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the number of agricultural banks which have been established in India and where they are situated; and has he any Reports showing the results of this experiment.

(*Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.*) I am unable to state how many agricultural banks have been established in India. The number is, however, inconsiderable, and they are on a purely experimental footing. I propose to lay upon the Table the Report of the

Committee appointed to report on the subject of agricultural banks in India.

Return of Plague Inoculation in India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in order to judge of the value of the plague serum inoculation, he will arrange for a Return to be kept of all persons inoculated, and of those who subsequently succumb to plague.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) Returns of the kind referred to are already maintained in most provinces. I am in communication with the Viceroy with the object of securing, in future Returns, such increased completeness and accuracy as the circumstances permit.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in Indian Administration.

MR EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): To ask the Secretary of State for India, with regard to the memorial urging the separation of judicial and executive functions in Indian administration, presented in August 1899, can some statement be placed before Parliament showing what course has been followed since that memorial was forwarded to the Indian Government, and what is the general view taken of this subject by that authority or by the Viceroy or Council; and can any of the more recent correspondence on this question between the Government of India and the Secretary of State be presented to Parliament at an early date.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) No correspondence on the subject has passed between the Viceroy and myself since the memorial was referred for the consideration of the Government of India, and I am not aware of the view taken by that Government of the questions raised. The memorial was referred by the Government of India to local governments for their opinions, which I understand have been received and are under consideration.

City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for India

whether, in view of the anxiety felt in respect of the working of the provisions of The City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, notably the clauses relating to the constitution of the board and acquisition of land, he will impress on the Government of Bombay the expediency of deferring to the representations embodied in the petition addressed to the Governor by the members of the Ratepayers' Association.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) I have not seen the petition referred to, and I am not disposed to interfere in the manner suggested. I have no reason to doubt that the representations of the Association will receive due consideration from the Government of Bombay.

Railway Development in India.

MR. RANGLES (Cumberland, Cocker-mouth): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government will press forward railway development in India, in view of the Report of Mr. T. Robertson; do they propose to adopt his suggestions, and in particular to increase the inducements to the investing public by improving the conditions under which guarantees are given; and will he further consider how far surplus profits from guaranteed railways can be devoted to reduction of rates.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) Before taking action upon Mr. Robertson's Report it will be necessary to obtain the views of the Government of India, who will shortly address us on the subject. With regard to the last part of the hon. Member's Question, the matter of the reduction of rates on Indian railways, so far as it can be effected without undue loss of revenue, is one that is kept constantly in view.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask the Secretary of State for India if it is intended to lay upon the Table Mr. Robertson's Report on Indian Railways, and if the House will have an opportunity of discussing same.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) Copies of Mr. Robertson's Report will, I hope, be distributed in the

course of a few days. I do not understand the hon. Member to ask for any special opportunity for its discussion under present circumstances, as explained in my answer to the hon. Member for Cockermouth.

China Squadron—Gun Sights.

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state whether the sights of every ship in the China Squadron have been recently altered by the armourers or artificers of the respective vessels.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.) No Report to this effect has been received, but the battleships have been prepared for the reception of the improved pattern sight, so as to avoid delay after delivery.

Channel Fleet—Defective Gun Sights.

MR. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the gun sights of H.M.S. "Majestic," flagship in the Channel Squadron, have been proved to be defective and have required alteration; and whether the gun sights in any other ships in the Channel Squadron are defective; and, if so, what steps are being taken to restore efficiency to the guns of the Channel Fleet.

(Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.) Experience has shown that modifications in the system of turret sighting as originally fitted to the ships of the "Majestic" type are desirable. Improved gear has been prepared, and is being issued to all battleships of the Channel Fleet, and is nearly complete.

Wheat Duty in France.

COLONEL DENNY: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what is the duty per quarter upon wheat charged upon entry into France; and what is the present price of wheat in France compared with the price of the same quality in Britain.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The French import duty on wheat is at the rate of seven francs per 100 kilogrammes, equal to 12s. 2½d. per quarter. The average of the prices of wheat at the

eleven French markets for which particulars are given in the *Journal Officiel* for the 29th June was 40s. 8½d. per quarter. The *Gazette* average price of British wheat in England and Wales for the week ended 20th June was 27s. 6d. per quarter.

Imports and Exports between Foreign Countries carried in British Ships.

MR. CHARLES M'ARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): To ask the Secretary of the Board of Trade whether he can furnish figures showing the aggregate tonnage of, and the value of the imports and exports by, British shipping entered and cleared between foreign countries, for the latest year in respect of which such statistics are available, and for each of the preceding nine years; or if such statistics are not at present available, whether he will endeavour to obtain them.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) It is not possible to state the aggregate tonnage of British vessels entered and cleared between foreign countries, since the information available only relates to certain foreign countries, and, moreover, the figures of these countries if added together would involve a considerable amount of duplication. The following particulars for certain foreign countries may be of interest to the hon. Member, though for the reason stated they should not be added up. Estimated tonnage of British Vessels entered and cleared with cargoes and in ballast at ports in the undermentioned countries in trade with countries other than the United Kingdom—Russia, 1900, 3,674,000 tons; Sweden, 1901, 788,000 tons; Norway, 1900, 148,000 tons; Germany, 1901, 2,671,000 tons; France, 1901, 7,253,000 tons; Belgium, 1901, 4,504,000 tons; Holland, 1901, 2,730,000 tons; Austria Hungary, 1901, 185,000 tons; United States, 1901, 14,421,000 tons; Chile, 1901, 3,099,000 tons; Argentine, 1900, 2,195,000 tons. It is not possible to state the value of imports and exports carried by these vessels.

Imports into the Self-Governing Colonies.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter): To ask the President of the Board of Trade, if he can state the amount during the last five years of the imports into

the self-governing colonies of foreign manufactures, distinguishing if possible between those articles in which we compete and those in which we do not compete.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) I regret that the Colonial Statistical Returns do not classify imports from foreign countries into manufactured and unmanufactured articles.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what is the value of the imports of British produce into the self-governing colonies per head of their aggregate population.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) In 1902 the value of British produce exported to the self-governing colonies was about £5 10s. per head, if the coloured population of South Africa be omitted, or £4 8s. per head of their aggregate population.

Greek Currant Monopoly.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if any communications have passed between the Foreign Office and the Greek Government respecting the proposed syndicate to monopolise the currant crop of that country.

(*Answered by Lord Cranborne.*) I would draw the attention of the hon. Member to the answer given by me, on the 24th ultimo, to the hon. Member for Hythe.†

Compensation for Sparks Bill—Horses for the Army.

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): To ask the hon. Member for North Hunts, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, will he state when he proposes to proceed with the Compensation for Sparks Bill, as promised by his predecessor; and whether he has yet issued the circulars giving particulars to farmers and horse breeders of the requirements of the War Office for Army horses, which were also promised by his predecessor.

† See page 387.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellows.*) The question of the payment of compensation for damage done by sparks from railway engines is engaging the attention of my noble friend, but we are not aware of any promise given by our late colleague to introduce legislation on the subject. In any case, the condition of public business is such that it would not be possible for any legislation to be undertaken during the present session. With regard to the second part of the Question, the War Office have issued a leaflet giving particulars of the regulations with regard to the purchase of Army Remounts. This leaflet has been published in the *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, and copies have been sent to applicants for information on the subject. I have given directions that a copy shall be sent to the hon. Member. We shall be glad to consider whether any further steps can with advantage be taken to give publicity to the War Office requirements, but I may say that the number of horses purchased annually in normal times of peace is stated by that office to be not more than 2,500.

Arbitration under the Labourers Acts in Dundalk.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he has received the protest of the Dundalk District Council of 15th June against the action of the arbitrator under the Labourers Acts in awarding an average of £32 an acre to owners as compared with £18 to occupiers for land compulsorily acquired, which the Council offered £25 an acre for all round; can he say by whom the arbitrator was appointed; is he a land agent; and will care be taken that no person directly connected with a particular interest in Irish land shall in future act as arbitrator under the Labourers Acts.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Representations to the effect stated were received. The arbitrator was appointed by the Local Government Board; the gentleman appointed is a land agent and surveyor. It would not, I am afraid, be practicable to act on the suggestion with which the Question concludes.

The persons selected for employment as arbitrators in such matters are persons with an extensive experience of the value of land, and who, it is considered, will discharge their duties in a conscientious and impartial manner.

Letterkenny Railway Station Proposed Bridge.

MR. MCFADDEN (Donegal, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Board of Works in Ireland propose to accede to the request of the Letterkenny Urban Council to erect an overhead bridge for the convenience of passengers crossing at the Letterkenny Railway Station to the opposite platform to and from the trains on the Burtonport line.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No such application has been made by the District Council to the Commissioners of Works. It is understood, however, that the Council has communicated on the subject with the Board of Trade, to which Department the Question should properly be addressed.

Letterkenny Railway.

MR. MCFADDEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will direct the Board of Works in Ireland to supply the hon. Member for East Donegal, as the arbitrator appointed by the Donegal County Council, to sign the accounts of the amounts payable by the County Council in respect of the Letterkenny Railway guarantee, with a copy of the working agreement between the Board of Works and the Lough Swilly Railway Company as to the working of the Letterkenny Railway, in order that he may see that the terms of the agreement are carried out by the company, or what remedy the County Council and the public have in reference to the late repeated complaints made as to the working of this railway by the company.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The agreement made between the Board of Works and the Lough Swilly Railway Company will, of course, be accessible to the hon. Member in his capacity of arbitrator during the arbitration proceedings. It would be contrary to the invariable

practice of the Board to communicate copies of such agreements, and it is undesirable on general grounds to create a precedent. I shall be prepared, however, if the hon. Member so desires, and without interfering with the liberty of action of the Board of Works in this respect, to lay a copy of the agreement on the Table of the House.

Case of Thomas Wheatly.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of Thomas Wheatly, at present an inmate of the Kilmacthomas Union, County Waterford, who left the County Waterford about the year 1878, and has been employed principally with the same firm in Scotland since then until last October, when he got employment in Wales; whether, seeing that this man lost his leg when in the employment of a colliery company near Glasgow, can he state what compensation did he get from the company; and will he explain why, when Wheatly was compelled to enter a union near his place of employment in Wales, he was made a charge on Irish ratepayers rather than on the people among whom he worked.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) In the circumstances stated, the removal of this man to the place of his birth would appear to have been in accordance with the law. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the several statements in the Question, and I have no information to enable me to say whether Wheatly received compensation from the colliery company.

Irish Land Bill.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he would embody in the Irish Land Bill such modification of the 31st section of the Irish Land Act, 1881, as would enable small farmers in Ireland to borrow money at 3½ per cent. for fifty years for the purpose of building suitable dwelling houses.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The section of the Act of 1881 to which the

hon. Member refers, is part of the complicated Code of Statutes dealing with Improvement Loans in Ireland. It would be impossible to burden the Irish Land Bill with legislation on this difficult subject.

County Infirmaries in Ireland.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will grant a Return showing the charges and liabilities affecting each county infirmary in Ireland.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) I do not know whether it will be practicable to give the Return. I am making inquiry into the matter, however, and will communicate with the hon. Member as soon as I am in a position to do so.

Porthcawl Rifle Range.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed to complete the construction of the Porthcawl rifle range in Glamorganshire; and, if so, whether he can state approximately what the proposed expenditure will be.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The site is available for use as a field-firing range without any expense for construction. The estimated cost of constructing a sectional range is £2,500, but as such a range at Porthcawl would be used principally by the auxiliary forces its construction has been in abeyance and will not be further considered until the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers has reported.

Regimental Canteens.

MR. HARWOOD: To ask the Secretary of State for War if, under the new rules for the management of the refreshment branches of regimental institutes, every regimental commanding officer has the power to apply the co-operative principle to the management of his regimental canteen.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The reply is in the affirmative, with the proviso that the approval of the General Officer Commanding the Army Corps or district is necessary in each case. The

hon. Member is probably aware that a large number of canteens are conducted on the tenant system, and where this is profitably and satisfactorily carried out it is improbable that any change will take place.

Trades Unions Commission.

MR. HARWOOD: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, on the Royal Commission to consider the law affecting trades unions and the rights of combination, it is proposed to appoint any trades unionist representatives; and, if so, in what proportion to the whole.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) The hon. Member cannot, I think, be aware that the Royal Commission has been formally appointed. It is not possible now to reconstruct the Commission, and by a large addition to its members, whether of trades unionists or employers of labour, to change the whole basis of its constitution.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Royal Arsenal—Lyddite Workers.

MAJOR EVANS - GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the men employed in the lyddite sheds at the Royal Arsenal are paid by piece work or by time, and whether he can give the number of men employed in the shed in which the recent accident took place and the rate of wages they received.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The men are paid by piece work on the fellowship plan, by which the earnings of the whole gang are pooled and shared. There were nine men in the compartment in which the explosion took place; the other men killed were in or about the other compartments of the building. Their average wages range from 36s to 38s. 8d. a week, according to their ratings.

MAJOR EVANS - GORDON: Does my right hon. friend propose to put a stop to what seems to be the dangerous practice of paying men employed on this kind of work at piece and fellowship rates?

MR. BRODRICK: I answered a Question as to that the other day.† I said the whole question was receiving careful consideration.

Blank Ammunition.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any field or horse artillery other than those on the Indian establishment are still using black powder at manoeuvres.

MR. BRODRICK: Yes, Sir. It is very difficult to obtain a satisfactory smokeless blank cartridge, but it is hoped that the difficulty will be overcome.

Lyddite Shells.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if there is any suspicion that a considerable number of lyddite shells may contain picrate of soda; and, if there are any such suspected shells, what will he do with them.

MR. BRODRICK: No lyddite shells are suspected of being in a dangerous condition. The causes of the explosion at Woolwich are under investigation by a Committee of experts, and such action will be taken as regards lyddite shells as their report may show to be necessary.

COLONEL NOLAN: When will the Report be made?

MR. BRODRICK: I cannot say.

COLONEL NOLAN: Will it be in a month or a couple of years? Are you going to indefinitely postpone the question?

MR. BRODRICK: There is no desire to postpone the question. Obviously it is one to which experts must give careful consideration.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Is it not the fact that the Board of Inquiry have closed their deliberations at the Arsenal?

MR. BRODRICK: I cannot say, Sir.

† See page 384.

Naval Works Bill.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether it will be convenient to state now the amount of the expenditure for which provision will be made in the forthcoming Naval Works Bill.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The total sum to be provided for expenditure during the financial years 1903-04 and 1904-05 is £8,570,877. Of this sum £574,877 is available, being unspent balance on the sum provided by previous Acts, leaving a sum of £7,996,000 to be voted in the Bill of this year.

South African Constabulary.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that, owing to the reduction in the numbers of the South African Constabulary, men who enlisted in 1901 for three years have been dismissed with only the cost of their railway fare to Capetown; and whether, in view of the dissatisfaction existing among these men at this alleged breach of agreement he can give them some further compensation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I am not aware that any breach of agreement has occurred. The conditions of enlistment in the South African Constabulary of the men in question, specified that a non-commissioned officer or man was liable to discharge at any time by order of the Officer Commanding a Division.

South African Rebels.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if any rebels in the Cape Colony or Natal are now retained in prison for rebellion.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No rebels are now detained, as far as I am aware, for the crime of rebellion.

Estate of late James McGowan.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

the Colonies if he will request the administrator of the affairs of the late James McGowan, of the Lendy estate, in Rhodesia, to forward the amount received to the mother of the deceased, who lives at Longford.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member is aware that according to a despatch dated 30th April instructions have been given locally that any sum shown to the credit of the estate should be remitted to the heirs, and I will enquire as to the cause of the delay.

MR. FARRELL: I acknowledge the right hon. Gentleman's kindness in the matter. I hope there will be no unnecessary delay, as the woman is in a very delicate condition.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, I will endeavour to hurry it up.

Alaska Boundary Tribunal.

MR. ROSE (Cambridgeshire, Newmarket): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the recent negotiations between the Government and the Dominion of Canada and the United States for the renewal of a reciprocity treaty were suspended on account of the desire of the Dominion Government to await the decision of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal before proceeding further; and, if not, can he state why these negotiations were suspended.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no official information on the subject since the proceedings were interrupted owing to the difficulty of arriving at an arrangement about the Alaska boundary, but I have seen it stated in the papers that the Canadian Government has recently informed the Government of the United States that they did not wish to resume negotiations at the present time.

Delhi Manœuvres—Use of Black Powder.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, at the Delhi manœuvres in the last cold weather, black powder was used by the Artillery; and, if so, whether he can

explain why the difficulties which long prevented the use of cordite in blank charges for guns in this country have not yet been overcome in India.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I have no information on this subject, but I will communicate with the Government of India, and will let the hon. Baronet know the result.

Indian Import Duties on Band Instruments.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is in a position to state what decision has been arrived at by the Government of India with regard to the import duties on instruments of military bands.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: It has been decided that musical instruments which are the property of the regimental bands shall be exempt from Customs duty. A notification on the subject is being prepared and will be issued before the next trooping season.

Great Indian Peninsular Annuities.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn to the decision of the House of Lords on the Great Indian Peninsular Annuities; and whether it is his intention to abide by the decision, or whether he proposes to attempt to alter it by legislation.

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I do not contemplate proposing any alteration of the law as now interpreted.

Dog Licences.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he has received a communication from the North Wales Federations of Meat Traders asking that the sheepdogs of meat traders shall be exempted from taxation, as allowed to farmers; and whether he will favourably consider their application.

*MR. RITCHIE: I cannot promise to introduce legislation in the direction suggested. There are weighty objections even to the present exemptions from Dog Licence duty, as the hon. member will see on reference to the Report of the Committee on Laws relating to Dogs (C. 8320 of 1896), and any proposal to extend the exemptions would, I am satisfied, meet with considerable opposition. Moreover, the produce of the duty goes to local authorities, and I am not sure that I should be justified in depriving them of a part of this revenue.

Income Tax Appeals.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the fact that rules in force regarding the returns and collections of income tax differ in Ireland and Great Britain; and that in Ireland the Commissioners will not consider an appeal case unless previously furnished with a return, while in Great Britain the Commissioners will consider an appeal case in the absence of such return; and, if so, whether he will take steps to assimilate the practice in both countries.

*MR. RITCHIE: So far as I understand, the hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension. The Special Commissioners would not under the existing practice be deterred from hearing an income tax appeal in Ireland by the fact that no return had been made by the appellant.

Sugar Factories under Bond.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade how many sugar factories, sugar refineries, or factories for the extraction of molasses, it is estimated it would be necessary to place under bond in the United Kingdom under Clause 2 of the Sugar Convention Bill.

*MR. RITCHIE: The number of refineries or factories which, so far as I am at present able to state, will fall to be placed under bond under Clause 2 of the Sugar Convention Bill is sixteen.

Irish Labourers Allotments.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the total

area of land provided in Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, up to the 31st March, 1902, for allotments for labourers living in villages and towns.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): Approximately, 50 acres. It has not been found possible, in the brief interval since the Question was placed on the Paper, to obtain the information with accuracy from local authorities.

Land Purchase in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL; I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to state whether in any, and, if so, what number of estates in the county of Longford proceedings are at present pending for sale to the tenants; how many of such sales are under the Ashbourne Act, and how many under the Act of 1896.

MR. WYNDHAM: A Report was called for on this question, but so far I have not received it. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat the Question tomorrow.

Royal Commission on Trades Disputes.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydfil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to representations from trades unions as to the appointment and composition of, and the terms of reference to, the Royal Commission on Trades Disputes; and, if so, whether he will put down the Temporary Commissions Vote on an early day and at an hour which will enable the Question to be fully considered by this House.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I am aware that various opinions have been expressed in connection with the appointment of this Commission. I have more than once explained the nature of the choice open to the Government in determining whether the Commission should be large and representative or small and specially legally qualified and the advantages which appear to attach to the latter alternative. Although I should have no objection to the Temporary Commissions Vote being discussed if time allowed, I

am afraid that in the present condition of Supply I can give no pledge on the subject.

Fiscal Inquiry—Commercial Retaliation on the Continent.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will consider the desirability of appointing a Select Committee to ascertain the results of commercial retaliation as applied in recent years between the larger foreign Powers, notably between France and Italy, France and Switzerland, Germany and Russia.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have considered my hon. friend's Question, and I do not think that the inquiry which he suggests is really a practicable one. After all, what he means, and what I mean, by commercial retaliation is the power either to give or to withhold something from a Power with whom you are bargaining. Now, I do not see how you are going to discuss the question whether Germany has gained, as against Austria and Russia, by having something to give or withhold in her commercial negotiations, nor whether Austria has had a similar advantage in her bargains with Germany and Russia, nor whether Russia has had it in her bargains with Germany and Austria. Nor do I see what kind of witnesses could with advantage be called before a Select Committee and cross-examined. The Government are, however, asking for reports as to the history of negotiations in these various countries, and I shall be glad to supply my hon. friend or any one else who desires it with all the information we may obtain on the subject.

His Majesty's Theatre—Penal Clauses in Terminable Leases.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to the case of Beerbohm Tree, against whom an injunction has been granted in respect to exhibiting the name of the theatre in large letters upon the premises; whether the Government will consider the advisability of introducing remedial legislation to modify penal clauses in

terminable leases, upon which such prosecutions are founded, and imprisonment for contempt of Court is enforced in case of disobedience.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This is a matter of course that has not come before me in any way officially, and so far as I am advised there seems no reason for suggesting the far-reaching alteration in our existing law which the hon. Gentleman desires. Of course if he propounds a scheme as a private Member, and embodies it in a Bill, it will receive the consideration of the Government.

Reduction of Armaments.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the first Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government adheres to Lord Salisbury's despatch of 14th February, 1899, to Sir C. Scott, accepting the Russian proposal for a conference to discuss the best methods of bringing about the diminution of armaments by land and sea; whether the Government has taken into consideration the resolution of the First Commission of the Hague Conference, recording its opinion that a further examination of the question by the Powers would prove a great benefit to humanity; and whether, having regard to the increased expenditure on naval armaments since the date of Lord Salisbury's despatch, the Government will take the initiative of inviting the Powers to make another attempt to deal with this question by conference or otherwise.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to postpone this Question for a few days.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): May I ask what business it is proposed to take after the Land Bill is disposed of in Committee?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As soon as the Committee stage of the Irish Land Bill is disposed of I propose to proceed immediately with the Second Reading of the South African Loan Bill, and the Second Reading of the Naval Works Bill.

MR. LOUGH: Will that cover the whole of next week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know how long the Irish Land Bill will take.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Will the Sugar Convention Bill be proceeded with next week?

MR. LOUGH: And will the London Education Bill be taken before the Sugar Convention Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be advisable to take the London Education Bill before the Sugar Convention Bill, but I cannot absolutely pledge myself to that arrangement.

SUPPLY [15TH ALLOTTED DAY.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,571,500, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Expense of the Contract Work for Shipbuilding, Repairs, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) reminded the Committee that this was almost certainly the last occasion in the present session, and possibly in the present Parliament, on which there would be an opportunity of discussing the Navy Estimates, and naturally he had been anxious to obtain the full figures of the naval expenditure for the year. He had to thank the Civil Lord of the Admiralty for supplying him with information to enable him to arrive at the complete figures for the current financial year. The total amount of the Estimates, including appropriations in aid, was £35,836,000, to which must be added an expenditure under the Naval Works Bill estimated

at something over £4,000,000. Deducting the annuity of £500,000 payable this year in respect of past expenditure, he found that the total naval expenditure comprised in the ordinary and extraordinary Budgets amounted to about £39,500,000. That was the sum which the people of the United Kingdom were this year called upon to pay for the maintenance of the Navy. The only part of that expenditure which was properly before the Committee was the third section of Vote 8. Attention had been called before to the gross amount of Vote 8 and to the large amount provided in that Vote for the purpose of new construction. New construction had gone up by more than £1,000,000, and curiously enough it happened that more than that excess fell upon the contract portion of the present Vote. The excess on new construction provided for in that portion of the Vote was £1,204,000. He did not, however, propose to discuss that now. In order to remove any misapprehension he would remind the Committee that hon. Members on his side had not challenged the naval expenditure of the Government. But they were entitled to ask for explanation and justification—more particularly for justification on the ground of policy. He had never blamed the Admiralty for these Estimates, which depended on the foreign policy of the country at large, for which the Government as a whole was responsible. There was, however, some danger lest the Government and the House should mistake the opinion of the country. What had happened in the case of the Army? A little while ago there was a tremendous wave of military enthusiasm. What had become of it? A reaction had set in, and great changes were being demanded in our military system. He had no desire to see a similar reaction in the case of the Navy, but he feared that an expenditure such as was now being incurred might be followed by a revulsion of public feeling on the subject of the Navy, and that, he thought, would be a misfortune. Was it wise, statesmanlike or patriotic, to acquiesce without explanation or justification in these increasing demands for naval purposes. There was a very pressing financial danger to be faced.

They had to consider not merely the amount asked for in the Vote, but they had also to bear in mind the consequential expenditure. For instance, the increase in the Fleet was accompanied by a demand for an increased number of men, and that in its turn was followed by a call for additional housing accommodation. He reminded the Committee that the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Second Reading of the Budget expressed the wish that foreign countries would enter into a sort of league with us to keep down the enormous expenditure which was being incurred in naval matters.

At this point MR. DILLON drew attention to the fact that fewer than forty Members were present. He considered that the naval affairs of this country were sufficiently important to require the attendance of forty Members. House counted and forty Members being found present—

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON, continuing, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking with great courage and candour, said—

“Nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to reduce our naval expenditure if we could do so in company with other countries.”

Was that the policy of the Government of to-day—was it the policy of the Government as a whole or only of one part of it? He had hoped to get from the Prime Minister an answer to a Question as to the Hague Conference, which three years ago recommended that the question of the diminution of naval expenditure should be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, however, the Question had had to be postponed. In the year 1898 the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen, said his original Estimates were too small, as Russia, he understood, was laying down new ships. We had had no such information on this occasion. Mr. Goschen said that if he received an assurance from Russia that the report on which he had acted was not well-founded, he would not proceed with the Vote. The answer of Russia on that occasion was an invitation to a conference with a view to considering means for diminishing naval expenditure.

The invitation was accepted by the Government of the day. The conference was held, but the proposal of the Russian delegates on the matter was deemed impracticable, and a Resolution only was carried declaring it to be the duty of the Powers to take the matter up. What was His Majesty's Government now prepared to do? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said he would be glad to enter into a league to reduce naval expenditure. Would the Government invite a conference of the Powers with that object? There was reason to believe that Russia would not be unwilling to respond to such an invitation. He expressed a hope that the hesitation of the Prime Minister in answering the Question put to him earlier in the day meant that he, at all events, was turning over in his mind the possibility of doing this. Let them follow the example of Russia and invite the Powers to another conference. That was all he wished to say on questions of general policy. But there were one or two matters concerning Admiralty responsibility on which he wished to make a few remarks. He desired to direct attention to the statement of appropriations-in-aid. He noticed that credit was taken for £95,000 as contributions from the colonies. For the first time there appeared in the Estimates a table of colonial and Indian contributions. The contribution of the Australian Commonwealth was put down at £240,000, and there was a note attached to the effect that the amount was subject to the approval of the Legislatures concerned. He thought he was entitled to ask if any Colonial Legislature had ratified the contributions proposed, or what prospects there were of such ratification. Then, in reference to merchant cruisers, he believed that the attack on the system was to be led by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, and he would wait and see what the hon. Member had to say. But he would like to ask what were the extra expenses for fittings and so on other than the subsidy provided for in the Vote? He noticed that the Vote had increased from £63,000 to £77,000, and the Committee should have an explanation of this increase in the subsidy. Some information also he desired in reference to the new contract with what was called the White Star Line. There was, too, the contract with

the Cunard Company, but as to that he believed a special day was to be set apart for its discussion. Finally he would like to draw attention to the large increase in the Vote for reconstruction and repairs. It represented a jump of nearly 50 per cent. in that particular item, and certainly called for fuller explanation than had yet been given.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester) thought, on examination of the circumstances in which the country was placed, that the naval expenditure was not more but less than what was required to maintain our position. If this opinion provoked the question whence the money should come, he would suggest that economies should be effected in Army expenditure, a large proportion of which should be transferred from the Army to the Navy Votes. The Navy League was not responsible for what had been called the Russian scare. The details of the new Russian programme appeared in a Russian newspaper in December last, and the league had only repeated comments which had appeared in the Press since December. He asked the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, when the Estimates were produced, and when he told the House the real way to arrive at the expenditure necessary, he had taken into consideration the fact, announced in answer to a Question, that Russia was going to lay down two new battleships, and that the programme for 1904 included six battleships. The hon. Gentleman had told the House that the instructions to the Admiralty were to allow a good working balance over the naval strength of two Powers combined. Did he take the new Russian programme into consideration? When, in 1898, Lord Charles Beresford asked question after question of the then First Lord of the Admiralty as to why a larger rate of progress was not made, the answer always was that there was no information. But afterwards there was a discovery made that the Admiralty was quite wrong, and it was found that further money was needed. He wanted to know why, if in 1898 it was found necessary to ask the House for more money because Russia had put forward a new programme, it was not necessary now. He denied altogether that the plea put forward in 1898 that they could

build faster than Russia held good; it was an argument which had no force when applied to the money to be asked for. He believed, in fact, that it was only put forward some years ago in order to reassure the public mind. He should like to ask whether the Admiralty had no information with regard to the new Russian programme at the time the Estimates were put forward, and, if not, why not? He knew that attention had been directed to the amount spent on the Intelligence Department, which was not, he believed, more than £10,000. The sum appeared to be ridiculous considering the enormous part which their Navy played in the National Defence. He thought he was right in saying that certainly up to a very recent time they had only one naval attaché in St. Petersburg and in Rome.

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead) said the first question he asked from a business point of view was why there was such a large amount for alterations and repairs in new ships. In the Estimates before them they had a sum of no less than £881,543 as an increase on that head this year. That was, approximately, nearly a million of money, especially if they took into account all the other items brought in under that head. They had a total of £3,156,000 for reconstruction and repairs on an expenditure of £10,500,000 for new construction. Now, he put it to the House, was that business? Would any shipowning firm in Great Britain or anywhere else spend a third of the value of their vessels in twelve months for repairs and reconstruction? There was no getting over the fact of terrible waste, terrible squandering of public money by the Admiralty Department. That had been proved up to the hilt. They were spending hundreds of thousands of pounds and did not know what it was spent on. The question to be asked was what was the reason for this large expenditure? Why were they driven to such enormous expenditure? When they looked at the figures he had given from the Estimates none need wonder at their increase. Could the repair bill be reduced? Were ships so constructed that they were always to be under repairs and refitting and could they not be made to do their

work for twelve months without incurring such grave expense to the taxpayers of this country? The reason for such expense was not far to seek. The ships were all wrong. He said that because he knew it. They would not do their work continuously without coming to grief. Out of the sum of £881,000, roughly speaking, half-a-million of money went to outside dockyards for repairing the vessels for twelve months. That was because the new ships would not do their work. If they would not do their work he unhesitatingly asserted that it was because they were badly designed, and that they were vessels which were not worth the money spent upon them by the country. He was going to use a much stronger phrase—he contended that it was almost criminal of them to waste public money on such ships. He was fully aware that the Secretary to the Admiralty knew the cause of all this, but the policy of the Admiralty was to minimise everything—to keep everything from the public Press.

He would tell the House why the vessels had turned out so badly. At this moment vessels were being constructed which were badly engined and badly boilered and under-gunned. They were actually at the present time spending money on repairs of new ships that should never have been necessary. That policy had been continued, and was being continued, in the face of what had happened in the past. The very instruments which they were putting into the new ships were being taken out of others. There was the case of the American cruiser the "Raleigh," a brand new cruiser belonging to the United States, which was fitted with Babcock and Willcox boilers and sent to the Philippines. She broke down at Aden, and he did not believe she had yet been able to crawl to Bombay. Those were the instruments they were putting into valuable ships and to which they were entrusting the lives of men. The other day one of those boilers burst in Birmingham and killed some men, and yet these were the boilers they were putting into new ships. So long as they continued to use the Belleville and Babcock and Willcox boilers, so long would they continue to spend large sums in repairs, and the amounts would increase every

year, with the result that nearly every engine factory in Great Britain would be called upon to repair their ships, because at the dockyards there would not be accommodation to execute all the repairs. Do not let them think that these large sums of money spent on the Navy were spent wisely. They were only evidence of the ineptitude of the Admiralty and the fact that they did not know their work. He was not exaggerating, but was looking at the cripples. Take the case of the "Good Hope," in which the other day four men were boiled. He did not know whether there was any hon. Member who had ever been in a boiler explosion. He had, and he knew what it was to be half steamed, and he could therefore understand the terrible sufferings the men must have endured in the stokehold of the much-lauded cruiser the "Good Hope." Look at the expense attending the repair of that vessel, and that would be required by the vessels which were now being fitted with boilers which had been condemned. Take the case of the "Buenos Ayrean," one of the Allan Line of steamers, where the Babcock and Willcox boilers were taken out. The Admiralty were putting in Niclausse boilers, while there was not one merchant ship with such boilers. At the Admiralty they had men, who were called engineers, who were adopting a boiler they had no experience of. These were the causes of the great expense of the Navy, and the cost of nearly a million more for repairs, if not more than that. It was difficult to take out the figures from such a complex volume as the Estimates, but by careful search he made out that the total increase for repairs alone was £1,065,663. But that was not all. No doubt many hon. Members were getting frightened at the growing expenditure, and he did not wonder at it. He would endeavour to show how these increases arose.

It was part of the policy of the Admiralty to spend money *ad lib.* and then to get the worst job after all. There was an increase of £14,000 for inspection of contract work. How was that? But there was a greater increase—viz., in the cost of coal for the Fleet—£223,000. That ought to be added

to all the collateral increases due to nothing else than the bad boilers which had been put into the vessels of the Navy. He insisted that had these men-of-war been rightly boilered, there never would have been these enormous sums for repairs, for coal, and inspection. He had listened with pleasure to the hon. Gentleman who represented Chester, who always had the good of the Navy at heart, only the hon. Gentleman took a different view of it from himself. The hon. Gentleman went in for quantity; he went in for quality.

MR. YERBURGH said he went in for both.

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN: Well, he had never heard the hon. Gentleman express himself in favour of quality, but only of quantity. He would like the hon. Member to tell the Committee the number of vessels that had come to grief since he was in the Navy; and the reason why so many of our first-class ships had come to grief, and how many were under-gunned. What was the use of coming to the House and crying out "Give us more ships!" if, when these ships were built they could not do their work. He said: Give me one good ship, that can safely steam out to sea with the least possible expense in coal and stores, with the least number of men, but these well trained, and well gunned, and I will sink any ship afloat. It was time that the House and the country were waking up to the fact of the absolute inefficiency of the Navy. A ship could not be sent away to sea for three months but she had to come back to a dockyard for repair. Why, during the whole time of the South African War merchant steamers ran backwards and forwards to the Cape and never a one was in the ship-builder's hands for repairs. Why should not that be the case with the ships of the Navy. There was an influence at the Admiralty which nobody could get hold of. It was an influence which continued fitting ships with boilers which caused a waste of money for repairs, for coal, for more men, and which endangered human life. This influence put into new ships steam generators which had

Sir William Allan.

already been condemned. If that influence continued, the cost of repairs was bound to increase, and the Estimates would rise year by year. His honest conviction was that in the ships which were boilered with one-fifth circular boilers, and four-fifths water-tube boilers the circular boilers would be running while the water-tube boilers would be rotting. It was time that a Department which was squandering millions of money and giving the nation such vessels should be inquired into; that a Royal Commission should be appointed to see how money could be saved and the Empire provided with efficient war vessels.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) said that the hon. and learned Member for Dundee was desirous that this country should initiate some sort of an arrangement or inquiry with the foreign nations into the possibility of the disarmament of the naval forces. The hon. Gentleman took Russia as the basis of his argument because Russia was instrumental in organising the Hague Conference. He thought that was a false analogy, because the hon. Gentleman assumed that we could bargain with one country in order to come to an arrangement with all other countries. As an illustration of this he found in a German paper that German naval reformers expressed dissatisfaction that on the Eastern station they were at a disadvantage as compared with Russia, France, or America, putting aside altogether Great Britain. If they came to terms with Russia or France, or Russia were to come to terms with France, even then there was so much suspicion and want of confidence that he did not see any hope of arriving at a satisfactory solution of the question. The hon. Member for Chester had touched on a point to which reference had frequently been made—viz., the increase in the ordinary naval *attachés*. As a general principle he urged that they should have as much reliable information as possible, whether by naval *attachés* or by some other method. That must be done. It was very difficult for anyone who studied the Papers which

were issued to arrive at a correct conclusion. He had examined the document published by the German Emperor comparing the British with the German fleet; the Reports issued at the instance of the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean and the *Brassey Annual* but in many respects all those documents were contradictory. In these circumstances it was impossible to make any comparisons. Whether or not the Navy League were right in trying to raise a scare, he thought the Admiralty should have as much correct information as was required. He desired to ask a question on one point, and that was why they had left off building torpedo-boats. It was quite true that we had more torpedo-boat-destroyers than other naval Powers. He was surprised that the hon. Member for Gateshead had not told them more about boilers; but it might be because they had some reassurance in the Paper recently issued as to the reliability of the water-tube boilers in regard to the recent trials between the "Hyacinth" and the "Minerva." The Report of the Controller of the Navy stated that—

"The 'Hyacinth' left the anchorage at 9.26 a.m., or twenty-six minutes after the signal, and the 'Minerva' at 10.4 a.m., or sixty-four minutes after the signal, the 'Hyacinth' having obtained a lead of thirty-eight minutes."

He would only quote further the last paragraph in the Report of the Chief Inspector of Machinery—

"All other working parts reported upon for the 136 hours trial acted similarly and satisfactorily for the twenty-two hours trial, and there is no reason to doubt that the boilers would have worked efficiently for the passage to England, and developed a mean I.H.P. of quite 9,500."

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN asked if the hon. Member was aware that the "Hyacinth" was specially doctored for that trial.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS said that that was an allegation for the Secretary to the Admiralty to answer; all he knew was that the "Hyacinth" went through her trials and came out very well; and inasmuch as the hon. Gentleman was always attacking these boilers, whenever other hon. Members found that the boilers did well he thought they were entitled to point to that without pre-

suming to dictate to the hon. Gentleman on a matter on which he was an expert. They were encouraged by the trials of the "Hyacinth" in spite of the hon. Gentleman's energy and denunciation. He was curious to know what the expense of a trip of that kind would cost, and it would be interesting also to know to what extent the cost of repairs could be obviated. He was anxious to avoid bringing in the question of the dockyards, because, although naturally interested in it, he believed, when methods of policy were being discussed, personal matters which concerned their own constituents should not be obtruded. He should like to know, however, what the Admiralty's policy was as regarded dockyards. What ships were to be laid down in them? It was of the utmost importance to his constituents to have some assurance that there should be no great change in regard to Portsmouth dockyard; that it was still to be maintained as a great building yard; and was not to be relegated to the position of a repairing yard. He should be grateful if he could have some information as to what the intentions of the Government were in that respect.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the Committee had had an interesting debate on the general policy which underlay the whole cost of the Navy. There had been far less difference of opinion expressed that afternoon than on previous occasions, owing to the moderation with which hon. Members had spoken on both sides. His hon. friend the Member for Dundee and his hon. friend the Member for Chester spoke on what were virtually the same lines; and his hon. friend the Member for Chester expressed the warmest commendation of the proposals of his hon. friend the Member for Dundee. There was no doubt that the matter had advanced since the last discussion. As for the principle which many of them thought ought to guide the Government with reference to an understanding with certain Powers, that was shown to have distinctly advanced to-day by the manner in which the Prime Minister answered the Question of his hon. friend the Member for Dundee. He was certain that the Prime Minister would not ask for a

postponement of the Question unless he had a real intention of consulting his colleagues on the subject. His hon. friend the Member for Chester had put certain Questions to the Government with regard to the programme on which the whole naval system was based. As to the expenditure on repairs, few hon. Members were in a position to discuss that question, but they were able to form an opinion of the naval programme and as to the basis of that programme. His hon. friend the Member for Dundee used only one word in the course of his speech with which he had to express dissent. He spoke of Russia as having returned to the position of the naval bogey. The word "bogey" was the word with which he had to express dissent, and for this reason. His hon. friend was a party to, and constantly explained and defended the principle in this House on which naval programmes had been based for many years. It was the principle upon which the Spencer programme was based; and his hon. friend then defended the necessity of taking into consideration the building programmes of other Powers. They could not justly use the word "bogey" with reference to a new programme of such a Power as Russia. One of the Questions which his hon. friend the Member for Chester put to the Government was what was the nature and extent of the new Russian programme, how far it was commenced, and how far it was likely to go; and no matter deserved the attention of the Committee more than the answer to that Question. The hon. Member for Portsmouth cast some doubt on the figures on this subject. The reason for that doubt was obvious. It was a well-known fact that the French in making a list of the ships of the British Navy—although they did not want to diminish the naval strength of this country—constantly attributed to it fewer ships than the Admiralty themselves calculated, because the French struck out several ships as valueless before they were officially struck off by the Admiralty. A comparison could only be instituted by taking the new ships which were being laid down or launched. That was the only real solid test.

Sir Charles Dilke.

They were told in the summer of last year by a Russian dockyard newspaper, which usually received information of that kind first, that there was a new Russian programme of eight ships. The hon. Member for Chester naturally asked when that programme came to the knowledge of the Government; and how far it could be called a real programme. Of course, that affected some of the speeches in former debates, because the late Chancellor of the Exchequer was quoted as saying that he saw no reason for an increase in the Shipbuilding Vote. That speech was, however, made long before the new foreign programme with which they were now acquainted came into existence; and when the present Estimates were prepared in the autumn of last year this Russian programme was not known to the Government. His hon. friend the Member for Chester threw some little doubt on the fulness of the Government information on this point. He believed that in the last few days a naval *attaché* had been appointed at St. Petersburg who would have only naval duties to perform; and although his salary was not on this Vote no doubt the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to say whether such an appointment had been made or not. With reference to the great Russian programme of 1898—regarding which he agreed that it was unfortunate that they did not give more serious consideration to the proposals of the Russian Government at the time of the Hague Conference—that programme had come to an end, all the ships having been launched. But many of the ships had been built to the order of the Russian Government in Germany, France, and the United States, although they had not yet heard of any ships being laid down by Russia in foreign dockyards in connection with the new programme. Mr. Goschen was quite right when he said that this country had an advantage over Russia as regarded shipbuilding; but in France and Germany ships had been built to the order of Russia with extraordinary speed, and they had all done exceedingly well in their trial trips. At present they had not heard of any new ships being laid down by Russia in foreign countries; but they had heard of two or three battleships being laid down on the slips vacated by the ships of the 1898 programme. Therefore, if he might enforce the argument of his hon. friend the

Member for Chester and slightly vary his Questions, he should like to ask the Admiralty if they had any knowledge of the new Russian programme; when they became acquainted with it; whether they knew of any ships being laid down by Russia abroad, or was Russia merely filling up slips at home which had been vacated by the launch of the ships of the 1898 programme? With regard to the knowledge possessed by the Admiralty, the only foundation he had been able to find for the statement that the Admiralty were misleading the House had reference to what was called projected ships.

MR. YERBURGH said he did not state that the Admiralty had misled the House of Commons.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said of course he did not mean wilfully misleading for a moment. Undoubtedly they were in the habit of counting projected ships, even when they were merely drawings. However, the appointment of a naval *attaché* in St. Petersburg would probably meet that difficulty. With regard to the general question, on the facts before them, and the defence of the programme made by Lord Selborne in another place, and in the face of what was known with regard to the shipbuilding programme of Russia, no Government of any Party in this House would take the responsibility of proposing a smaller shipbuilding programme this year. He fully concurred with the hon. Member for Dundee and with the sense of the Question addressed to the Prime Minister to-day in spite of the remarks made by the hon. Member for Portsmouth, and by the remarks of the hon. Member for Yarmouth the other day. They could obtain the assent of certain of the Powers to a policy of reduction. They need not obtain the assent of the whole; if they obtained the assent of some it would be sufficient justification for the Government to commence reducing the programme of this country, but it was unsafe to do so in the face of the figures known to us, and doubly unsafe in the face of the figures of the Russian programme which they had just heard.

*MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) called attention to the fact that one part of the shipbuilding programme of the year 1901–2 was not put in hand for sixteen

months after the beginning of the year, and he asked whether it was not possible for the designs to keep pace with the Estimates. The Estimates were prepared in the autumn, and submitted to the House in the following February, and he ventured to think it would be an immense advantage if the designs could be got forward with the Estimates, so that the work should be put in hand immediately and not towards the end of the financial year. It would prevent attempts being made to rush the work, and would be also of the greatest advantage to the men who lived by our naval programme, to whom any dislocation and irregularity of employment was of serious consequence. He trusted his hon. friend would see if this could not be done before the next programme was issued.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said he desired to enter a protest against the way they were proceeding. Most Members had been surprised by a scrap of newspaper cutting which had been circulated to Members this morning. Directly he received it he knew the line the debate would take. The right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean had intimated that they should do something to meet the new Russian programme, and had said that if three weeks ago there had been a crisis on another question, and another Government had been formed, this great swollen Estimate would have been just as large. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned two or three names in that connection. He said the late Chancellor of the Exchequer would have brought in as great and as swollen an Estimate as that which they were now considering. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, last October, went down to his constituency and said that with all the information he possessed he would not countenance an increase in the Naval Estimates this year, and if any increase did take place it ought to be questioned in this House in a way in which these Estimates had not been questioned before. Yet the right hon. Baronet now put this opinion in the mouth of the right hon. Member for Bristol. He protested against the whole proceeding. He thought hon. Members who had addressed the House had overplayed their part; if they were so cautious of our naval strength they

ought to be more cautious in their remarks. They had never alluded to the figures. The Committee had not been able to worm out the figures of this Vote, and it was not until they were given by the right hon. Member for Dundee a short time previously that they knew they had reached the enormous total of £40,000,000; yet hon. Members would lead, if they could, the Government into further extravagance. The principle of our Navy was that it should be maintained at what was called the two-Power standard; but it had been pointed out that as regards battleships we were considerably above the two-Power standard, and in regard to other vessels we were above the three-Power standard. It was absolutely settled in a recent debate that we had attained proportionately a much greater strength, and worked on a much higher standard than ever had been worked upon before. He had merely intervened to ask why hon. Members could not be satisfied with an expenditure larger than that of any two or three Powers. He supported the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that they should take some wise step to enable them to reduce this enormous expenditure. The hon. Member for Dundee had pointed out that Russia responded in the most courteous manner in 1898, and practically suggested that the matter should be reasoned out to see whether a satisfactory conclusion could not be arrived at. He hoped the Prime Minister would shortly have something to say with regard to those negotiations. But if such negotiations were pending, surely the Committee might have been spared the speeches urging still greater expenditure. The expenditure had exceeded all reasonable bounds, and those Members who desired to see the strength of the country maintained ought to caution the Government against this present rate rather than urge them to still greater extravagance.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that while he shared the desire that something should, if possible, be done in the way of coming to an agreement with other Powers, he was afraid nothing would be achieved in that direction for many generations yet, and, in the meantime, he believed the Government had done the very least it was right for them to do in the programme of this year. As to

whether they ought to have done more, he did not share the doubts which had been expressed. Ships were very difficult to compare, whether by size, tonnage, or number of guns. The only person competent to compare ships and programmes was such a person as would probably be in the Admiralty, who was cognisant of the different kinds of ships, their qualities, and their arrangements for ammunition supply. The last-named point was extremely important. But the matter to which he particularly desired to call attention was the item of £77,813, under Sub-head I., allocated to subventions for right of pre-emption or hire as armed cruisers or transports of a number of vessels. According to a return granted in 1902, the total amount of the subventions then was £103,750, and as all the ships therein named were under agreements which would be in force this year, they would presumably still be entitled to subsidies. Possibly, however, the hon. Gentleman could explain the discrepancy between the two amounts. The first three ships named in the Estimates were the "Oceanic," the "Majestic," and the "Teutonic," belonging to the White Star Line; and the second three were the "Campania," the "Lucania," and the "Umbria," belonging to the Cunard Co. The amount of the Estimates in respect of each of those groups was £28,000; in other words, it was proposed to vote, as subventions, £28,000 for three ships belonging to the Morgan Combine, and £28,000 for three ships belonging to the Cunard Co. He would not trouble the Committee with regard to the rest of the ships, although some of them belonged to these two companies also. First of all, with regard to the £28,000 to be paid professedly to the White Star Line, but really to the Morgan Combine. Those three ships were absolutely owned, and all dominion over them was exercised by an American corporation, and, therefore, were in a somewhat different position from those belonging to an English company. He would say at once that he intended to move a reduction of £28,000, representing the subvention proposed to be paid to Mr. Morgan. While he strongly objected to the whole of this item of £77,000, he particularly objected to the £28,000 for the first three ships.

In his belief, all these subsidies to merchant vessels were a profound mistake.

Mr. Lough.

The purposes for which they were professedly given were the right of pre-emption, the right of hire, the right of using the ships as transports, and the right of using them as armed cruisers. Not one of those was really a sound reason. The Government already had the most complete right of pre-emption without paying anybody a farthing for it. In time of war they had an absolute right not merely to buy, but to take ships, and not only ships of their own subjects, but ships of the subjects of other Powers. In 1871, the Germans seized six British ships that were lying in the Seine, and, being at war with France, sunk them under this right. They then offered money for them which was accepted by the then Foreign Minister, and the incident was at an end, it being recognised that the Germans were completely within their right. The right of pre-emption was therefore worth nothing. As to the right of hiring, the Government could hire any ship at any time they liked, even if they had not the right of taking them. In connection with the South African war they hired practically the whole of the mercantile marine. There were always a number of ships that could be hired; it was only a question of price, and there was no necessity to pay anything in advance for the right. The question of using the ships as transports was the same as the right of hiring. The most important point, however, was the right, in time of war, to use the ships as armed cruisers. Were they likely to be of the slightest use as armed cruisers? They were built for mercantile purposes, the carriage of passengers, and the development of a high rate of speed. They had not one of the qualities required in a fighting ship, except that of speed. The vessels were built with extremely thin plate; all their engines were above the water-line; and they were at the mercy of any small craft that could bring a three-pounder gun to bear upon them. Consequently, they were completely unfitted for the protection of trade, or for any other purpose except where speed was the only requisite. For the Government to pay large sums in order to create rights which they already possessed over such vessels as these was really to waste public money. To

pay those unnecessary subventions was really the most crazy plan that ever entered into the mind of man. Under those circumstances was it desirable that this £77,000 should continue to be voted. Upon this point he had fortified himself with a very short extract from the Report of that excellent Committee presided over by his hon. friend sitting below the gangway. Upon pages 10 and 11 of that Report the Committee would see that there was very considerable authority to cite in support of his view. The subsidy was paid simply as a retaining fee in time of war, but the Committee presided over by his hon. friend below the gangway had declared that they did not think such a subsidy was of any use for that purpose. That was the sole ground upon which this subsidy was paid. The whole of this contemplated war and nothing else. The Government had the right to lay hands on its own ships in time of war, and in an emergency he believed that vessels would be offered without any retaining fee. If a retaining fee were to be paid at all, it should be paid at the time, and they should not go on paying thousands of pounds year after year to create rights which they had got already, and which he thought it would not be proper to exercise except in time of war. In addition he wished to remind the Committee that in the case of the White Star Line, which was an American line, lock, stock and barrel under the dominion of an American corporation, they were asked to subsidise vessels which had passed completely under foreign control. They were absolutely owned in America, and nevertheless, in consequence of the most regrettable weakness and negligence of duty, in consequence of misfeasance on the part of the Government, they were allowed to fly the British flag. They were giving those vessels the right to carry the British flag, which meant a 20 per cent. advantage to them in competition with British ships, and in addition to that they proposed to give them a subsidy so that they might use them in time of war. This was an absurd proposition. For the use of those vessels they were asked to pay £28,000.

He had another very strong argument. The agreement that had been made with the International Mercantile Marine Association of Mr. Morgan, of which

these first three vessels formed a part, had been made since September, and the Prime Minister had said that the matter was not open to reconsideration. If that were so, the Committee ought not to be asked for the subsidy, and, if asked, they ought to refuse it. How should we be able to exercise such rights as we thought we were buying either in time of peace or in time of war? In time of peace they were giving those ships a subsidy to compete with British ships, but in time of war could they use any one of those rights which they were supposed to be purchasing by this subsidy? If we were at war with the United States we could not take one of those vessels because the United States would keep them for their own purposes. If we were at war with another country, he doubted whether the United States would allow this country to use those vessels against a country with which they were at peace, because he thought that would be a breach of international law. In no kind of war could those rights as provided by the subsidies the Government proposed to give possibly be of any use. He thought he had shown first of all that all these subsidies were wrong in principle, and secondly, that they were unnecessary. For those reasons he felt it his duty to move a reduction of this Vote by £28,000, which represented the proposed subsidy to the vessels mentioned which would be allowed to fly the British flag and compete with British ships.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That Item 1 (Royal Reserve of Merchant Cruisers) be reduced by £28,000."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) did not think his hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn would find it necessary to carry his Motion for a reduction to a division. His hon. friend had stated the case against the principle of subsidies as at present carried out with so much knowledge that it was not necessary to deal with that subject at length. It was perfectly true, as his hon. friend had pointed out, that the Committee presided over by the hon.

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

Member for Aston Manor made recommendations of an important character with regard to this principle of subsidising merchant cruisers in time of war, and the Admiralty had long been considering very carefully the wisdom of that policy. Their deliberations had been made easier by the strong and clear recommendations of the Committee to which he had referred. In the exercise of their own judgment, and fortified by the recommendations of the Committee, the Admiralty did not propose, when the time came for renewing these agreements, that they should be renewed. He did not, however, ask the Committee to take it as admitted that there were no circumstances under which subsidies ought to be paid, and no circumstances in which public interests could not be conveniently served by such a plan as that which had hitherto been adopted.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley) made an inquiry regarding the subsidies to which the Secretary to the Admiralty had referred. Did he mean the Morgan subsidies? What kind of subsidies were not renewable?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he was speaking of those contained in Section 3 of Vote 8—namely, subsidies for merchant cruisers.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): How long have those subsidies to run?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: A year's notice has to be given.

MR. RENWICK: Has it been given?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir. The time has not arrived when notice can be given. The final decision resulting from the deliberations of the Board of Admiralty and the recommendations of the Committee has only recently been arrived at.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): Is it now admitted that all this money we have been paying year after year has been altogether useless expenditure?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No; I do not think that would be a fair assumption. The circumstances of naval warfare have been changing almost every year, and it is quite possible that what our predecessors at the Admiralty thought it advisable to do may have been very proper at the time when it was done.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: How much longer shall we go on paying these sums of money?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Notice will be given on the first occasion when notice can be given.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: When?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I think 1st April next year.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: We shall go on paying for eighteen months longer; is that it?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that was the case. There were other purposes which might be served by a system of subsidies. What the Admiralty felt was that the principle which ought to govern the application of a subsidy was that by that payment they should obtain something which they would not get in any other way. He would add a word to show that they had not been unmindful of the recommendations of the Committee to which he had referred. They felt as strongly as that Committee that it would be a great advantage in the administration of any sum voted by Parliament for the purpose of subsidising shipping that it should be administered under some central authority. He did not know whether the Committee realised how large those sums were. They amounted to many hundred thousand pounds. He was not prepared now to discuss whether the principle was right or wrong, but he was quite sure that the Committee would agree with him that if these subsidies were to be paid it was much better that they should be paid in pursuance of a national and uniform policy rather than expended by various Departments without consultation.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said the Secretary to the Admiralty had made a

most important and unexpected announcement. Speaking for himself, and for hon. Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House, they would concur in the new policy which had been announced. The hon. Member for Oldham had talked of these subsidies as a waste of money. Both parties had been responsible for this expenditure in the past. He himself had said in public on a former occasion that he believed this merchant cruiser policy had not been cordially accepted by any Board of Admiralty for many years past. It had been acquiesced in rather than accepted and approved by successive Boards of Admiralty. He was extremely pleased as well as surprised at the announcement the hon. Gentleman had made. He took it that this item for merchant cruisers was to disappear from the Estimates in future.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: On the present basis of payment. It may be necessary to pay subsidies for high speed or special qualifications.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: At all events this particular Vote was coming to an end. The last White Star agreement was made some time in the end of last year; and, as he understood, it was an agreement for three years. He took it that that would be terminated at the end of the three years.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Almost all these agreements come to an end in April, 1905.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said his information was that it was an agreement for three years. He was not aware of any clause in the agreement that would bring it to an end earlier than the close of these three years. The Admiralty now told the Committee that the principle, at all events, of this Subsidies Vote was abandoned, and that if there were to be subsidies at all in regard to merchant cruisers in future Estimates they would be based on another kind of policy from the present.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: To make it clear I will read the Clause:—

"This agreement shall be deemed to have come into force except as regards the 'Oceanic' as and from the 1st day of April, 1900, and for the 'Oceanic' from the 1st day of October,

1900, and shall continue until the expiration of twelve calendar months notice in writing expiring on the 1st day of April in any year given by either party provided that no such notice shall be given so as to expire at any earlier date than the 1st of April, 1905."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he understood that the White Star contract would have to run for three years, but that was immaterial. The real point was that the Merchant Cruiser Vote was to be abandoned at the earliest possible time, and what was to take its place need not now be discussed. He did not know how this would bear upon another most important question, to which he could not do more than allude, and the most extraordinary arrangement ever made outside an Irish Land Bill, involving enormous payments to one or two shipping companies.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY said he had listened with very great regret to the speech of his hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn, and with still greater regret to the announcement made by his hon. friend the Secretary to the Admiralty. If the policy of the Admiralty in future was to be to dissociate our naval preparations from questions of construction in connection with the mercantile marine, then it was a most regrettable announcement from the point of view of naval preparations. But if his hon. friend merely meant by the announcement that the Naval Votes in future should not bear the subsidies, and that their place would be taken by some harmonious arrangement for the construction of merchant ships that would be useful in an emergency for war purposes, then, perhaps, the announcement had not the importance that had been attached to it. Upon this point the answer of the Secretary to the Admiralty had not been quite clear. The advantage that would accrue to our naval preparations by having available in time of need merchant ships fitted with arrangements for guns and warlike purposes would be enormous. He hoped the change was rather in the form of Estimates than a change of policy, and that vessels of high speed, and with special attention to details, would continue to be built, so that while their utility for merchant service would

not be impaired they would at short notice be ready for Admiralty purposes.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) said he had heard with considerable satisfaction the announcement made on behalf of the Admiralty with regard to the subsidies for cruisers. He brought this matter up before in connection with the mail contract. For instance, there was the case of the Canadian Pacific service which received a subsidy for three cruisers. These vessels were absolutely worthless for cruisers, because they did not steam above fourteen knots an hour, and would not be of any value to the country in time of war. Obviously that was a contract that should be terminated at the first opportunity. The present arrangement was mixed up with the mail contract, which he thought was to run for five years from April 1901. The amount received was, he thought £7,000 a year, and that was absolutely wasted money, so far as the Canadian Pacific was concerned. With regard to the P. & O. Company, there were separate contracts with the Admiralty, and, therefore, the Secretary to the Admiralty would know the terms on which they were made, and when they would expire. There again he thought the Admiralty should take the first opportunity of terminating the contracts. The P. & O. boats practically did not steam more than fourteen or fifteen knots an hour, and could not compete in speed with foreign boats. They could not catch another boat or run out of the road themselves. He had always heard that the policy of mixing up the mail contracts with the giving of subsidies for cruisers was a wrong policy, and that the question of cruisers should stand entirely by itself. The Government should do what they could to induce the owners of merchant vessels to provide speed qualities, and it was all-important that any contracts entered into should be for a short period, so that they could at any time take advantage of the quickest steamer belonging to the British merchant service. In that way they would encourage the owners of British merchant vessels to build ships which would be able to compete in crossing the Atlantic with German vessels. He was glad that this matter had now got some prominence.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) congratulated the Admiralty on the decision arrived at in reference to this particular matter. It was a source of great satisfaction to himself, as chairman of the Committee that gave this matter a great deal of attention, that the recommendations of the Committee had not been set aside, but that it had been taken seriously into consideration. The more they enquired into the matter, the more it appeared that the subsidies paid as retaining fees for the use of vessels in time of war were absolutely money thrown away. It was very desirable, in view of the retrenchment which the country demanded in many quarters, that these subsidies as now given should no longer be paid. The subsidies, however, could only be terminated on the expiry of the existing contracts. The hon. Member for the Shipley Division should realise that the Admiralty, in coming to this decision in regard to subsidies, did not discard paragraph 21 of the Committee's Report, in which they recommended the Admiralty to give subsidies for a limited number of vessels of the highest speed.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY said if the Secretary to the Admiralty would make it clear that they were not departing altogether from the policy of subsidies he would be perfectly satisfied, but the hon. Gentleman had not made that clear.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL said he had wanted to point out that paragraph 22, which recommended the discontinuance of subsidies which were merely retaining fees in time of war, was not antagonistic to paragraph 21, which stated that the Admiralty should subsidise a limited number of merchant ships of the highest speed for national defence. He warmly congratulated the Board of Admiralty on their good work and the admirable administration of his hon. friend the Secretary to the Admiralty.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he wished to make this matter quite clear. His hon. friend the Member for Shipley and the hon. Member for Aston Manor had correctly interpreted the intention of the Admiralty, but in subsidising merchant vessels for military purposes they put the standard of speed higher—22 knots instead of 20. He was not to

be taken as stating that no subsidy would be paid by any other Department for reasons other than military. He spoke only for the Admiralty.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said he was heartily glad to hear the announcement made by the Secretary to the Admiralty that afternoon. He was the more glad because he trusted it would be a warning to the Admiralty to pay more attention to the observations and facts given in this House. When the Vote for subsidising merchant steamers was first suggested he objected to it and had opposed it every year since. The Admiralty had, however, gone on paying these subsidies year after year, although it had been shown that the money might as well have been thrown into the sea. And now they had had it from a late Secretary to the Admiralty that in his time the facts were well known, and the Admiralty hardly believed in the policy, but acquiesced in it.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: That is my impression.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: That is the hon. Gentleman's impression—that the Admiralty brought down a Vote for money year after year for a policy in which they never believed but in which they acquiesced! He was glad that the policy had received its quietus from the painstaking report of the Committee presided over by the hon. Member for Aston Manor. He congratulated the hon. Member on his good work. He was glad that they had now an Admiralty that had been able to do something more than acquiesce in expenditure, but had the courage to stop a particular policy which they believed to be bad.

*SIR CHARLES CAYZER (Barrow-in-Furness) said that as a Member of the Subsidies Committee he could say that there was abundant evidence that the payment of this £77,000 a year had been entirely wasted money. With one or two exceptions the vessels were not of the highest speed. The majority did not exceed 15 or 16 knots, and therefore they could not be used as effective scouts. Then except one or two, they had no gun platforms, and none of them had guns, although the Committee were told that the guns were in

store. He was very glad that these payments were to be discontinued. The hon. Member for Shipley said he would like to see merchant vessels of the highest speed subsidised by the Admiralty for service in time of war. He had his doubts about the utility of that. It was well known that few steamship lines could employ vessels of 22 or 25 knots; and he believed that those lines which had steamers of a less high speed would offer their services in time of war for the high payment they would then get for them. For his own part he would rather prefer to see the Navy complete in itself, and not dependent on the merchant service either for ships or men.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport) said he would remind the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth that when Lord Spencer went to the Admiralty he found the policy which had been introduced shortly before by Mr. Forwood in the previous Conservative Administration.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he could assure the hon. Member that he applied his observations equally to both Conservative and Liberal Governments.

MR. KEARLEY said he wished to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what really was the particular policy of the Admiralty? In the First Lord's statement, issued with the Navy Estimates, it was said that—

“Before the current agreement in respect of subsidised merchant cruisers with the various steamship companies expires two years hence, the Board will have to reconsider their policy in respect to ships of no special speed in the light of the Reports of the two Committees already mentioned—”

viz., the inter-departmental Committee presided over by Lord Camperdown and the Committee of the House of Commons of which the hon. Member for Aston Manor was chairman. But since that statement was made the Admiralty had entered into what was known as the Cunard agreement. They knew that under that agreement the Government were to make large advances to the Cunard Company to build large ships of great speed, and that when the ships were completed the Admiralty were to pay large subsidies for their use in time of war. It was of extreme importance

that the hon. Gentleman should tell the Committee what they were to look forward to as the new policy of the Admiralty. Was it to be on the lines of the Cunard agreement?

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he wished to emphasise the financial aspect of the case revealed to the House. Here was a naval policy which a good many years ago was decided upon on the advice of experts of very high authority. In pursuance of that policy, year after year, under various Administrations, they had expended large sums of money. Over and over again protests had been made by private Members of the House against that policy. Nevertheless, year after year Ministers of both Parties, supported by experts, who were never wrong, defended that policy; and now in the end they were told that that policy had been altogether mistaken, that all the money had been absolutely thrown away, and that the policy was to be discontinued in the future. How was it that this decision had been arrived at? It had been arrived at by the criticisms of his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Yarmouth, and by the work of private Members sitting on the Shipping Committee; and the final death-blow had been given to it by the Gentleman who moved the reduction of the Vote. These facts ought not to be lost sight of, because they showed that the criticism of private Members sometimes provoked a useful economy in the public service.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said that the hon. Member had called this a naval policy; he called it a policy of naval waste. He had protested not only against these subsidies, but against every item in the Naval Estimates. For twelve long years he had protested against one Government and another paying these large sums of money as subsidies to merchant steamers; and he congratulated the hon. Gentleman that he had at last opened his eyes to the naval waste. In these twelve years they had squandered in subsidies about £500,000. [AN HON. MEMBER: More.] He always liked to be moderate and put things low, but say £600,000. He did

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hope that the Secretary to the Admiralty and the First Lord of the Admiralty would no longer so absolutely believe in their naval experts, and that they would look into every item of the Naval Estimates and take off about £10,000,000 per annum, while leaving the Navy quite as efficient.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he was not concerned to defend the Admiralty of the Government with which he was connected ten years ago, but when they came into office they found the system in existence, and of recent creation. He had given his own impression of what his colleagues thought of it. Allusion had been made by the hon. Gentleman below the gangway and the hon. Member for Northampton to the delusions of naval experts, but he only rose for the purpose of emphasising the question put by the hon. Member for Devonport as to what was the nature of the new policy. They were entitled to know what was the nature of the new policy adumbrated in the First Lord's statement, and also whether the Cunard agreement was to be taken as a type of the new cruiser contract to replace the contract which had been abolished. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would give an answer before the Motion was withdrawn.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that the Cunard agreement was not now under discussion; but every agreement made with shipowners with regard to subsidies in the future would be on the condition that they would be paid for something in addition to that which the Admiralty could obtain in the ordinary course by a mercantile arrangement. He was not prepared to make any statement as to the terms of future agreements with shipowners.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that before withdrawing his Amendment he might be allowed to express his gratification, and also his surprise, that the step which he took with the expectation that he should be called a mutineer had been followed with such satisfactory results. The Admiralty, however, having come to the conclusion to abolish those agreements, found they could not do it for two or three years.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said it was the same in his time.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that all who were connected with the Admiralty were tarred with the same brush; but if the hon. Gentleman opposite when he was at the Admiralty had given notice to terminate those agreements, he himself should not have been obliged to force the Government to accept dictation as to their policy from King's Lynn. Repentance had now followed the evil doing; but he was still afraid. If the Admiralty had made up their minds to give up this policy, they should give up the Cunard and Morgan agreements. He would be compelled to move a reduction later if any new agreement were entered into with the Cunard Company or the Morgan Syndicate on account of speed, as that was now more attainable by the Admiralty themselves. He therefore urged that instead of a day being given to discuss the Cunard and Morgan agreements, the agreements should be abandoned. If not, he could promise the Government would have serious trouble in the future. He was much obliged to his hon. friend for the way in which he had reconsidered his proposal, and he asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would now endeavour to make some reply to the many hon. Members who had spoken in regard to this section of Vote 8. He did not propose to reply on the question of general policy which had been raised in almost identical terms on four occasions. He could add nothing to what he had said on those former occasions. His views on the question of an international arrangement were perfectly well known, and as far as his voice was concerned, his hon. friend the Member for Dundee knew the sense in which his opinion would be given. He would confine himself to matters which were strictly germane to that section of the Vote. With regard to the insertion in the

Estimates for this year of the contribution in aid by the Colonial Governments, his hon. friend seemed to imply that the Admiralty should be censured.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: No.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: At any rate his hon. friend criticised the matter. But he thought the Committee would see that when the representatives of these great colonies had given undertakings in the names of their Governments, so far as they were able to do so, it would have been a grave discourtesy, to say the least of it, on the part of the Board of Admiralty, if they had taken no notice of those undertakings and had made no reference to them in the Estimates for the year. The Admiralty therefore inserted these figures and also a statement, which could leave no doubt as to the conditions on which they appeared, pointing out that in certain cases the contribution was dependent upon the constitutional confirmation of the undertaking of the Prime Minister by the Parliament of the colony concerned. His hon. friend the Member for Gateshead referred to the increase in the amount for repairs; but he thought his hon. friend had indulged, to say the least of it, in a slight exaggeration. His hon. friend said that nearly £1,000,000 of the additional amount required for repairs was due to the policy of putting water-tube boilers into ships. He was not going into the question of water-tube boilers now; but he should like to point out that whereas the whole number of ships with water-tube boilers to be repaired, including three or four small sloops, was only eighteen, the number of ships which had cylindrical boilers was fifty-three. Therefore, it was an exaggeration of a very extreme kind to suggest that the addition to the Repairs Vote was due in any large proportion to repairs to water-tube boilered ships. He thought the Committee ought to be informed of the proportion. He frankly admitted that the amount for repairs was very high indeed, but he was prepared to justify it. The Board of Admiralty had adopted a policy which had already commended itself to the House and the country, of

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striking a large number of ineffective ships off the Navy List every year. *Pari passu* with that procedure they had adopted the policy of making every ship which they retained on the List effective for war. He believed they would all agree that it was no use keeping ships on the List if they were not effective for war. Whether certain ships should have been more frequently repaired or not he did not say; but the policy of the present Board of Admiralty was that no ship should be retained on the List which was not prepared to go to war. They had adopted this system of large repairs with a definite object and aim, and they believed that they were within measurable distance of accomplishing it, and that by the end of twelve months from the present date they would have a larger proportion of ships in perfect repair than they had ever possessed before. They would then be in a position to make unhindered progress with the new building programme. Therefore, he did not apologise for the magnitude of the Repairs Vote. The hon. Member for Chester had made a sharp attack on the Admiralty under an entire misapprehension. The hon. Member represented that the Admiralty were lamentably uninformed in regard to what was going on in other countries, and that they required to be told by the newspapers what was taking place in foreign dockyards. There was no foundation for that statement. The hon. Member had called attention to the omission from the Return, which had been presented to the House on the Motion of his right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean, of any of the projected Russian ships. The explanation was perfectly simple. They had followed the precedent which had been followed on previous occasions. Ships were inserted in the List which were actually announced as projected in the way in which such announcements are usually made in constitutional countries, or for which money had been voted, or with which progress had been made. None of those conditions applied to these Russian ships, and for those reasons they were not included. But the Committee must not suppose that the Admiralty were not as well informed as the hon. Member's informant

as to what was contemplated in regard to Russian shipbuilding. All the facts and all the rumours to which the hon. Member had referred were perfectly well known to the Board of Admiralty. With regard to the large programme which the hon. Member attributed to Russia, these ships had not been laid down, and he might be certain that when any progress was made the Admiralty would be informed.

The whole of the ships which were contemplated had been taken into account by the Admiralty in framing the programme which they had submitted to the House. It was conceivable that the programme which they were led to believe was contemplated by Russia might be accelerated in a way they did not anticipate. There might be some great development in the rapidity of Russian shipbuilding, there might be some expansion of the Russian yards—of which at present they saw no signs—which would upset their calculations; but he could assure the hon. Member that the House of Commons would not be left long in ignorance of the fact if such a fact did arise. He could assure the hon. Member for Portsmouth, who had discussed a matter of great importance to his constituents, that the policy of entrusting a large amount of Admiralty work to contractors outside the dockyards was one followed with a full appreciation of the desirability, he might say the necessity, of keeping the royal dockyards full of work. If his hon. friend desired to prove the sincerity of that intention, and the ability of the Admiralty to give effect to that intention, he had only to look at the wages bill in the great dockyards, and especially in that which he represented, to see that there had been no falling off in the activity of the Admiralty in respect of dockyard work. He did not think he need discuss now the question of subsidies raised by the hon. Member for King's Lynn. If at some future time the hon. Member found it necessary to move further in the matter, he had no doubt there would become one in his place who would be competent to deal with the subject. He should like to say, in passing, that he did not make the admission which had been attributed to him, that the prede-

cessors of the present Board were in error in what they did in this matter. It was, he thought, the inevitable law of naval progress that the time must come for a change of policy. At the time these merchant cruisers were first adopted as part of the Royal Navy they were the fastest ships afloat. Our own cruisers could not have beaten them, nor even have touched them, either in endurance or in speed. There were then no armoured cruisers, or practically none, in existence; but with the improvements in armaments and projectiles, especially in the quick-firing gun, and the use of high explosives, which had been introduced since this policy came into effect, there had been a radical change from the conditions which then existed. It was not, however, his business to deal with that aspect of the case. He only stated the fact to explain the view taken by the present Board of Admiralty. He agreed with the hon. Member for Sheffield that it was desirable that everything should be done to meet the convenience of the private trade with regard to armour, and the Admiralty were doing, and in the past two years had done, what they could to meet that convenience. But his hon. friend knew very well that there were conditions which over-rode any desire of that kind, that the course of shipbuilding was the prevailing factor in the situation, and that they must order the armour with some relation to the building progress. He thought his hon. friend had no reason to complain, because he believed he was correct in saying that the practice of deferring ships in a particular programme for twelve and eighteen months after the date at which they were mentioned in that House had been departed from during the present year, and he thought the Board of Admiralty would make a still further departure from that practice in the coming year. His hon. friend had referred to the delay which had taken place, but he thought he ought to have confined his statement to the armoured cruisers of the "Devonshire" class.

MR. JAMES HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) said he only referred to what happened last year; he did not make

a general statement. He merely said some of the work of the previous year was sixteen months in arrear.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said though there was an initial delay in laying down those ships, he had reason to believe that the rate of progress was now very rapid, and that, barring that initial delay, amounting to two-and-a-half months in some cases, the anticipations which had been formed with regard to the completion of those ships would be realised. Before he concluded his remarks he would like to mention that there was a slight alteration in the Naval Programme as announced to the House. A small sum, £17,000, was taken in the original programme for building three third-class cruisers. The Board of Admiralty, in view of the experiments—and they were experiments—which were being made with the new scouts, preferred to postpone the commencement of these three ships and to devote that small sum of money to accelerating other work, reserving to themselves the decision of whether this particular design should be completed in the light of the experience they hoped to gain.

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN said the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had stated that he (Sir William) had exaggerated. If that were so he could not help it as the Estimates appeared to be quite plain. He would, however, clear up the matter from the Estimates. The increase in the repairs, if the amount for the armour was deducted in the two items for 1902–3, and for this year, would be found to be £1,000,663. Therefore it could not be said that his statement was an exaggeration.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY said the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had not, so far as he had seen, replied to the question of whether it would be advisable in place of one naval *attaché* for Rome and St. Petersburg to have one in each country, having regard to the announcements that had been made in the House that Russia was building ships in excess of her published programme. He thought

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such a change would be of great benefit to this country. Another omission of his hon. friend was that he had dealt in only a single sentence with the point raised by the hon. Baronet the Member for Gateshead, who had for the last two years steadfastly refrained from repeating the allegations which he had made for the last eight years as to the policy of the Admiralty of boiling the fleet. The reason he had refrained from referring to that well-worn subject was that he desired the Admiralty to have the experience of all the experiments of the Boiler Committee. What had been the conduct of the Admiralty in regard to the recommendations of their own Boiler Committee? Those recommendations might be summed up in a single sentence. They were that the Admiralty should seek to find an efficient water-tube boiler by investigations and experiments. What had they done? Every new ship, first-class battleship, cruiser, and vessel of smaller size, had been fitted as a matter of course with water-tube boilers of one kind or another, and to-day there was not a ship under design at the Admiralty or under construction in the dockyards or in private yards that was not for the most part fitted with this type of boiler. Having regard to the history of the boiler question, and having regard to the fact that Lord Goschen appointed the Boiler Committee, he thought more respect should have been paid to the recommendations of the Committee.

The matter could not be dismissed by a mere allusion to the reiterated statements of the hon. Member for Gateshead, while the Admiralty continued to fit His Majesty's ships, as a matter of course, with this type of boiler. The hon. Member had attempted to defend the policy of the Admiralty in connection with the "Hyacinth." The matter of thirty-eight minutes referred to might be important in strategy, but, in his opinion, endurance, reliability, and increased range were much more important. As one having responsibility in similar matters, he was convinced that the Admiralty were pursuing a foolish and dangerous policy in boiling new ships with a type of boiler of which the experience had been very unfavourable. The reasons urged in favour of such

boilers were mainly considerations of weight, and the increase of offensive and defensive power made possible upon a given displacement by reason of the saving in weight. But the fact that these boilers were less economical with coal completely disposed of those reasons, because the extra coal required was at least equivalent to the saving of weight in the boilers. The Admiralty, when they determined a year or so ago to fit new vessels with one-fifth of the old and well-known type of boiler, and four-fifths of these new, and comparatively experimental, boilers, took a step in the right direction, but they had not gone far enough. He pleaded with the Government to consider whether they had really given effect, in letter and in spirit, to the recommendations of the Boiler Committee, those recommendations being substantially to the effect that the Admiralty should hold their hands before irrevocably committing His Majesty's ships to propulsion by boilers which had hitherto not proved themselves capable of the necessary endurance.

MR. KEARLEY said the policy laid down by the Secretary to the Admiralty, of at once clearing off the list all obsolete ships, and bringing the remainder up to an efficient condition for war, was one with which they all cordially agreed. A single glance at the Estimates, however, revealed the fact that there had been an enormous increase in the expenditure for repairs, not only in the Government yards, but also in the yards of outside contractors. Under Section E last year the amount voted for repairs in contractors' yards was £175,000, this year it had increased to £722,000. As he had before stated, the Admiralty had pursued a very wise policy in regard to ships built by contract in insisting that they should be finished at the contractor's yard, instead of being brought round to the dockyards, as was the old practice—a course which occasioned a great waste both of time and money. With regard to the repairs, he desired to direct attention to the principle on which the Admiralty were working. The working basis was that, when these ships were sent to the

contractor's yard for repairs, no contract price was asked for, but the Admiralty guaranteed a profit of 20 per cent. for wear-and-tear expenses, and, in addition, a clear profit of 10 per cent. to the contractor. He did not now intend to argue whether the 10 per cent. or the 20 per cent. was excessive or not, but he wished to emphasise the fact that in this new departure of sending ships in such numbers to contractors for repairs the Government should adhere to the policy that they had exercised in their own dockyards for so many years—viz., that, prior to any repair being undertaken an estimate was asked for and was expected to be adhered to, and in the majority of cases the estimate was not exceeded. He was informed that the policy in the contract yards was altogether different, and he thought they ought to have an assurance from the Government that they would insist on contractors giving estimates in the same way as their own yards. There had been rather a newspaper agitation on behalf of contractors with a view to inducing a great proportion of work to go their way instead of to the dockyards. Aspersions had been cast upon the quality and quantity of work turned out in the Royal yards, and suggesting that the Admiralty sent work to contractors' yards because they could get better results and at better prices. He denied that, but he would like to have the opinion of the Secretary to the Admiralty on the point. Was it a fact that the quality, quantity, and price of the work was inferior in any shape or form to that produced by contract work?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he was not concerned to reply to anonymous criticisms of which he had not before heard. The Admiralty were satisfied with the work of the Royal Dockyards, and every effort was being made to keep it up to the high standard of the past. The system of sending ships for repairs to contractors' yards had become necessary, because it was not possible, with advantage to the service, to repair all the ships in the dockyards. The practice of proceeding on a schedule of prices greatly commended itself to the Admiralty. He

believed that nothing would be gained, but that a great deal would be lost, by insisting on prices being given in every case where a ship was sent to a contractor's yard for repairs. It was true that provisional estimates were given in the dock yards, but it was also true that if those estimates were exceeded or not attained nothing happened. The ships had to be repaired, and there was no question of profit or loss, although it was desirable, of course, to keep the work as close to the estimate as possible. A contractor was not in a position to make an accurate estimate as to the amount of repairs a ship required. Looking at the outside of the ship, he could not tell the nature of the work that would have to be undertaken. So self-evident was this proposition that it had commended itself to a large proportion of the mercantile firms of the country, and the Admiralty were working on precisely the same terms as were agreed to by the mercantile firms who entered into business arrangements with the same yards. In face of that fact, the hon. Member could hardly sustain the proposition that by adopting this course, which had the approval of expert authorities, and presented the great advantage that it eased the pressure on the dockyards, the Admiralty were losing money and being cheated in a manner which private firms were not. On the contrary, the Admiralty believed they were getting value for their money, and greatly helping the service of the country.

MR. KEARLEY said he did not say there was any question of cheating; he merely contended that it was not business to spend money in that way.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he would withdraw the word "cheating." But if it were not a business-like course to pursue, firms which had to strike a profit or loss on the year's trading certainly would not adopt it. In this case the Admiralty were simply doing what had so often been urged upon them—viz., that they should follow the lines adopted by persons working for commercial profit.

Question put, and agreed to.

2. £3,206,100, Naval Armaments.

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS reminded the Secretary to the Admiralty of the point to which he drew his attention sometime ago, and that was the desirability of putting a number of hired men in the gun wharf on the establishment. The matter was not a large one, as there were only a few whom the concession would affect, but the principle involved was an important one.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER replied that the Admiralty were at the present moment engaged in a very careful inquiry into the question, but he was not at present able to let him know the result of it.

3. £69,400, Scientific Services.

4. £116,400, for Educational Services.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS said there was another case to which he had frequently drawn the attention of his hon. friend—viz., the case of the schoolmasters. Perhaps the Secretary to the Admiralty would take the opportunity of stating when he was likely to be able to give the House any information on the decision the Admiralty had come to.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER feared that he could not give his hon. friend any information about the schoolmasters.

5. £297,500, Royal Naval Reserves.

6. £409,500, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS asked what happened in the case of a naval disaster like the "Condor" and "Cobia," and what compensation was paid to men for loss of kit and private property.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER replied that if the losses of officers and men were sustained while on duty all the equipment necessary to enable the losers to re-equip themselves for the service was replaced, but in cases where the articles were not necessary they were expected to make their own insurance in regard to them.

Mr. LOUGH said he noticed the usual element of extravagance extended to this Vote also. What was the necessity for an increase of £41,000 in this Vote, which was an increase of 10 per cent?

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the hon. Member's suspicions were not well founded, because the increase was due to a transfer of items from other Votes. The item for travelling expenses of civil and military officers had been transferred to this Vote, where it did not appear last year.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said there was in this Vote an appropriation in aid from the Australian Commonwealth. He wished to know if since this subject was last before the Committee any decision had been come to in regard to this matter by the Australian Commonwealth. Upon a previous occasion he called attention to the fact that the insertion in the Naval Estimates of these colonial appropriations in aid of Naval expenditure were purely fictitious. No definite binding agreement had been come to with Australia, and yet they found in the various Votes these appropriations in aid definitely credited to the benefit of the British Admiralty. So far as he was aware the Australian Commonwealth had never entered into any agreement upon this point.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he was sorry the hon. Member was not present when he dealt with this question. The statement which the hon. Member thought ought to be inserted appeared on the Estimates. In answer to the hon. Member for Dundee he had explained the reasons which induced the Board of Admiralty to insert these sums in the Estimates for the current year. The reason was that it might have been thought discourteous to the Colonial Premiers who had given these undertakings if they made no reference to the matter in the Naval Estimates.

7. £306,400, Admiralty Office.

Mr. LOUGH said he should like an explanation of the increase in this Vote. He should like an explanation of the item of £116,000 for travelling expenses.

There was also an increase of £23,000 in the department of the Controller of the Navy, or altogether a net increase of about £30,000. Perhaps the Secretary to the Admiralty would explain why the travelling expenses dropped out this year, and why the expenditure in the department of the Controller had been increased by £23,000. That was a substantial increase, amounting to nearly 10 per cent.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he should have thought that an explanation in regard to the travelling expenses was quite unnecessary, because he had already pointed out that those expenses had been transferred to Vote 11, and therefore they could not appear on both Votes. He admitted that the increase in the Controller's department was substantial. The increase of the work undertaken by the Controller to the Navy had been gigantic, and the hon. Member himself, who was constantly complaining of the increase, was the best witness to that fact. The manipulation of these large sums of money and their proper allocation could not be satisfactorily supervised except by a competent staff. Considering the vast amount of work which had been put upon the Controller of the Admiralty he thought his staff was still inadequate for the work.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked if this great increase in the work was due to the new policy of doing so much work by contract. He was inclined to think that this new policy had entailed the creation of a new and very expensive sub-department of the Admiralty.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said he did not think that was quite a justifiable statement, for this was not a new department, but simply an extension of the Controller's office. A large amount of additional work had to be done, and the Admiralty had to decide whether that work could be done at the Government dockyards. It was found necessary to transfer the work to the contractors. He believed that every officer in the Admiralty would bear him out when he said that they had effected considerable economy by taking this course by relieving the congestion of the dockyards, and, besides this, the work would be done in a shorter time.

He would remind the hon. Member that there was nothing peculiar about this matter. There had always been a staff in connexion with the contract yards to supervise the building of ships.

With the extension of that system to contract yards for repairing ships, it had become necessary to increase the staff of the Department. This was not the sole reason for the increase, because there had been an increase of the work all round.

MR. LOUGH said they were glad to receive that explanation. These Committees never recommended economy in any shape or form. Their inquiries always led to some additional expenditure. It had been shown in the discussion that the Admiralty were giving out a great deal more on contract than before, and that was the reason why this additional expense was being incurred.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: A portion of it.

MR. LOUGH: Well, a portion of it. Probably within the next year or two more work would be done in the dock-yards and less given out on contract. He asked whether this was to be a permanent increase of expenditure, or whether there was any elasticity about it. At a time when it was necessary to give out £3,000,000 more work on contract than formerly it was quite reasonable that there should be £20,000 more spent on the supervision of the work, but supposing this policy should be changed, and that it should become unnecessary to give out so much, had any arrangement been made by which a saving could be effected? He thought the expenses of public Departments formed an element in the general extravagance of the country which they should look after very closely.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that if a great change of policy took place in the future there would be no difficulty in reducing the staff employed in connection with the contract yards.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he wished to make a suggestion. He thought it would be advisable not to

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

press on the Report Stage of these Votes at once, because he understood that something was to be said by the First Lord which they ought to have an opportunity of discussing.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that neither the hon. Member nor himself had any right to anticipate what the First Lord would say. He did not quite recognise the force of the hon. Gentleman's reason for the suggestion he had made, but, if it was desired, the Report Stage might be allowed to remain over for a little.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1903-4.

CLASS II.

8. £13,869, to complete the sum for Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue, etc., Office.

9. £15,312, to complete the sum for Charity Commission.

CLASS III.

10. £116,635, to complete the sum for Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

11. £21,521, to complete the sum for Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum.

CLASS VII.

12. £27,000, to complete the sum for Temporary Commissions.

13. £14,261, to complete the sum for Miscellaneous Expenses.

14. £19,359, Repayments to the Local Loans Fund.

15. £30,000, St. Louis Exhibition, 1904.

CLASS II.

16. £9, to complete the sum for Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.

17. £10,061, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, England.

18. £16, to complete the sum for The Mint, including Coinage.

19. £7,493, to complete the sum for National Debt Office.

20. £14,158, to complete the sum for Public Record Office.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee to sit again upon Monday next.

SUPPLY [22ND APRIL] REPORT.

Order read, for further consideration of Resolution [22nd April], "That a sum, not exceeding £139,395, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Subordinate Departments, including a Grant-in-Aid."

*SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.) said he wished to move the reduction of the Vote by £100, in order to draw attention to the attitude taken by the President of the Board of Trade towards complaints made of railway rates by traders. He understood that the Board of Trade were perfectly willing to give assistance to individual traders when they came with complaints of rates being unfair or prejudicial in relation to the rates of carriage of foreign produce imported from abroad, or that the rates in particular districts were too high as compared with the rates in other districts; but it was not possible for small traders, and he spoke especially in the interests of farmers, men who lived in isolated districts, to undertake the investigation, and to show how they were prejudiced by the inequality of rates, or the preference given to foreign importers. Take the case of the Great Western Railway, with which he was best acquainted. The rate for certain goods from Paddington to Bristol was as high as the rate from Paddington to Exeter, which was nearly double the distance. The higher rate was charged to Bristol because there was no competition, and until a new railway was made the Bristol traders were bound to suffer. Farmers living only six or seven miles

from Bristol were charged 3s. 4d. per ton for carriage of oil cake, while grain was charged only 2s. 6d. per ton, and if two tons of cake and two tons of wheat or oats were sent in one consignment the higher rate of 3s. 4d. was charged for the whole four tons. When complaint was made to the railway company the answer was—

"If you don't like it you can cart the cake from Bristol."

Again, the Great Western Railway charged 1s. 5d. for a cwt. of agricultural produce carried thirty miles, and under similar conditions the Great Eastern Company only charged 9d. The late Mr. Hanbury, as representing the Board of Agriculture, expressed the sympathy of that Department with the complaints of agriculturists in this matter, and he was glad to learn from a speech made by Lord Onslow that he was prepared to follow in Mr. Hanbury's footsteps. But the Board of Trade was particularly concerned, and he asked that that Department should collect information as to rates and codify the rates to show where and how they pressed most unfairly upon small traders and producers, so that a redress of their grievances might be arrived at. To put it in a nutshell, what he asked the President of the Board of Trade was to do this. To collect and compare the railway rates for agricultural produce over the entire railways of Great Britain. This would enable the producer to see where he was unfairly treated. It was impossible for traders such as farmers to do this for themselves. They were unable from their isolated and scattered condition to unite and protect themselves as other traders did. He was only asking the President of the Board of Trade to do what Mr. Hanbury was pressing upon him at the time of his death to do for agriculturists.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out '£139,395,' and insert '£139,295.'"—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That '£139,395' stand part of the said Resolution."

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars) said he thoroughly understood the interest which the hon. Member took in this question, an interest which was felt by many Members on both sides of the House. The hon. Gentleman began his speech by saying that the Board of Trade were not willing to help him on this question, but he could assure the hon. Gentleman that the Board of Trade were not only quite willing, but anxious in every way to give assistance to put an end to such anomalies as the hon. Member had mentioned. The Board would investigate any complaint, whether made by an individual or a representative body, and, as a matter of fact, such complaints had been investigated, and redress obtained by means of the conciliation powers conferred by the Act. It was, of course, common talk that unfair rates were charged upon foreign produce coming by sea as against inland produce, but in no case, since he had been connected with the Board of Trade, had this been substantiated entirely. A large consignment to one station cost less in the handling and carriage than small quantities delivered at different stations. He could not promise that the Board of Trade would undertake the general inquiry asked for by the hon. Member, and examine all the rate books of the different railway companies to see where there were unfair rates. He was bound to say that he did not see how that could be possibly done. Years might be spent in investigation of rate books,

and still no definite result would be arrived at. Redress could only be secured by the individual trader bringing his own particular grievance to the Board of Trade, and asking them to go into the matter, when he was sure they would do their best to have it remedied.

He did not believe that the means suggested by the hon. Member would be effective; and all he thought the House should ask the Board of Trade to do was that where means were available, they should use them in order to remove grievances of the character stated by the hon. Gentleman. That was what the Board of Trade were now doing, and what the Board of Trade were most anxious to do. The Board did not ask that the injustice should be proved. All they asked was that where a person thought a rate was unfair, he should send them a statement of what he thought the unfairness consisted of. The Board would go into the matter, and if they found an injustice existed, they would do their best to remedy it. Anything more, in existing circumstances, could not be done by the Department; and he could assure the House that, within their powers, the Board of Trade were only too anxious to assist the traders of the country.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said that the subject which had been raised by his hon. friend was one in which he had taken a profound interest. He was very dissatisfied with what had been said by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. The hon. Gentleman seemed to disclaim any right or duty on the part of the Board of Trade to enter into a general survey of the unfairness of railway rates. He understood from his late friend Mr. Hanbury

that he had laid a large number of complaints before the Board of Trade. What he himself wished to urge on the Board of Trade was that individual agriculturists were placed in a position of very great difficulty; and were unable to obtain the comparative rates which would enable them to establish their case except at great expense. They had a right to complain of the manner in which the hon. Gentleman handled that particular difficulty.

MR. BONAR LAW said he distinctly stated that all the Board required was that where a trader considered a rate to be unfair, he should communicate with the Board, and the Board themselves would make the necessary inquiries.

MR. CHANNING said that the hon. Gentleman had disclaimed any duty or responsibility to enter into the comparative justice of various rates.

MR. BONAR LAW dissented.

MR. CHANNING said he was glad the hon. Gentleman dissented; but that was the view conveyed by his speech. He shared the hon. Gentleman's admiration of the late Mr. Hanbury's idea of

starting associations which would formulate complaints of a more general character; but that was now rather a matter of hope than of reality. At present, when complaints were made to the Board of Trade nothing came of them; and that was due to a great extent to the costliness of the procedure.

MR. BONAR LAW said that there was absolutely no cost on the trader, except that involved in sending a letter to the Board.

MR. CHANNING said he had had to deal with many Presidents of the Board of Trade, and he knew what he was talking about. Traders generally had not received that support from the Board of Trade which they might reasonably have expected. He was glad his hon. friend had entered his protest against the inactivity of the Board, which he knew was somewhat warmly resented by the late President of the Board of Agriculture; and he hoped his hon. friend would proceed to a division.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 180; Noes, 70. (Division List No. 137).

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Right Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Austin, Sir John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Man'r*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, T. Gibson (*Lynn Regis*)
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother

Cavendish, R. F. (*N. Lancs.*)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (*Greenwich*)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Worce*)
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
Corbett, T. L. (*Down North*)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
Cranborne, Viscount
Crossley, Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickinson, Robert Edmond

Dickson, Charles Scott
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Ed.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Forster, P. S. (*Warwick, S.W.*)
Fyler, John Arthur
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin & Nrn*)
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)

Gordon, Maj. Evans (*Tr. H'm't's*)
 Gore, Hn.G.R.C. Ormsby (*Salop*)
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Greene, Sir E.W. (*Bury St. Md.*)
 Greene, W. Raymond (*Camb's*)
 Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
 Gunter, Sir Robert
 Guthrie, Walter Murray
 Hain, Edward
 Hall, Edward Marshall
 Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
 Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ldg. (*Mid'x*)
 Hamilton, Marq. of (*London'dy*)
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Harris, Frederick Leverton
 Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hay, Hon. Claude George
 Henderson, Sir Alexander
 Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert I.
 Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B't side.*)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houlst, Joseph
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutton, John (*Yorks, N. d.*)
 Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnstone, Heywood
 Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kennedy, Patrick James
 Lambton, Hon. Fredk. Wm.
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Lawrence, Sir Jos. (*Monm'th*)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (*Liverpool*)
 Lawson, Jn. Grant (*Yorks. N.R.*)
 Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
 Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage

Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. B.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Bvesham*)
 Long, Rt. Hn. W. (*Bristol, S.*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
 MacIver, David (*Liverpool*)
 Maconochie, A. W.
 M'Arthur, Charles, (*Liverpool*)
 M'Calmont, Colonel James
 M'Killop, W. (*Sligo, North*)
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Molesworth, Sir Lewis
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (*Antrim, N.*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, James Archibald
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Mount, William Arthur
 Murray, Charles J. (*Coventry*)
 Nolan, Col. John P. (*Galway, N*)
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Pease, H. Pike (*Darlington*)
 Percy, Earl
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plummer, Walter R.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pym, C. Guy
 Randles, John S.
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Renwick, George
 Ridley, S. F. (*Bethnal Green*)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hn. C. Thomson

Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, Herbert (*Hackney*)
 Rollet, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (*Isle of Wight*)
 Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (*Kenfrew*)
 Sinclair, Louis (*Bomford*)
 Sloan, Thomas Henry
 Smith, James Parker (*Lanarks*)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Spencer, Sir E. (*W. Bromwich*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Taylor, Austin (*East Tezeth*)
 Thompson, Dr E.C. (*Monagh'n, N*)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Ed. M.
 Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
 Valentia, Viscount
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. E.*)
 Wilson, John (*Falkirk*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Worsley-Taylor, Hry. Wilson
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
 Barlow, John Emmott
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
 Brigg, John
 Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Caldwell, James
 Cawley, Frederick
 Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Davies, Alfred (*Carmarthen*)
 Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardign*)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dunn, Sir William
 Edwards, Frank
 Evans, Saml. T. (*Glamorgan*)
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
 Harmsworth, R. Leicester
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
 Healy, Timothy Michael
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Holland, Sir William Henry

Hope, John Deans (*Fife, West*)
 Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
 Jones, Wm. (*Carnarvonshire*)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Labouchere, Henry
 Lambert, George
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Layland-Barratt, Francis
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (*Acserington*)
 Lloyd-George, David
 London, W.
 M'Fadden, Edward
 M'Kenna, Reginald
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Murnaghan, George
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Doherty, William
 O'Kelly, J. (*Roscommon, N.*)
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (*Durham*)
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Redmond, William (*Clare*)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (*Bifon*)

Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Rose, Charles Day
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbert L. (*Cleveland*)
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (*Stafford*)
 Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Taylor, Theo. C. (*Baddiffe*)
 Thomas, Sir A. (*Glam., E.*)
 Toulmin, George
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Wallace, Robert
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (*York, E. R.*)
 Whitley, J. H. (*Halifax*)
 Wilson, H. J. (*York, W. R.*)
 Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Edward Strachey and
 Mr. Channing.

Resolution agreed to.

Motion made, and question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at ten minutes before Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 3rd July, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Romford and District Tramways Bill ;
A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Great Western Railway Bill ; Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 18th of June and Monday last discharged ; and Bill committed.

North Eastern Railway Bill ; Report from the Select Committee, that the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn ; read and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 18th of June and Monday last discharged ; and Bill committed.

Lancashire and Yorkshire and London and North Western Railways (Steam Vessels) Bill ; leave given to the Select Committee to adjourn over Monday next.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill ; Moved, that the order made on 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a ; agreed to ; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Bangor Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to Commons.

Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill. Read 3^a, and passed.

Shropshire, Worcestershire, and East Denbighshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.], now Shropshire and Worcestershire

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES].

Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill, Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

New Hunstanton Improvement Bill. Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Amendment reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill. House in Committee (according to order) ; Bill reported without Amendment ; Standing Committee negatived ; and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to Order) ; The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made ; Standing Committee negatived ; the Report of Amendments to be received on Monday next.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Third Reading (which stands appointed for this day) put off to Tuesday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Read 1^a ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 154.)

PETITIONS.

LAND REGISTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

Petition against : of Society of Law Agents of Dumfermline District of Fife ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MALTA.

Further correspondence relating to the political condition of Malta (in Continuation of [Cd. 715], July, 1901).

AFRICA No. 7 (1903).

Return of concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).

Return by the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the six months ended the 31st December, 1902.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, determining the number of centre superintendents to be appointed for the examinations, 1903; Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

HAMILTON BURGH PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR of Burleigh): My Lords, the reasons for suspending the Order made on March 16th in this case are these. Additional borrowing powers are very much required, and there was considerable conflict of opinion as to the period over which the repayment should be spread. Somewhat complicated negotiations had to be entered into, but I am glad to be able to say that the matter has now been arranged, and I believe in a way satisfactory to the officers of the House and in accordance with the usual practice. But those negotiations took a considerable time. I do not now anticipate any opposition to the Provisional Order, and I hope that in the circumstances your Lordships will agree to suspend the Standing Order in this case.

Moved, that the Order made on the 16th March last, "That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time

after the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with.—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to; and Bill read 2^a (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

BROUGHTY FERRY GAS PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: This is a comparatively small Bill. It was introduced into the other House early in May, and if it had not been for the intervention of the Whitsun holidays it would have been up in plenty of time. It only concerns an additional borrowing power of £20,000, and there is absolutely no opposition to it.

Moved, that the Order made on the 16th March last, "That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after the 18th of June next," be dispensed with.—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to; and Bill read 2^a (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

IRISH LAND PURCHASE.

THE EARL OF BELMORE: My Lords, as I understand there is no objection to the granting of the Return for which I have given notice to move, I will simply submit the Motion without further observations.

Moved, for (1) A Return of the total amount of advances made to occupying tenants in Ireland, under the various Acts relating to land purchase since the passing of the Irish Land Act, 1870, to 31st March, 1903 (exclusive of tenants of glebe lands); (2) A similar Return of the total amount of repayments made by such purchasers.—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

THE EARL OF DENBIGH: The Government have no objection to the granting of the Return, but I am afraid it will

not be possible to present it for ten days or a fortnight.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
AMENDMENT BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

***LORD REAY:** My Lords, the first section of the Act of 1899, which it is proposed to amend by this Bill, provides that a school authority may make arrangements for determining what children in their district are defective or epileptic. By the second section of that Act the authority is empowered to make provision for those children by special classes, by boarding out near to the special classes, and by establishing schools certified by the Board of Education. The authority has also power to contribute towards certified schools maintained by others. The size of an establishment for boarding or lodging defective or epileptic children is restricted by the Act of 1899 to four buildings, in each of which only fifteen children can be accommodated. When the Act of 1899 left this House that restriction was not included in it; it was inserted in another place without any discussion, and was not contemplated in the Report of the Departmental Committee of 1896, which led to the introduction of the Act of 1899.

The objections to the restriction are educational, administrative, and financial. From the educational point of view a larger number of children give more facilities for proper classification, and the teaching staff can, in a larger institution, be more adequately distributed among the children in accordance with the varied stages of their development and deficiencies. The children can, moreover, be divided into proper classes, separating those who, when they are not suffering from epileptic attacks, are equal in intelligence to those who frequent ordinary schools, from those whose mental capacity places them on a lower plane. From an administrative point of view it is equally desirable that these institutions should be in the

country, where the chances of cure or improvement are naturally greater than they would be in towns, for in the case of these children everything depends on healthy surroundings and out-door exercise. A consequence of the residence in the country is that these institutions are isolated and dependent upon their own resources; and it is obvious that for the brightness and constant supervision of such a colony it is desirable to have a larger staff than that which you could have in an institution for only sixty children. Then, again, there must of necessity be an infirmary attached to an establishment of this kind, and the *personnel* of an infirmary for sixty children would be the same as that required for a larger institution.

I need not say much with regard to the financial objection. It is obvious that the cost of schools restricted to four buildings in which only fifteen children can be accommodated is almost prohibitive, and at all events is quite disproportionate to that which would be entailed by an establishment comprising more buildings. There has been a perfect agreement between all the school authorities not to put the Act into operation with regard to epileptic children, and, as the Act is permissive, the Board of Education have no power to enforce it. The consequence is that epileptic children are at present excluded from institutions which the Act intended to provide for them, and their total neglect from an educational point of view results, of course, in their deterioration both physically and mentally. With regard to the only objection which this Bill has encountered, I would point out that the promoters of the Bill are as much opposed to the evil of excessive aggregation of children as its opponents, but the present state of things which renders the Act inoperative is intolerable. The Bill contains the safeguards which are required to promote the interests of the epileptic children. The Board of Education will make rules, and these rules will be subject to the criticism and control of both Houses of Parliament.

I may, perhaps, give your Lordships the figures for London. The last schedules for London show that there

were 374 epileptic children who were not imbecile, and it is only to those that this Bill applies. Of those, 256 were not attending any school, because they were excluded on account of severe epilepsy; fifty-seven were attending ordinary schools, twenty-nine special schools, and thirty-two non-Board schools. Now, if these 256 children had to be placed in institutions such as are contemplated by the Act of 1899, we should have to erect seventeen buildings and provide a staff for four separate establishments, whereas experts, I believe, agree that there is no objection whatever to an institution in which you might receive a larger number of epileptic children. Expert evidence does not warrant the wasteful procedure of the Act of 1899, and for a larger number of children you can secure better classification and greater individual care. The School Board for London hitherto has not put the Act of 1899 into operation, and has not incurred the charge of extravagance which is so often and so recklessly made against the London School Board. By removing this vexatious limit the Act of 1899 will cease to be a dead letter, and epileptic children will reap the benefit which the Legislature wished to extend to them. I believe that the noble Marquess has no objection to the Bill, and that he will support the Second Reading which I beg to move.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."—(*Lord Reay*.)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): The noble Lord has stated that I, as President of the Board of Education have no objection to the Second Reading of this measure. He has spoken perfectly correctly. On the contrary, if I may say so, I think the noble Lord has done great service to the cause of defective and epileptic children by introducing this Bill. The noble Lord has dealt so fully and so clearly with the whole subject that it may be considered perhaps unnecessary for me to say any thing in endorsing the remarks he has made; but as, to a certain extent, the Board of Education will be responsible for the administration and the working of this Bill, it may not be out

Lord Reay.

of place if I explain the reasons why I endorse the measure now before the House. The noble Lord stated with perfect truth that the Act of 1899 was the outcome of the Report of a Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the education of defective and epileptic children. The Act which followed that Report contained the following provision:

"The Education Department shall not certify any establishment established after the commencement of this Act for boarding and lodging more than fifteen defective or epileptic children in one building or comprising more than four such buildings."

As the noble Lord said, that was inserted after the Report of the Committee, for the Committee in their Report of 1898 stated that no home should contain more than twenty children. Nothing had been suggested as to the limitation of the number of homes in each establishment. That has to some extent affected defective and epileptic invalids in a totally different manner. To a certain extent the defective children enjoyed advantages which were denied to the epileptic ones. It was possible for the defective children to attend day schools, to be boarded out—many in private homes—and also to attend special classes; therefore to a certain extent the limitation did not affect them. But it did affect very seriously those children who were suffering from epilepsy. No provision was made for them except the provision that they could be housed in what are known as certified homes.

The noble Lord in the course of his remarks drew attention to the fact that up to now, owing to this limitation, no advantage had been taken by the local authorities of these so-called certified homes. We therefore are, to a certain extent, unable to speak from any past experience on that point, but the noble Lord knows well that the London School Board has the control of what is known as the Anerley Deaf Boarding School, and we can take a lesson from their experience regarding that school as to what expense may be incurred, unless some step is taken to prevent unnecessary expenditure. I find that that institution comprises one school building and four cottage homes, built in two semi-detached pairs, each

home containing fifteen children. The cost, including the site, was £28,000, and as only sixty children are provided for, that works out at £467 per child. Therefore I think the noble Lord has stated with perfect correctness that, if such expense is to be incurred, that part of the Act which was to benefit epileptic children becomes absolutely a dead letter.

The present Bill, as the noble Lord has told the House, empowers the Board of Education to make rules for certified establishments which provide for more than fifteen children in each home, and for more than four homes in connection with each establishment. He has also, I think, very rightly brought to your notice that it is perfectly possible for either House of Parliament to render void any rule that may be passed by the Board of Education if notice be given within thirty days. This, I think, ensures to Parliament control over any action of the Board of Education. The Board of Education, from the experience they have derived, think it right to point out that this present limitation will undoubtedly prevent any improvement in the education of epileptic children. I know there are some who devote their time and attention to the question of education who do not entirely approve of this Bill. I think that they fear that what the noble Lord calls the aggregating of children, and what is called "herding" in the other House, will take place. That it will be the duty of the Board of Education to provide and guard against, and if proper care is taken there is no reason why supervision of the best character should not be given to each and every child in those homes. The character of the illness, and the character of the child itself, should be a matter of the gravest attention to those who are responsible for the administration of the Act. I therefore venture to say that while we are not the promoters of this Bill we cordially welcomed it in the House of Commons, and we cordially welcome it to-day, and I can assure the noble Lord that we will do our utmost to carry it out, not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which it is intended. I am confident that the Bill will be the means of rendering permanent assist-

ance to those who are not in the enjoyment of that health which, I am glad to think, we all possess here.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Tuesday next.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES BILL [H.L.].

Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [H.L.].

Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 3rd July, 1903.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH.

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Birmingham District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Kip's Patents Bill [Lords], Bradford Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of time) Bill. As amended, considered. To be read the third Time.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Scottish American Mortgage Company, Limited, Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

Port Talbot Railway and Docks Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Jewish Colonisation Association Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill, Education (Borrowing) Bill, Contracts (India Office) Bill, Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) Bill, Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill, without Amendment; Nelson Corporation Bill, Hampton Court Gas Bill, Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill, Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill, with Amendments; Amendments to—Southampton Harbour Bill [Lords], Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled “An Act to empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Bangor to make a gift of a new site for Bangor College; to provide recreation grounds; to acquire the Penrhyn Hall; and for other purposes.” [Bangor Corporation Bill [Lords].

And also, a Bill intituled “An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Company.” [Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [Lords].

Bangor Corporation Bill [Lords], Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [Lords.] Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. Reported with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [Lords]; Cardiff Railway Bill [Lords]; Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton Railway Bill [Lords]; Exeter Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PETITIONS.

BURGH POLICE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions for alteration: from Edinburgh; and Leith; to lie upon the Table.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Govan, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL).

Petition from King's Cross and other places, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

PHARMACY BILL.

Petition of the Master Warders and Society of Apothecaries of the City of London, for alteration (praying to be heard by Counsel); to lie upon the Table.

POLLING ARRANGEMENTS (PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH) BILL.

Petition from Westminster, against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Bristol, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland determining the number of Centre Superintendents to be appointed for the Examinations, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

AFRICA (No. 7, 1903) (EAST AFRICA CONCESSIONS).

Copy presented, of Return of Concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

MALTA.

Copy presented, of Further Correspondence relating to the Political Condition of Malta (in continuation of [C. 715] 1901) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).

Copy presented, of Return by Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending the 31st December, 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRON AND STEEL, 1901.

Copy ordered, "of Statistical Tables showing the production and consumption of Iron Ore and Pig Iron, and the production of Steel, in the United Kingdom and the principal foreign countries, in each year from 1890 to 1901, so far as the particulars can be stated."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Condition of "Exmouth" Training Ship.

MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the condition of the "Exmouth" training ship, now under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, from which, in the year 1901, 151 boys were sent into the Royal Navy, as against 160 from all other training ships other than industrial and reformatory ships; and whether, in view of the service thus rendered to the Navy, the Admiralty can assist the Metropolitan Asylums Board by placing some other ship at their disposal.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) The attention of the Admiralty has been called to this matter. One vessel offered by the Admiralty has already been inspected on behalf of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, but was not considered

suitable. The question whether there is another ship which can be placed at their disposal is receiving careful consideration, but owing to the very limited number of vessels that could possibly be suitable for a purpose of this kind, it is feared that it may be found impracticable to meet the wishes of the Board.

Phthisis in Workhouses.

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): To ask the President of the Local Government Board will he give instructions to Poor Law inspectors to report as to the number of cases of phthisis there are in each workhouse visited by them; whether or not such cases are isolated; whether such cases are receiving special treatment, such as the open-air treatment, or in what way they are being treated as to diet, medicines and surroundings.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I propose to give instructions to the effect that each Poor Law inspector shall include in the report made by him after his ordinary inspection of a workhouse particulars as to the number of cases of phthisis there, and I am considering what further particulars on the subject should be added.

Squire v. M'Bride and Williams—Appeal.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has finally decided to sanction an appeal in the case of Squire, His Majesty's Inspector of Factories v. Messrs. M'Bride & Williams, of Belfast, turning on Section 2, Sub-section 1, of the Truck Act of 1896.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I decided, after careful consideration, not to appeal in this case, but to take another opportunity of raising the question of principle involved as to the form which a notice under the Truck Act, 1896, should take. As regards the particular firm in question, their solicitor informed the Factory Department on the 4th of May that they would have a notice posted in the factory in terms which are not open to the objections taken to the form in use when the prosecution was instituted.

Vacations of Lighthouse Keepers.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what is the length of the vacation annually granted to light keepers on islands situate at a distance from the coast of Ireland; and what arrangements, if any, exist on islands where there are two light keepers for the observance of their religious duty by the light keepers, there being no clergyman resident on the island.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) I am informed by the Commissioners of Irish Lights that—(a) Light keepers at island stations are usually granted a fortnight's leave annually; (b) where practicable, periodical boat trips and car trips are allowed to enable light keepers and their families from islands and outlying stations to attend places of worship on Sunday.

Licensing (Ireland) Act, 1902.

MR. O'DOHERTY: To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the remarks made by Lord Chief Baron Palles in delivering judgment in *The King (Dorrion) v. Greer*, commenting on an officer of the Inland Revenue constituting himself a Court of Appeal from the decision of the Recorder of Londonderry under the Licensing (Ireland) Act, 1902; and, if so, will he introduce legislation this session to remedy this state of affairs.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) In the case referred to, and also in previous cases, the licensing quarter sessions had granted certificates for new licences contrary to the provisions of The Licensing Act, 1902. These certificates were in each case a nullity, and the Inland Revenue official declined, with the approval of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, to act upon them. The King's Bench Division in refusing to issue a mandamus to the Inland Revenue to compel the issue of the licence upheld the action of the Inland Revenue, and the Lord Chief Baron's observations merely indicated that before the Revenue official declined to act upon the certificate the opinion of the Law Officers should be taken, which of course is the usual practice in any

doubtful case. The reply to the concluding inquiry is in the negative.

Salmon Hauling at Mouth of the Erriff River.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, whether he is aware that some six years ago the fishermen of Leenane, Glannagoolagh, and Bundorougha, in Connemara, county Galway, had a lawsuit with the Fishery Conservators to define the nearest limit up to which they could haul salmon from the mouth of the Erriff River, with the result that a Court of inquiry decided that salmon could be hauled at any point one statute mile from the river's mouth; and whether, in view of the fact that since that time the Conservators have never shown or defined a definite boundary, with the consequence that the fishermen are prevented by the owners of the Erriff fishery from hauling from one and a half to two miles from the river's mouth, thus depriving them of a portion of the best hauling portion of the bay, he will take steps to protect the interests of the fishermen from such action on the part of the owners of the fishery.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) Netting for salmon by the public is prohibited by statute within half a mile of the defined mouth of a river. The mouth of the Erriff River has been thus defined; but it would appear that an exclusive right of fishing is claimed by a proprietor in an area which extends further to seaward than the statutory limit; and that this exclusive right of fishing as against the public formed the subject of litigation some years ago and was upheld.

Irish Congested Districts Board's Fishing Boats at Malin Head.

MR. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the success of the three Tralee fishing boats sent by the Congested Districts Board to Malin Head on 18th May last for the purpose of testing the deep sea fishing off that coast, and for the purpose of training the fishermen of Malin Head in the more approved methods of fishing, and of the fact that on the 16th June one of these

boats caught up to £60 worth of herring, he will explain why the boats were taken away by the Board on 18th June.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The boats were withdrawn because the Board was advised that the summer herring fishing had practically closed, and also in consequence of the destruction of nets by dogfish, which had appeared in large numbers.

Woolwich Arsenal—Pay of Persons away through Injury.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will arrange that persons who are injured in the Arsenal at Woolwich, and who are detained in the Arsenal surgery by the medical officer, shall receive treatment and maintenance without deduction from their wages.

MR. CROOKS: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether all the men who have lost time suffering from shock in consequence of the recent explosion at Woolwich Arsenal will be paid in full their ordinary rate of wage; and, if so, will he issue instructions for them to be paid without undue delay.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) By the scheme of compensation certified by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies under The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, injured men receive half their weekly earnings while disabled, but workmen who were in the service when that scheme was introduced on 1st August, 1900, are allowed their full day-work rating under the former regulations. All workmen treated in the Arsenal surgery receive such treatment free; but those who get full pay while in hospital under the old regulations pay one shilling a day towards the cost of their food.

Military Works Bill—Date of Introduction.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War when the Military Works Bill will be introduced.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The Bill will be ready for introduction as soon as time can be found for it.

Trinidad Riots Commission—Date of Publication of Report.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing that the Royal Commission sent to investigate the Trinidad riots returned to this country a considerable time back, it would be possible to hurry the publication of the Report sufficiently to make sure that it should be in the hands of Members before the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.) I hope the Report will be ready for delivery to Members not later than the 22nd instant.

NAVAL WORKS[CONSOLIDATED FUND]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PREYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge) said that it had not been customary to make any statement on the introduction of this Resolution, but on the last two occasions on which the money Resolution had been brought before the Committee of Ways and Means, Questions were asked, and he understood it would be for the convenience of hon. Members that he should make a short statement on the general points affecting the Resolution on which there were any changes from former practice. He hoped hon. Members would defer general discussion of details until the Bill itself, which would be founded on the Resolution, came on for Second Reading. There were special reasons why he should take this departure from ordinary practice. There was a change in the form of the Resolution itself to which he wished to specially allude. That change was as to the method by which the money was to be borrowed. Under the Resolutions on which the Naval Works Loan Bills of 1895, and all those down to the present date were based, the money had always been borrowed for a term of thirty years dating from 1895. But it was evident that, under that principle, money which was now being borrowed, and still more the money which was to be borrowed in future years

over the long period which these words would cover, would be repayable in a very short term of years between the borrowing of the money and 1925. Therefore, it was a much more reasonable principle that the sums now authorised to be borrowed, if this Resolution was passed and by subsequent Resolutions in future years, should be repayable in thirty years from the date of borrowing. He also wished to state that protests had been made as to the growth of this loan expenditure, and as to the extension of the number of items which had been added since the original Bill was proposed. That had been engaging the attention of the Admiralty, which thought at this time to make some final proposal as to the items which should be embraced in this series of Loan Bills. Of course, it was impossible for the present Board of Admiralty to bind their successors or the Committee for all time—because unforeseen circumstances might arise—but so far as they could foresee it was the policy of the Admiralty that the items which were to be inserted in the Schedule to the Bill should be final. He must guard himself, however, by stating that the total estimated cost over the whole area of expenditure was not final. The House might be asked for a further sum in respect of the total estimate, on items already inserted or to be inserted in the Bill on this occasion, but it was, not proposed to insert any new items. The total sum which the House was asked in this Resolution to vote was within £4,000 of £8,000,000. That was arrived at in this manner. The total sum already voted on previous Resolutions was £13,750,000, and the total which would be voted if this Resolution was carried was £21,000,000, leaving £8,000,000 to be voted. The total expenditure would be just over £8,500,000. That extra £500,000 came out of the £13,750,000 voted in preceding Bills, £500,000 having remained unexpended. Of the amount of £8,500,000, £6,750,000 would be required for expenditure on the old items which had already been approved by the House; and £1,250,000 would be required for beginning the new items to be proposed in the Bill. The total estimated cost in the Bill was increased by about £4,000,000, but, as he had already stated, that would not be absolutely final. The total estimated cost for the whole area was £31,750,000.

Mr. Pretyman.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): That will still leave £10,000,000!

*Mr. PRETYMAN said that that was the total estimated cost of all the items, old and new, which would be included in the Bill; but it would be necessary as regarded some of those items, as to which details would be given on the Second Reading of the Bill, to propose some further expenditure which would increase the total estimated cost.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Does that include the expense of the finished items?

*Mr. PRETYMAN: Yes; that includes the whole area.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Do I rightly understand that the total cost will be, roughly, £31,000,000, and that of this sum £21,000,000, when we have voted this £8,000,000, will already have been provided for; and that therefore there will be another £10,000,000, to be provided for in the future?

*Mr. PRETYMAN said that was the case; but not in addition to the £31,000,000; in addition to the £21,000,000. There would be something further than that, which would be proposed later, but no new items. Supposing the total expenditure, including the Scotch naval base and all the new items which were now to be proposed, amounted to £40,000,000, that would be spread over twenty years, and amount to no more than £2,000,000 a year for the period during which the expenditure took place. Adding the average annual expenditure on works and maintenance generally, which was about £1,000,000 that would give an amount of £3,000,000 a year for naval works all over the world as actual expenditure for twenty years in order to carry out current needs and meet new requirements, and at the same time fill up the vacuum left by the great increase of the Navy in the form of ships, and the necessity of providing for these new ships dock accommodation, etc. He would state to the Committee the proposed new items. The first new item was for introducing into our naval establishments throughout the world, and that comprised nearly all of them, electric light and power. The second item was

for converting the present dockyard at Sheerness, where the docks were somewhat antiquated, and did not at present give their full value to the work of the Navy, into a special depôt for the large repairs of the entire flotilla of destroyers. That would be the destroyer base, so far as repairs were concerned, but not the strategic base for all the destroyer fleet at home. It was also proposed to construct a new torpedo range on the Medway, and to lengthen the torpedo range at Portsmouth. A new gunnery school was to be constructed at Trevel, Devonport. There were two considerable dockyard items. One was for increased dockyard accommodation at Chatham, as to which only a small sum was taken in the Bill to enable the work to be started. The final estimate would be before the Committee in two years time. Secondly, an item for the new naval base on the Forth at St. Margaret's Hope. There had been some misapprehension as to the name. The Admiralty called this new naval base, so far as the shore was concerned, Rosyth. Rosyth was to St. Margaret's Hope exactly what Portsmouth was to Spithead. St. Margaret's Hope was not the name of the land but of the anchorage, and Rosyth was the name of the barony, castle, farm, and therefore the name of the establishment proposed to be constructed would be Rosyth, and the anchorage of the ships would be St. Margaret's Hope. The last item, which was on a different basis from the others, was for coastguard reconstruction. That was proposed on purely financial grounds. At present a very large proportion of our coastguard establishments were rented. That created a great deal of trouble. The leases and tenures varied very much in character, and were constantly falling in. The rents were being perpetually raised, and great difficulty occurred as to the allocation of repairs as between landlord and tenant. He had most carefully gone into the financial aspect of this question, and he found that it was possible, without increasing the annual charge, which now fell upon the Votes, to take a capital sum under this Bill to be applied, in some cases, to the purchase of existing coast-guard stations now rented and which were suitable; and in other cases to buying sites and building new stations. The interest on that charge would be no

greater than the sum we were at present paying for short term and other tenures of coastguard stations. At the end of the time when capital and interest were paid off—he included capital and interest in that statement—the country would be the actual freehold owners of their coast-guard stations, and would have no more rent to pay. That seemed to him to be an ordinary business principle which anybody who had the capital would carry out, and he did not see why the country should not act upon it.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.):
What is the total cost of the Forth naval base?

*MR. PRETYMAN said that the sum taken would be £200,000 to cover the purchase of land and any necessary beginnings; but it was quite impossible to consider that as a final estimate. No final estimate could be given until the plans were presented. There was one statement in regard to Rosyth which he was in a position to give to the Committee. The total area of the land which had been acquired for the Rosyth base was 1,178 acres of dry land, and 286 acres of foreshore, making a total of 1,464 acres. The total price paid for the land was £122,500, and the present rental was £1,620. There was one point which was not as yet finally settled—viz., whether there was to be any special valuation of minerals in a part of the land, as to which there might possibly be some increased charge, though he hoped that might not be the case. That point was now under the consideration of experts. The area of land acquired would enable the Admiralty to provide not only for present but for future needs; and when the cost of the land per acre was compared with the cost of purchasing small quantities of land in existing dockyards, where civil and commercial interests had grown up, he thought the Committee would see that at any rate future generations, and even the present generation, would benefit largely by this extensive purchase. He did not desire to say anything more at present, but merely to lay before the Committee this bare statement of facts: showing the grounds on which this

Resolution was asked for. He hoped the Committee would vote the Resolution and defer detailed criticism until the Second Reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of such sums, not exceeding £7,996,000, as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising, in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by terminable annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the date of the borrowing."—(*Mr. Pretzman.*)

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he thought the novel feature of this Resolution was sufficient justification for the course adopted by the hon. Gentleman in the statement he had made. He did not propose to go into details, but he was quite sure that the announcement made that day would be received with satisfaction by the Committee and the country—viz., that this was to be a final Bill; that no new items would be added to the list of works to be provided for by means of loans. Seeing the enormous development of this system from its humble beginnings in 1895, it was gratifying to know that there would be no more additions to the Loans Works, and that when they got this Bill off their hands they would have seen the last of them. With reference to the financial novelty of extending the borrowing powers, his own impression was that, considering how largely they had been throwing burdens on posterity this year and last year in connection with military expenditure the Government should have been very well content to have brought the whole of this expenditure to an end in 1925, according to the original scheme of the Naval Works Bills. He did not commit himself at all to approval of the course proposed in that respect. As to Rosyth, he did not understand what the hon. Gentleman meant when he said that plans would be exhibited. As far as he knew, no plans were yet in existence.

Mr. Pretzman.

*MR. PRETYMAN said that charts and maps had been issued.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he understood that was as far as the Admiralty had proceeded at present. The hon. Gentleman omitted to make any reference to the most important thing in connection with Rosyth, and that was what sort of a naval establishment it was to be, and what precisely was to be its character. It was said in the Report that it was found necessary to have another naval establishment, and that Rosyth had been selected. But what was to be the exact nature of that establishment? Was it to be a manufacturing dockyard or a housing dockyard? Was it to be a place like Dover or Portsmouth? That had an important bearing on the annual cost, which was a very serious element in the situation. One of the most important matters in connection with Rosyth was what was to be the annual cost which this naval establishment, unlike most of the other works in the Bill, would involve after it was completed. They were done with expenditure in other cases after the principal and the interest of the loan had been repaid; but, in this case, after the establishment was erected there would be an establishment of men and a certain amount of money would be wanted every year for its maintenance. The hon. Gentleman might be able to tell the Committee what was the intended scope of the proposed establishment; and what the financial cost per annum of its maintenance would be, when completed. The only other item to which he would allude was that which referred to electric lighting in the dockyards. It required serious consideration as to whether it was right to put the cost of installing electric light into a Naval Works Bill. It was a policy to which he for one was not prepared to commit himself. He did not intend to offer any opposition whatever to the Bill. He understood from the First Lord of the Treasury the other day that the Second Reading would be taken on Wednesday; and he would ask, if before then any further information beyond the statement of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, would be laid before the House of Commons.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he wished to respectfully congratulate his hon. friend on his very clear statement, as far as it went; but he did not follow him in his suggestion that it would not be convenient to debate his proposals now. He desired to take advantage of the present occasion to put some very general considerations before the Committee with reference to the choice of the new naval base in the Firth of Forth, and its general strategic position. First of all, he would say that the statement of his hon. friend had a very serious financial side to it. They had already borrowed £20,000,000 for naval works; they were now asked to add another £8,000,000; and the hon. Gentleman told the Committee that they would be asked to add another £10,000,000; and, in all probability, yet a further £10,000,000. The consolation which the hon. Gentleman offered—and he seemed to think it was a consolation—was that although he proposed that further expenditure dated from to-day yet there was to be no increase in the items. He himself confessed that, considering the enormous financial burdens which were being placed on the country, he would rather have been told that the sum now asked for would be final, rather than be told that the sum was not final though the items were. He was beginning to be quite appalled at the manner in which burdens were being laid upon the country. There was to be an indefinite number of millions for Irish land; an indefinite number of millions for Morgan subsidies; nearly £30,000,000 for naval works; and other sums in every direction were being put on the country. It almost made him sometimes believe that His Majesty's Ministers did not know the difference between £1,000,000 sterling and a £5 note. It was really a very serious matter, but he would not dwell upon it now. First of all, he would say that he entirely disagreed with the hon. Gentleman opposite who suggested that he had some doubt as to the advisability of introducing electric light into the dock-yards.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he referred only to the inadvisability of

introducing such work into the present Bill.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he could well understand that the cost of introducing electric light would be so great that he could not think anything could be more proper in a Bill of this kind. If they had electric power in the dock-yards it could be switched on and off and great economy could be effected. The only objection that would be entertained to it would be by members of dockyard constituencies when they found a large number of men discharged, their places being taken by electric power. The other matter on which he wished to congratulate his hon. friend was the purchase of coastguard stations. That was an exceedingly proper thing to do. It was an ideal thing to be put into a Bill of this kind; and, in fact, it was the only ideal thing that was connected with this method of raising money. He wished he could say that of the other works mentioned in the Bill. He wished to place before the Committee what he thought was a matter for the gravest consideration with regard to the new naval base. The hon. Gentleman opposite asked what sort of a naval base it was to be. He could not conceive any doubt in the matter. He imagined—he spoke subject to correction—that it would be nothing less than a Portsmouth or Plymouth; and until his hon. friend corrected him, that was the assumption on which he would argue. There was, of course, another and a secondary kind of naval base, which was extremely useful—a jumping-off place which might be established in the Scilly Isles or in the Orkneys. He always deeply regretted that he had not been able to induce His Majesty's Ministers to establish secondary naval bases where ammunition, coal and rations could be kept, but where there would be no repairing facilities. He regretted that such bases were not established in the Scilly Isles and in the Orkneys. The establishment of a naval base in the Firth of Forth, as was now proposed, was a matter of extreme importance, because it was one of the most important acts of strategy, properly so-

called, that could be taken by any Government. It was upon the choice of naval bases, the spots where the fleets were to be centred, where ships were to be brought for repairs if injured in action, that the exercise of the power of this country in time of war would depend; and, therefore, it was of the most essential importance that those bases should be chosen properly. To his mind, this country was already provided with the right places, and only places it wanted. The long line of 600 miles from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe represented the naval front of Europe towards England. In the centre of that line was Calais; and if a perpendicular line were drawn from Calais it represented the battle coast of England and Scotland. The line from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe was the only line that this country had to deal with; and it was dealt with most admirably by the present establishment at Chatham for that part of the line which extended from Calais to the mouth of the Elbe, and by the establishments at Portsmouth and Plymouth for that part of the line which extended westward from Calais. Having laid down that broad principle, he would ask permission to read two extracts from that great strategic authority, Captain Mahan. The first was—

“The geographical position of a country may not only favour the concentration of its forces, but give the further strategic advantage of a central position and a good base for hostile operations against its probable enemies. This, again, is the case with England: on the one hand she faces Holland and the northern Powers, on the other France and the Atlantic. When threatened with a coalition between France and the naval Powers of the North Sea and the Baltic, as she at times was, her fleets in the Downs and in the Channel, and even that off Brest, occupied interior positions, and thus were readily able to interpose their united force against either one of the enemies which should seek to pass through the Channel to effect a junction with its ally.”

The other short extract he would read was as follows—

“If in addition to facility for offence, Nature has so placed a country that it has easy access to the high sea itself, while, at the same time, it controls one of the great thoroughfares of the world's traffic, it is evident that the strategic value of its position is very high. Such again is, and to a greater degree was, the position of England. The trade of Holland, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and that which

went up the great rivers to the interior of Germany had to pass through the channel close by her doors.

That was the case to-day, and all that trade still passed our doors. The position was the same to-day as it was a hundred years ago and as it would be a hundred years hence. The strategic position of England for naval purposes was probably unmatched in the world. The naval doors in this country were always open and were almost incapable of being closed by a hostile fleet. The conclusion he had arrived at was this—that if they drew a straight line from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe, and a perpendicular line from that line, in Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth this country had not only every naval base it required, but the best that were to be found in any part of these Islands, for acting on the coast of Europe. Chatham was nearer to Belgium, Holland and Northern Europe than the Firth of Forth was. There was no part of the northern coast of Europe to which Chatham was not as near as the Firth of Forth, and, as regarded most places, it was nearer. The advantage was in keeping this country's fleets in positions from which they could concentrate, and, therefore, in his opinion it was a mistake to make a great naval repairing base on the Firth of Forth. What ought to be done was to make secondary naval bases, one in the Orkneys and one in the Scilly Isles. The effect of establishing a great naval base at Rosyth would be that the squadron stationed there would be separated from the greater part of the other naval armaments of the country, if ever a naval combination were formed against this country. He considered that strategy to be entirely false. He had ventured to give the Committee the general principles of what he conceived to be the true strategy to be adopted.

The principal point the Committee had to consider was that the £200,000 now asked for was not to be the total sum. It would involve the expenditure of millions upon millions in the construction of new docks, new arsenals, and new workshops, and further millions for the maintenance of them when they were there. He had thought over the matter with considerable

anxiety. His own belief was that a great mistake had been made; and that it would have been very much better to increase the accommodation they now had in what he considered to be the unmatched naval centres at Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth, rather than to establish a new naval base at Rosyth. No doubt this matter of high strategy was one which it was presumptuous for a person like himself to deal with. Nevertheless, he had given a great deal of consideration to strategic questions, although he put forward his views with the diffidence which became him. He wished to ask whether this new naval base and its establishment was, as a strategic question, submitted, considered, and decided upon by the Defence Committee—he meant the new Committee of Defence instituted by the present Government about a year ago. That Committee of Defence was very far from being perfect. He was conscious of its defects, and it seemed to him to be very imperfect indeed. But, at any rate, it was the only body they had in this country competent to deal with strategic questions. He should like to ask the hon. Gentleman definitely whether the question had been considered by the Defence Committee and whether in the Second Reading of this Bill the House would have the advantage of the presence of a member of that Committee to defend this plan on strategic grounds. He would not vote against the Motion; but he was opposed to the enormous and largely increasing burdens which were being placed on the country; and he expressed his very serious doubt as to the strategic value of the proposed new naval base.

MR. BUCHANAN said he wished to put a few questions to the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. The hon. Gentleman stated what the new items were and he should like to know what the items were in the existing Act for which the Estimates had been considerably increased. Those details were given in previous Naval Works Bills. In 1901 the Controller and Auditor-General reported that the total estimated cost of new works was something like £2,000,000, and the total amount of the increased Estimates for existing works

was also £2,000,000. He could not follow some of the hon. Gentleman's figures as to the future expenditure. It was now apparent, as many of them had foreseen, how the system of Naval Works Bills had increased hand over hand and had become more and more expensive every year. When the practice began the expenditure was only £1,000,000 per annum. Then it went up £2,000,000 and then to £3,000,000 and now this Bill was calculated on the basis of £4,000,000. That was an enormous sum for the Admiralty to borrow in the course of its ordinary year to year transactions. Then the hon. Gentleman called attention to an alteration as regarded the terminable annuities, and said that instead of being paid off in 1925 they would run for thirty years. He agreed with his hon. friend the Member for Dundee in thinking that that was an alteration which should be fully considered. It was an alteration which did not commend itself to him, and he viewed with the utmost distrust the continual use of the borrowing powers of the Government for objects which did not appear to him to be suitable for the exercise of such powers, but which should be paid for out of the annual Estimates. Some of the items mentioned in the Bill did not seem to him to be matters which should be regarded as capital expenditure. His hon. friend alluded to the installation of electric lighting in the dockyards. He should imagine that that might be paid for out of the annual Votes. As regarded the following three items he was not sufficiently acquainted with naval affairs to express an opinion, and therefore he would suspend his judgment. There was, however, a very large and substantial financial alteration in the Bill to which his hon. friend had already alluded—the form of the Bill had been altered considerably. There was no estimate given of the total cost of Rosyth.

*MR. PRETYMAN said that £200,000 would be inserted.

MR. BUCHANAN said that the hon. Gentleman was much better acquainted with the facts than he was, but he thought it was in the recollection

of the Committee that Column I of the previous Naval Works Bill conveyed to the House of Commons what was the total estimated cost of the works which were in process of construction. As far as he gathered from the statement of the hon. Gentleman, the Committee had received no intimation as to the estimated total cost of Rosyth. In the early days of those Bills they always contended that the Military Works Bills should conform to the Naval Works Bills because the latter gave the House of Commons very important information as to the cost of the works, but apparently the House of Commons was not to enjoy for the future the information as to the amount of their commitments on naval works. As far as he understood the hon. Gentleman, they would only be able to learn from year to year and by degrees what was to be the total cost of the new naval works, especially the two most important works—Keyham dockyard and the new naval base in the Firth of Forth. As he understood that the Second Reading of this Bill was to be taken immediately after the Irish Land Bill had passed through Committee, he thought they should have the fullest possible information given them on the present occasion.

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead) said he desired to congratulate the hon. Gentleman upon the statment he had made. The Bill was said to be final, but he knew of no finality when they were dealing with Government requirements. He thought the hon. Gentleman would have done better to have kept that word out of his speech. He agreed with the policy of installing electric light and power in the dockyards. The Admiralty would save a great deal of money by adopting that course, and they might long ago have stopped the wasteful burning of coal by adopting electricity for purposes of power. He hoped all the principal machinery in the dockyards would each have its own motor attached to it, so that it could be run without interfering with other machines. He quite agreed with the necessity of making Sheerness a torpedo-destroyer base. It was eminently suited for that and for nothing else. The Government had been building sloops there to keep

the place going. Then with regard to torpedo ranges that was also a necessity. In regard to Chatham dockyard he had visited it last week and was surprised at the cramped condition of the dockyard. The Admiralty had no room to do the work. It was essential that there should be extension there. In regard to the new naval base at Rosyth. Scottish people did not like that name. The historical associations of the place were linked with the other name, St. Margaret's Hope. But they were quite proud and glad as Scotchmen to think that the Admiralty had at last awakened to the necessity of giving back to Scotland something of what they had taken from her in bygone years. He thought the Government would be wise to establish an arsenal at Rosyth. He did not agree with the Member for King's Lynn. But if they were to make an arsenal at Rosyth he hoped it would be a proper one. The place was eminently suited for an arsenal, and it ought to be established at a minimum cost. They had deep water there, and he hoped they would have plenty of docks—large docks. He appealed to the Government not to make it a mere repairing factory, but to lay down works so that ships might be built there if required. The place was in the centre of a coal district, and in the centre of an iron district. The Admiralty could get its armour plates delivered there at very little cost, much less than they were paying for the carriage of these plates to the southern dockyards. He quite understood that the Admiralty could not yet give information as to the probable cost of the new establishment. Until the plans were drawn and the quantities taken out it was impossible to give even an approximate estimate. Alluding to the remarks of the hon. Member for King's Lynn he said it was all very well for Captain Mahan to say what Britain did in bygone days with her fleets down in the south. But it must be borne in mind that this is the steam age. Vessels from the Baltic might reach the coast of Scotland in twenty-four hours. If we had a naval engagement in the North Sea, what would happen if our ships had to go down to Portsmouth or Chatham to be mended? The proper thing to do

Mr. Buchanan.

was to have a base in Scotland, so that in the event of a battle in the North Sea, damaged vessels could put into the Forth and get Scotchmen to put them right again and ready for sea as quickly as possible. He hoped the new base would be a credit to the Admiralty. He hoped it would be thoroughly up-to-date in every particular, and that every appliance, every tool, every machine, would be of the most modern type. With regard to the land, he thought the Government had got it very cheaply. It had only cost about £80 an acre. They had made a very good bargain. He thought the proposal to purchase the coastguard stations a good stroke of business. He congratulated the Admiralty again upon the course they had taken in regard to Rosyth. They required more docks. Their present docks were all congested. They had to send their ships to private yards to be repaired, and were running up bills year by year for repairs. They would find it would be cheaper in the end to have such a place as was contemplated constructed on modern lines. He hoped the new dockyard would be built and equipped in the most modern style, and that it would be not only a credit to the Admiralty, but also of great value to the Empire as a whole.

*MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) said the speeches dealing with the new naval base ought to be divided between its economic and strategic value. While he had great respect for the opinion of the hon. Member for King's Lynn, who examined these subjects so studiously, he was bound to say that if the Council for National Defence had decided that Rosyth was a reasonable position for a new naval base, he was satisfied. He could not doubt that it would be more economical to build a dockyard at the new base at Rosyth than to enlarge the dockyards in the south where land was so much more expensive. He congratulated the hon. Gentleman on the steps that had been taken, and would support the Resolution before the Committee.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said the decision of the Admiralty to establish a naval station in Scotland had given great satisfaction. The great object of the Admiralty was

the development of the national system of defence, and the economical spending of public money. The question divided itself under the heads of strategy, and efficient and cheap construction. As regarded strategy, it was no doubt unfortunate that the matter had not been considered by a regularly working and properly constituted Committee of Defence, but the country had considerable confidence in the direction of naval strategy by the Admiralty, and there would not be any general disposition to question the wisdom of the determination to have a naval base in the north. The same remarks would apply to the question of the convenience of any selected station for repairs. These were mainly matters for experts, and in the main the country would have to be guided by the experts' advice. With regard to construction, however, they might be permitted to have an opinion. The manner in which shipbuilding naturally gravitated to the north of England and Scotland, showed that construction was more economically conducted there than in the south. The shipbuilding yards in the south would not have been very considerable apart from the Government establishments. There was always a considerable amount of waste in the older establishments—though he admitted that great efforts had been made for some time past to inculcate economy, and to bring those establishments up to date—and he conceived that in laying out a perfectly new station in a country where construction was conducted most economically, there would be a great opportunity to reduce the cost of construction for the Admiralty as a whole. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would say whether this station was to be a real constructing base. Such an object could be secured, either by having the proper docks and construction arrangements on the spot, or by carrying out the project of connecting the east and west coast by a deep-water canal. He shared the view that the construction Votes left the Committee somewhat in the dark as to the real amount of the expenditure on the Navy. They reminded him of the extraordinary Budgets of foreign Powers, and he thought it would be much better if the country could know from year to year

the exact cost of the Navy, including the amount spent on construction. As a matter of fact, the sum was nearer £40,000,000 than the amount which appeared on the Navy Estimates.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) said that from an Imperial point of view, apart altogether from the question of strategy, the Government were to be congratulated upon their decision to establish a naval station in Scotland. As far as the building and repairing of ships was concerned, no more economical site could have been secured, seeing that it was in close proximity to skilled labour and raw materials. Enormous sums had to be paid for the carriage of plates to the establishments in the south, in addition to other expenditure, which would be practically avoided in connection with this new station. The Admiralty had acted wisely in taking plenty of land, as frequently Departments of State took too little to begin with, and then, when it was necessary to extend the works, huge sums had to be paid for additional land, the very existence of the Government establishments having largely increased the value of the neighbouring property. He did not altogether agree that the land had been secured very cheaply. There were 1,200 acres, of which the rental was £1,600, and the price the Admiralty had paid was £122,000, figures which seemed to support the view of those who urged the taxation of land values, because the rental was a very small item compared with the land value claimed from the Government. He asked whether the Admiralty possessed an open mind on the question of connecting the east and west coasts by canal. This site would be rendered much more valuable as a naval base if that could be done, as it would then be in touch with the great shipbuilding yards of the west coast.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the debate rather showed the inconvenience of making any statement at all at the Resolution stage of these matters. There might be advantages in so doing, but there was clearly one disadvantage—viz., that whereas, if he brought in a Bill which included such a question as that of

the new dockyard at Rosyth, it would have been his duty to explain exactly the grounds on which it was proposed; the present stage was not the occasion on which to do that, and it was somewhat inconvenient that Members should be put in the position of having to discuss such questions without having had placed before them any reasonable arguments in favour of the proposals. He therefore thought the old practice of making no statement at all was the better one in that respect.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES dissented.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the hon. Gentleman's experience extended over a longer period than his own, but certainly in regard to the present series of Works Bills, which went back only to 1895, the uniform practice had been to make no statement. He would defer going into details until the Second Reading of the Bill, when he hoped to place a reasoned statement before the House, but one or two Questions had been asked, in reply to which he might say a word. He did not think strategists would agree with the hon. Member for King's Lynn that the only road from the Baltic and the North Sea was through the English Channel. He doubted whether under the new tactics it was desirable to be quite as near the enemy's coast as it was under the old conditions. He did not propose to go further into that question. He agreed with the remarks made upon both sides of the House as to the advantage which this naval base site would have from the point of view of construction. His hon. friend had asked whether the strategical question had been considered by the Defence Committee. This matter was fully considered and had been decided upon before the new Defence Committee was constituted, but every member of the new Defence Committee was fully aware of the nature of this proposal, and every one of them concurred in it. It had also received most careful consideration from the naval advisers of the Admiralty. With regard to the Question asked by the hon. Member for Perthshire, he might say, without going into details, that the total amount of increase upon the whole items was £4,000,000, and of this total £2,500,000 was due to the new items and £1,500,000

Mr. Munro Ferguson.

for old works. With reference to the increase in the annual expenditure, the hon. Member opposite had remarked upon the fact that, during the first beginnings of spending under these Acts, the sum spent in a year was at first £1,000,000, and it had grown first to £2,000,000, then to £3,000,000, and now it was £4,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire, who was responsible for this system, defended it on the ground of equalising the expenditure over a series of years. If these works had been undertaken and placed upon the annual Votes, they would have been very uneven, and one year the expenditure might have been £1,000,000 and another year £2,000,000, and some years £3,000,000, and even £4,000,000 in individual years. The expenditure was small when the work was first begun and when it was finished, but during the intervening time the expenditure was large, therefore they must have increasing and decreasing expenditure. Therefore, though the expenditure varied largely from year to year by this Act that varying expenditure was converted into an even method of payment, and that was one of the main reasons why this system had been adopted. The hon. Member had stated that he considered that the electric lighting should have been placed on the Votes, and not on this Bill at all. He thought that was a very reasonable observation to make, but he would see that when a great work of this kind was to be undertaken it was very desirable to treat it as a whole, and deal with it upon a comprehensive basis. It would be hard on any one year to place upon it this large item, and on those grounds it appeared to him to be more reasonable to put it in the Loans Act. He trusted the hon. Member for Lanark would excuse him not following him into detail upon the question he had raised, because he hoped to make a full statement upon the Second Reading of the Bill. He hoped they would be able to get to the Report Stage on Monday, and then the Bill would be printed and distributed. By Friday next he thought they might be in a position to take the Second Reading. He thanked hon. Members on both sides for the very favourable reception they had given to

these proposals, and he hoped further discussion would be deferred until next Friday.

Resolved, That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue out of the Consolidated Fund of such sums, not exceeding £7,996,000, as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising, in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by terminable annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the date of the borrowing.—(*Mr. Pretyman.*)

Resolution to be reported upon Monday next.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), further considered.

Proceedings resumed on Amendment proposed [23rd June] to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word 'any,' and insert the word 'every.'"—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'any' stand part of the Bill."

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.) said the reasons which led him to suggest and support the making of the Bill obligatory upon local authorities seemed to him to be still conclusive. On the Second Reading of the Bill he pointed out to the Home Secretary the inconvenience of having in two adjacent localities a different state of the law with regard to these matters. He was sorry that his right hon. friend was not able to be present during the discussion of the Bill in Grand Committee. He himself maintained in Grand Committee, and he still maintained, that if a Bill of this kind was to be satisfactory they must make the administration uniform. If they took two adjacent towns like Manchester and Salford, it would be found that they would raise an enormous amount of hostility to the authority which put this Bill into force if the other authority

did not do the same thing. They would raise in the minds of people who did not come under the law a sense of injustice which was most undesirable, and a feeling which was not, at all events, for the well-being of the community. If there was any class of legislation that ought to be made compulsory on the local authority, it was that class which affected the well-being of the people, and for these reasons he thought that it would be much more satisfactory if the law were made compulsory instead of permissive. In Grand Committee his hon. friend the Under Secretary stated certain objections to this course. He pointed out that they might have a local authority making and submitting for the approval of the Home Office ridiculous by-laws which the Home Office would not sanction, and in that way the Department would be put into a position of conflict with the local authority. He admitted there was some force in that argument. It was above all desirable that local authorities should look upon the Departments with which they had to deal rather as their friends than their masters. That argument had some weight with him, but he felt, on the other hand, that it would be a weapon against such a course being adopted by the local authority, inasmuch as public opinion would not be likely to support the local authority making, if he might use the expression, fools of themselves, for that was really what they would be doing. That, however, was not the argument which had led him to take the course he was going to take on this particular Amendment. He understood from inquiries he had made among those who were interested in the Bill, that there was an absolute opinion that unless this Bill was to be permissive there was to be no Bill at all. If that was the case he, for one, was not prepared to risk the Bill for a principle which he thought was very vital, but not absolutely essential. There was this to be remembered, if the Bill was passed in an unsatisfactory form — and he thought it would be passed in an unsatisfactory form if made permissive, and the local authorities did not make use of it throughout the country—they would have an even stronger argument than

Mr. Galloway.

they had to-day for making it compulsory when they afterwards proposed to have it amended in that direction. In the matter of the regulation of child labour, he could not suppose that this House would allow any abuses of the law to be perpetrated by local authorities without requiring the Home Office, or some Department to see that these abuses, were dealt with. He very greatly regretted that his right hon. friend would not give way on this point, but as it was absolutely a choice between having no Bill at all, or having it permissive, he would, notwithstanding the vote he gave in Grand Committee, and the opinion he still held on the matter, give his vote against the Amendment.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) hoped it was not a choice between a permissive Bill and no Bill at all. That was not the opinion expressed upstairs.

MR. GALLOWAY said he did not state that it was the opinion expressed upstairs. He said that was what he understood from inquiries he had made.

DR. MACNAMARA hoped the hon. Member's inquiries would turn out not to be well-founded. Upon Clause 2 which raised large conflict in Grand Committee they got the word "shall" introduced by a majority of two. At another stage of the Bill and on another Clause a large majority got the word "may" inserted. They might compel the local authorities to make by-laws, but they could not compel them to carry them out. He reminded the House of what had been the experience in connection with the Education Act of 1870. By that measure it was enacted that local authorities "may" make by-laws, in respect of attendance at schools. Many authorities did not make by-laws and the result was that by the Act of 1876 it was enacted that they "shall" make by-laws. They would have to make two bites of a cherry in this matter also, unless they made the matter compulsory now. If they made it a statutory obligation that local authorities "shall" make by-laws, these by-laws might not be, in the first instance, thoroughly carried out, but

the result eventually would be that local authorities would carry out their obligation. He thought the Home Office was a little timorous in dealing with this matter. This Bill was about eighteen months old, and public opinion had gone ahead of it a long way. The Departmental Committee was quite clear in recommending that certain regulations which were not very exiguous should be laid down. Another recommendation of the Committee was that the local authorities "shall" make by-laws. The mere obligation of making by-laws would develop a conscience on the part of the local authorities. He would suggest as compromise that the Home Office might take away the controversial words "any" or "each," involving as they did "shall" or "may." He had not a shadow of doubt that if they passed the clause in that form the local authorities would feel it to be their duty to make by-laws and carry them out.

SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) hoped that the House would leave the matter free for the exercise of discretion by the local authority. He had looked into the statutes which authorised the framing of by-laws, and he found that with the single exception of the Education Act of 1876, these matters were left open and at the discretion of the local authorities. The Municipal Corporations got power in 1882 to make by-laws regarding matters of local government, and similar powers were conferred by the Local Government Acts. They had been found to be fully efficient. The fact was that they could not drive local authorities which had to act according to public opinion. If public opinion favoured such by-laws they would be adopted, but if public opinion was against them they would not operate in so favourable a manner. He had reason to know that difficulties in connection with the Vaccination Acts were recurring on account of the endeavour to force local authorities in that matter. There was also another difficulty. They could not compel an authority which had discretion in a matter to act according to an opinion other than its own. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was an absolutely moorland district, they did not need to have the same by-laws

as in large towns. It was quite clear that the by-laws must vary in different parts of the country, and any attempt to build up a uniform system would be utterly impracticable, and disappoint those who wished to carry out this useful legislation. He felt quite sure that in this matter of the employment of children, as in all other matters, it was necessary to proceed carefully and cautiously. They must at once guide public opinion, and not go too far in advance of it. Steady, continuous pressure of public opinion on the local authorities would be far more efficient in the case of education than drastic measures on the part of a central authority.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said that the question whether the by-laws should vary was quite a different matter from the question whether it should be the duty of all authorities to make by-laws. He understood the legal view to be that, in practice, the word "may" was equivalent to "shall"; but if the Government would accept the Amendment standing in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University, no doubt would remain as to the duty of the local authorities to make by-laws. That would get over all the difficulty.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said he was in favour of the word "may." An hon. Member had spoken very slightly of local authorities, but he did not pay any attention to the instance which the hon. Member had given in connection with the Act of 1870, because the authority referred to was not a representative body at all. He believed there had never been an occasion in which it was necessary to coerce *bonâ fide* representative authorities. They could not go in advance of public opinion, and he believed that as soon as the Bill passed into law, all the local authorities, who were always on the watch for new legislation, would make by-laws if they considered them necessary, and if they did not consider them necessary no compulsory clause would induce them to make by-laws. The Departmental Committee reported that they did not propose that the making of

by-laws should be compulsory on local authorities, and that it was possible that some local authorities might not make by-laws, or only make them for certain employments. That was a very sensible and practical recommendation; and he trusted that the Government would adhere to the word "may" and not accept "shall."

*THE UNDER SECRETARY TO THE HOME OFFICE (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.) said that ostensibly this was a drafting Amendment, but a more important question lay behind it, viz., whether the Bill should be optional or compulsory. His view was that it was not advisable to run any risk of setting up a conflict between the local authorities and the central authority. The better way was to persuade local authorities as far as possible to adopt the Bill. If the Bill were made optional at the beginning, he had no doubt the result would be such that the necessity for compulsion would not arise. On the other hand, if the Bill were made compulsory, some local authorities might take up an attitude hostile to it, and fail to carry out its provisions properly. In that case the central government would be powerless. They could bring their horse to the water, but they could not make him drink. During the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife recommended that the matter should be left to local option, as it would be extremely difficult to lay down rules for the whole country when the local conditions varied so much. He agreed with that argument, and he thought it should have some weight with hon. Gentlemen opposite. As to the practical point, the Department with which he was associated intended to send a circular round to the local authorities calling attention to the Bill and the powers which could be adopted under it. He was not prepared to accept any Amendment which would give the Bill a compulsory character.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) said he was opposed to the Amendment, on the ground that the local authorities should be trusted to exercise their discretion. Some of these authorities

might only be willing to make by-laws applicable to some occupations.

Mr. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said that he was anxious not to delay the Bill, and he was conscious that it would be futile to take the division after the statement of the hon. Gentleman, which he greatly regretted. The House, however, should remember that the Government was reversing the decision arrived at by the Committee upstairs. He begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) moved—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out the word 'shall,' and insert the word 'may.'"—(Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas).

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS moved to omit Sub-section 2 of Clause 2—

"No licence for street trading shall be granted to girls under sixteen years of age, nor shall any girl under sixteen be engaged in street trading without a licence."

In order to insert the following new sub-section—

"(2) The local authority, in making by-laws under this section, shall have special regard to the desirability of preventing the employment of girls under sixteen in places or under conditions prejudicial to morality."

He said this sub-section was carried in Committee by twenty-one votes to eighteen, and he had moved this Amendment in order to meet the views of those who, like himself, wished to regulate the street trading of girls below the age of sixteen, but did not wish to prevent their trading altogether. He thought it would be better to allow the local authorities to frame by-laws in regard to this matter than to adopt a general regulation. In many towns with which he had personal acquaintance it was the custom for farmers to supply

milk direct to the inhabitants, and to send it in by girls in the morning. He would be sorry to see so useful an employment stopped, and hence he would leave it to the local authorities to make such regulations as would be in the interests of the girls. That would be preferable to laying down a hard and fast line by general law. There was a desire on both sides to place some limitation on street trading by girls, without absolutely prohibiting it in all cases. Some of them would like to see it stopped in the case of all girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age, but he was going as far as possible towards meeting that desire by moving this Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, to leave out lines 10 to 12, and insert the words 'The local authority, in making by-laws under this section, shall have special regard to the desirability of preventing the employment of girls under sixteen in places or under conditions prejudicial to morality.'"—
(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said the right hon. Gentleman must have dwelt so long in the sweet security of the Home Office that he could not be aware of what was going on in the London streets. He was told by lady friends that it was impossible for a young girl, if she was in any way attractive, to walk through the streets without being spoken to in the most inconvenient and insulting way by men who spent their whole time hanging about the streets for the express purpose of annoying young innocent girls. In the interest of these young girls he should strongly oppose this Amendment, because he believed that it would make matters worse rather than better. He was unable to understand what was meant by suggesting that they would be driving the girls to worse methods. Surely because a girl could not obtain employment on the streets, she did not necessarily become a prostitute. Undoubtedly young girls who traded in the streets were exposed to great physical and moral danger. Let them consider for a moment what the condition of

those girls was. They were reaching the most delicate and critical period of human life—the period of puberty, when sexual passions were beginning to work in their systems. That was what rendered this street employment most dangerous. And the physical danger was equally as great as the moral, for it was an age when exposure to inclement weather was most likely to lay the seeds of consumption, and to undermine their constitutions, while long and late hours were calculated to stunt their growth and their physical development. He did not want to labour the point, but he was bound to say he would prefer to raise the age of prohibition up to seventeen or eighteen rather than to lower it.

SIR FRANCIS POWELL said he thought the right hon. Gentleman had found a happy solution of a most difficult problem. This matter had been inquired into by a Departmental Committee which received some most careful and thoughtful evidence. It was also discussed at great length by the Standing Committee on Trade, and though there was some feeling in favour of entirely prohibiting street trading by girls under sixteen years of age, they were driven to the conclusion that this was one of the cases in which it was the duty of Parliament to regulate rather than to prohibit. These girls commenced the battle of life under most difficult circumstances, and he felt in this case, as he did in the case of young children employed in theatres, that it was no kindness to them to close every avenue of employment. The evidence laid before the Departmental Committee on the subject was highly valuable. The whole tenor of that given by the witnesses from Liverpool and Manchester was that the labour of these young people ought to be regulated and not forbidden. This was a difficult subject to consider in the House of Commons, for they really must consider what would happen to many of the girls if they were not allowed to pursue these avocations. Many assisted their parents, who were costermongers—a useful and homely if not very elevating employment—and among the labours of Lord Shaftesbury none were more successful

than those which had for their object the raising of the condition of the costermongers. Let any hon. Member spend an hour one Saturday afternoon in a street in which costermongers plied their calling, and they would see how young girls assisted in the sales under their mother's eyes. As a rule they were honest, industrious, and properly conducted, and he for one would be sorry to see their calling interfered with, for if they were not engaged in work of this kind the probability was that the young girls would be exposed to far greater dangers, and their condition would be worse than it now was. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the solution he had offered and hoped that the House would unanimously adopt it.

*MR. TENNANT said that with him it was a question, not of "some limit," as the Home Secretary had put it, but of absolute and definite prohibition. He could not agree that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman would conduce towards the result which he believed the whole House had sincerely at heart. The hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire had told them it would be better to prohibit street trading by girls up to the age of seventeen or eighteen, and the proposal embodied in the Bill was really a compromise between the views of those who held that the restriction should be upon much older girls and those who were against restriction. The Lord Mayor and Chief Constable of Birmingham both stated that they desired to see the restriction of street trading by girls up to the age of eighteen or nineteen, and it was urged that the danger was greater to a girl of eighteen than to one of sixteen years. But the House was accustomed to do things by steps—it did not like to "go the whole hog" at once. Again, if they wanted to keep the streets clear of girls up to the age of eighteen, they must, before they arrived at that age, teach them some decent calling, or give them some training for an occupation which they could pursue, and if they allowed them to trade in the streets up to the age of sixteen they deprived them of the power of learning any industry. He would like to quote a point or two from the Blue-book, even at the risk of the

displeasure of the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues. The Chief Constable of Liverpool said—

"I think in the case of girls it is a considerable danger to them; they come so utterly to the bad in street trading."

Sergeant Lloyd of Liverpool spoke in the same terms, and was in favour of entirely prohibiting it. Councillor McCabe of the Watch Committee and the Chief Constable of Manchester both considered prohibition desirable. Mr. Russell, of Manchester, Mr. Thomas, manager of a Home in Liverpool, Mr. Lord, the headmaster of a board school in Manchester, were all against street trading. Mr. Burke, Chairman of the Liverpool Schools Committee, said—

"It utterly unfits them for any other form of employment."

There was a good deal more evidence to the same effect. Indeed, as the Chief Constable of Birmingham said—"once a street trader always a street trader," and if they allowed these young girls to go into the streets at this delicate age, they denied to them the opportunity of being taught the means of earning a livelihood. The majority of street traders developed into loungers, loafers, and thieves.

Upon the question of the future of these girls he would like to bring to the notice of hon. Members the Report of a Committee appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1902: Mrs. Tolerton said—

"437. '... Street trading for girls is very bad for the formation of their characters and their habits. A girl, if she is to get work ... must have a certain training which the street is entirely opposed to. ... They object to the restraint of domestic life.'

"439. 'Do you make any distinction between girls trading by themselves and girls with their mothers?' 'It all depends on the character of the mother. I have known cases of children trading with their mothers who were very much demoralised.'"

"441. Asked whether she thought street trading might be so regulated that girls might trade in the streets without very great danger. 'No, I do not. I say that even with your regulations you would only reduce the danger.'

Many societies had made it their business to investigate this subject most thoroughly, and had memorialised the House of Commons or sent resolutions to hon. Members. The Committee on

Wage-earning Children had gone into the subject with an energy which commanded the admiration of all of them, and had reported strongly in favour of the Amendment which originally stood in his own name on the Paper. The Christian Social Union, the Glasgow Charity Organisation Society, and the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children were in favour of the retention of Sub-section 2, Clause 2, and the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board were equally anxious that that particular provision should be passed into law. They state—

“They are specially pleased with the proposed exclusion of girls from trading in the streets.”

There was, too, in its favour, a resolution passed by the “Women’s Co-operative Guild,” representing 16,000 working women. The School Boards of the great cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow had both petitioned in favour of his proposal. The Glasgow School Board state—

“That they are strongly opposed to the Amendment standing in the name of the Home Secretary as interfering with the usefulness of the Bill. It is their hope that the sub-section may be left as it is or in the form now proposed by Mr. Tennant as a new clause.”

And might he suggest to hon. Members who were not in favour of woman suffrage, that on them rested a peculiar obligation to listen to the voice of women on this subject, expressed in the only manner in which they could express it by memorialising Parliament. This was, indeed, a most important question, and as proving its gravity and urgency, he would like to remind the House that the Chief Constable of Birmingham in his evidence said that of 713 boys and girls who were found trading in the streets in March, 1901, 458, or nearly two-thirds, had been prosecuted for various offences within the previous six months—115 for felony, and 185 for gambling. What was it they were seeking to do? They were not disturbing trade by the position they were taking up; if they were disturbing anything it was vagrancy, which was daily productive of such serious consequences in the streets. As to the proposal of the Home Secretary, how could they “have special regard to a desirability,” and who was to be the judge of what were

“conditions prejudicial to morality?” The right hon. Gentleman was casting on the local authorities a most invidious task, and one which they would rather not have. The protection the right hon. Gentleman was going to offer to these poor girls was of a shadowy and nebulous character. The House now had a great opportunity of securing a reform, the fruits of which might be reaped in the lifetime of many of them. As there was an opportunity so was there a corresponding responsibility, and he appealed to hon. Members to realise their responsibility, and to remember that the young girls in whose interests they were asked to legislate were the mothers of future generations of Englishmen, on whose shoulders would devolve the destinies of this great Empire.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) agreed that there was an overwhelming weight of testimony in favour of the total prohibition of street trading by young girls in the crowded streets of cities, and particularly in the Metropolis. But those who were in favour of giving effect to that opinion were placed by the present Amendment in an extremely difficult position, because the clause as it stood at present was in the wrong place in the Bill. The only effect of the clause as it stood would be rather to discourage the making of any by-laws at all relating to street trading. If a local authority thought fit to make no by-laws girls as well as boys might still trade in the streets; but if they wished to make by-laws the effect of this clause was to compel them to make by-laws excluding young girls from trading in the streets. That might very well discourage some local authorities from acting. He thought that they would all assent to take this sub-section out of Clause 2, and when that had been done they could put it in its proper position. It was mischievous rather than useful in its present position and did not carry out the desire of the hon. Member for Berwickshire. The substitution which the right hon. Gentleman proposed would do no harm, but, on the other hand, he did not think it would do much good; it was one of those benevolent aspirations after better things which sometimes found their way into

Acts of Parliament, but which had no force of law and did not very much improve matters. What really ought to be done would be to insert some provision in Clause 3 (General Restrictions on Employment of Children). There stood upon the Paper one in the name of the hon. Member for Berwickshire which he would have been disposed to vote for, and if the hon. Member would move, as a sub-section to Clause 3, that no girl under sixteen should be allowed to trade in the streets, except in accordance with a special by-law passed by the local authority, he would support him.

*MR. TENNANT: On a point of order. If the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman now under consideration is carried, would it be in order for me to move this in Clause 3 as suggested by the right hon. Gentleman?

*MR. SPEAKER: If Clause 2 stands as it is now, or if the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman now under consideration is carried, the House will have affirmed that under certain circumstances street trading by girls under 16 is legal, and therefore the Amendment of the hon. Member for Berwickshire to Clause 3 would be out of order.

SIR JOHN GORST: But if the House were to omit Sub-section 2 as proposed by the right hon. Gentleman other words could be put in, and then it would be open to the hon. Member to move them on Clause 3.

*MR. SPEAKER: Yes, if the Question "that these words stand part of the clause" is decided in the negative, and if also the proposal of the Home Secretary is negatived, then it will be open to the hon. Member to move his Amendment on Clause 3.

SIR JOHN GORST said he would strongly urge the Home Secretary to allow the words here proposed to be omitted to be negatived, and not to press for the insertion of the words which had been proposed, so that it would be open to them on Clause 3 to insert a sub-section dealing with the matter. He should be most favourable to the entire prohibition

of street trading on the part of young girls, provided that such prohibition were confined to streets in populous places. He thought there would be considerable danger in making the prohibition so wide that it would include the case of girls in country towns who sold milk, or flowers, or fruit in the market place, a kind of trading to which there was not only no objection, but which he could conceive to be an extremely desirable employment for children on Saturday afternoons.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he hoped the Government would settle this matter now, because the proposition now was to put it on to the next clause where the provision was a statutory one. He heartily agreed with his hon. friend with regard to the necessary employment in country districts of girls under sixteen years of age, but the Home Secretary had met that point in the Bill in a manner in which it could not possibly be met in any other way. They all sympathised with the sentiments expressed by the hon. Member for Berwick, but they must be careful, lest in aiming at perfection in one locality they inflicted hardship upon other localities. The vice and difficulty of the Bill was that while a part of it referred to the big towns other parts referred to the country outside the big towns, and, in his opinion, unless they were very careful they would injure the rural districts where numbers of girls were engaged in selling milk or vegetables. From the wide character of the definition clause, every girl under fifteen might be shut out from employment, and, owing to the penalties placed upon employers, this would practically prevent their employment in agricultural districts. In that way they would be harassing and persecuting the poor people in country districts whose condition they would like to see improved, but they must take things as they were and treat them as they were. [AN OPPOSITION MEMBER: And let them remain as they are.] No, the Gentleman who said that had apparently not had so much experience of the country districts as he possessed. In some districts they saw children under sixteen selling programmes; in others, children of from

twelve to thirteen offering books about the birthplace of Shakespeare — poor children, taking home a few pence to the household. Were they going to put an end to that? Well, he would not. He knew what value a penny or two-pence was to a poor family. He advised the House not to try, by Act of Parliament, to override the miserable exigencies of poverty.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said he did not propose to follow the right hon. Gentleman into the many topics on which he had descanted. At one period, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman appeared to him to approach perilously near to the one prohibited topic, the topic which was apparently in everybody's thoughts, but to which they were not allowed in that House to make more than the vaguest reference.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Do not make fun of a serious subject.

MR. ASQUITH said he wished to reinforce the appeal made by the right hon. Member for Cambridge University—that at this stage they should deal only with that part of the Amendment which, he thought, would have universal assent—the proposal, namely, to omit these three lines, and that they should leave over till the third clause the discussion of the prohibition of this kind of labour and the conditions attaching to that prohibition. He made that appeal in no contentious spirit, because he could not see that the words proposed to be inserted would have any practical effect whatever. To say that the local authority in making by-laws should have special regard to this thing or that thing was merely to offer a kind of Parliamentary advice for which there was no sanction, which every local authority was perfectly entitled to disregard, and which there was no reason to believe local authorities would feel themselves in any way constrained to follow. It was surely better to deal with the matter by laying down a general rule applicable to the country at large, and by then considering, as he himself was prepared to consider with a thoroughly open mind, whether or not certain relaxations should be introduced in order to give local

option to particular places in the matter of exemptions of particular trades. He therefore strongly appealed to the Home Secretary to be content for the moment with the omission of these lines and to leave the general discussion over till the third clause.

*MR. COCHRANE said his right hon. friend proposed that the decision should be taken on the present Amendment, for an obvious reason. Section 3 made certain provisions compulsory on the whole country, but the framing of by-laws by the local authority had now been made optional. As the Bill at present stood, they had a general enactment that no girl under sixteen years of age should be allowed to trade in the streets. Now it would very likely happen that just those local authorities within whose area such trading was no evil at all, and who would wish to make an exception in favour of it, would have taken no steps to frame any by-laws, and would have to draw up a complete set for this particular purpose. Therefore, his right hon. friend considered that the present was the right occasion on which to come to a decision on the general question. What was the real point at issue? They all agreed that street trading was undesirable, but that was as far as they liked to go. After all, many of these girls had to earn their own living, and he entirely disputed the contention that in every case street trading was undesirable. In many cases these girls were exceedingly respectable. Were they to make it impossible for a girl under sixteen years of age to assist her mother in keeping a fruit stall in the street? He asked the House to consider what they were doing. What they really desired was to prevent these girls from engaging in street trading as a cover to something evil—walking about, for instance, in docks or public places in the great cities where it was obviously undesirable that girls should be engaged in trading or should be able to make their trading an excuse for going to. They could not lay down a general provision to deal with the question—they must in these cases leave the matter to the local authorities, who understood the situation. There was something to be said as

regards girls under eighteen years of age, but girls under sixteen were already very stringently protected by the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He did not want to labour the point, as it was one upon which most people had already made up their minds. The plain fact he desired to point out was that they must leave it to the local authority to make by-laws restricting the power of these girls to engage in street trading.

MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea) said if the Home Secretary had taken the advice of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University the House of Commons might have had an opportunity for legislating to-day for the overwhelming bulk of cases of street trading. They might have ruled out the very few instances of rural trading which the hon. Member for Bordesley had in his mind when he made his eloquent but irrelevant speech, but the Home Office had decided not to adopt the sensible course, and the result was that while the House of Commons was extremely anxious, as was shown by the voting upon this Bill when it was before the Grand Committee, to prohibit altogether street trading for girls under sixteen years of age, they were denied the opportunity of doing so. In this case they were going to give local option to the local authority to make by-laws; they were going to give local authorities under this Bill power which had been denied to them in the matter of regulating half-time labour which was made universal, and in the matter of the factories which was also made universal. This ought not to be left to the local option. This Bill ought to be made universal to save these children from temptation in the streets, factories, or workshops. The speech of the Under Secretary for the Home Department supported that view, because he had stated that all street trading was undesirable for girls of under sixteen years of age, and the reasons which underlay that speech were reasons that should compel the House to provide means of preventing it. The hon. Member had quoted the costers, but in the case of the costers, the fathers and mothers sold fruit or flowers in the streets, and possibly the big brother was there also, but the girl was at home

Mr. Cochrane.

looking after the little ones, and to the coster's credit be it said he kept her there. They would not find a coster girl in the docks, and if found in the docks she would be much safer there than selling flowers round the beautiful statue of Gilbert, or in Piccadilly Circus selling flowers and listening to the libidinous conversation of the gentlemen who purchased. He could not help being a London boy, and when he went to Victoria, Charing Cross, and Liverpool Street stations, and saw the girls subjected to these temptations, he held they had no right to allow them to be subjected to the risk of them. What was that risk? He would quote the chief constable of Birmingham. He would go to Birmingham for his facts, and would quote the chief constable of Birmingham because he knew more about this case than all the House of Commons put together. His duty took him into the streets night and day, and he had great sympathy for these girls. He said of the 713 boys and girls who were found selling in the streets in March, 1901, two-thirds of the entire number had been prosecuted for various offences; that 115 had been prosecuted for felony, and 185 for gambling. That reflected a picture of street trading which ought to be rendered impossible between this and ten years hence. The Chief Constable of Nottingham was of opinion that girls under sixteen should be prohibited from trading in the streets at all, but the hon. Member for Bordesley thought that if that was made compulsory, injustice would be done in a few cases. If there was one class of labour which had an opportunity of obtaining better and more moral work and more highly remunerative work than any other, it was girls between fourteen and eighteen, as was shown by the great dearth in domestic service, in café and restaurant service, and in factory work. There was no argument to be applied in support of the few trades touched upon by the hon. Member for Bordesley except the view that there was a disposition in the House of Commons to over-legislate for certain classes of people. He could understand that argument being applied to the case of adult men and women in certain circumstances, but these children were absolutely defenceless and were

subjected to temptations to which they had no right to be subjected. He represented a district, mainly working-class, of which a large number were street traders, both men and women, and he ventured to say if their view were expressed in this matter, they would vote in favour of girls under sixteen being prohibited from street trading altogether. In these days, when they heard so much of the deterioration in the physique of the people, in these days when the House of Commons was sympathetically considering how the future men and women should be reared under better circumstances than the present, he might suggest that the best way to get healthy children of the future out of healthy mothers was to save the girls of to-day—the potential mothers of the future—from the temptations which surrounded them in street trading, which was not needed; that being so, they should prohibit it for girls under sixteen years of age as a general rule, and if the House desired to except such trades as the sale of milk and vegetables in the villages of the rural districts they could do so by another clause in the Bill.

*SIR J. STIRLING MAXWELL (Glasgow, College) said he felt very strongly opposed to the proposal put into this Bill by the Grand Committee, and was glad that the Government had decided to take it out. It struck him that the hon. Member for Battersea had argued his case entirely from the condition of things in London and Birmingham, and while he listened he could not help wondering why the power of local authorities to make by-laws could not meet this case. He did not think that local authorities would fail to deal with this subject if they had the power to deal with it. It seemed to him, that in this kind of legislation there was one thing they overlooked. The House ought to bear in mind that, if they overstepped the line which divided what was necessary from what became tyrannical, they would incur the danger of bringing the whole of this class of legislation into discredit. In his opinion this provision overstepped that line, and therefore he should vote against it.

DR. MACNAMARA thought there was some obscurity of view as to what was street trading. He doubted whether the delivery of milk would be regarded as coming within the definition. In any case, the definition was confined to large towns ["Oh"]—and there was no reason why that should not be made clear. All were agreed that there was more objection to girls trading in the streets of big towns, particularly at night, and he would suggest the adoption of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University that all towns of, say, over 20,000 inhabitants should be scheduled as places in which such trading was prohibited. In small towns and villages the force of public opinion was more direct, and there were not the dangers that undoubtedly attended such trading in populous centres. The testimony from all the large towns was in favour of prohibition, and he hoped that, before they reached Clause 3, some agreement would be come to by which licences would be forbidden to girls under sixteen in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants.

MR. SEELY (Lincoln) said the House were practically agreed that street trading by girls under sixteen should be stopped in the big towns, but that to prohibit it in smaller places might cause a certain amount of hardship. Under these circumstances he suggested that the clause should be dropped, and the Amendment of the Home Secretary not inserted. It was said that the provision was intended as a finger-post for the local authorities. He was not in favour of finger-posts in Acts of Parliament, and the voting on this clause would probably act as a finger-post in the wrong direction. If the clause were now omitted, provision could be made in Clause 3 for permitting, under proper safeguards, street trading by girls under sixteen.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) regretted the Home Secretary would not allow this matter to be discussed on Clause 3, as it was really a question of whether or not there should be absolute prohibition. Whatever limitations were necessary or desirable

could be imposed upon the general restriction, and the case of the small towns or rural districts would thus be met. By universal consent, street trading was a dangerous course of life for children to follow; it prevented them getting regular occupation, it cultivated habits of carelessness and idleness, and it contributed annually a large proportion of the juvenile offenders who were convicted. *Prima facie*, therefore, street trading was a pursuit which should be discouraged. This was a matter in which the House ought to be influenced largely by the weight of the authorities who knew the actual condition of things with regard to the dangers and temptations which beset these children, and, going by their opinion, he thought the House ought to introduce something more stringent than the timorous advice which this Amendment would give to the local authorities.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he could not accept the suggestion that they should postpone the discussion on this question until Clause 3. To do so would be to entirely upset the principle on which the Bill proceeded. He had pointed out, over and over again, the object and the value of the voluntary principle, and he must oppose the suggestion that this point should be made compulsory and be dealt with in Clause 3. He did not suppose that the local authorities would fail to make proper by-laws, and those authorities knew best what was good for the children in their districts. He could not therefore accede to the appeal made to him on general grounds. If he did so they would only have a longer discussion on the point on Clause 3, and probably lose all chance of passing the Bill this session.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR said that inasmuch as Clause 3 was mandatory, the present point was the place in which any provision such as that suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University should be inserted. He believed the Government desired to go as far as they could in the direction of preventing street trading by children without inflicting the hardships to which reference had been made. He suggested the insertion of words to the effect that "no licence for street trading shall be granted to girls under sixteen years of age unless the exceptional conditions of the locality seem to require it."

Question put, and negatived.

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

DR. MACNAMARA thought the words "streets or public places" were much preferable to the words "places or conditions prejudicial to morality," and he moved their substitution.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said that being anxious to get on with the Bill, he would accept the Amendment.

Proposed Amendment to the Bill amended, by leaving out the words "places or under conditions prejudicial to morality," and inserting the words "streets or public places."—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question put, "That those words as amended, be there inserted in the Bill."

The House divided:—Ayes, 178; Noes, 98. (Division List No. 138.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Atkinson, Right Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manch'r*)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christch*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, Col. H. F. (*Middlesex*)
Ball, William James

Buxton, Sydney Charles
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ.*)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (*Derbyshire*)
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. A. Wore
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Right Hon. Jesse

Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Croesley, Sir Navile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimesdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Jos. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin

Mr. Bryce.

Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Ed.
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
French, Peter
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (*Elgin and N'n*)
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gore, Hn. G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby- (*Linc*)
Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Grant, Corrie
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hogg, Lindsay
Horner, Frederick William
Houlst, Joseph.
Hutton, John (*Yorks, N. R.*)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (*Glasgow*)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (*Monm'th*)
Lawson, John Grant (*Yorks. N.R.*)
Lees, Sir Elliott (*Birkenhead*)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.

Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Dorsetham*)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (*Bristol, S.*)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lucas, Col. Francis (*Lowestoft*)
Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
Macdonna, John Cumming
McArthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
McAlmont, Colonel James
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (*Wigt'n*)
Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
Moore, William (*Antrim, N.*)
More, Robt. Jasper (*Shropshire*)
Morgan, Hn. F. (*Monm'thsh.*)
Morrill, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robt. Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (*Bute*)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
Myers, William Henry
Nolan, Col. John P. (*Galway, N*)
O'Brien, P. J. (*Tipperary, N.*)
O'Doherty, William
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Walter E.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretymian, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Rattigan, Sir William Henry
Redmond, William (*Clare*)
Reid, James (*Greenock*)
Remnant, Jas. Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George

Ridley, Hon. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
Ridley, S. F. (*Beithmal Green*)
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
Sadler, Col. Saml. Alexander
Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (*Romford*)
Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, E.*)
Smith, James Parker (*Lanarks.*)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (*Chichester*)
Taylor, Austin (*East Taunton*)
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (*Taunton*)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. R.*)
Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (*Bath*)
Wrightson, Sir Thomas

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Alexander Acland-
Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, William (*Rhondda*)
Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbt. Hy.
Bagot, Capt. Joceline FitzRoy
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Brigg, John
Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Right Hon. James
Burns, John
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (*Carmarthen*)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (*Cardigan*)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.

Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (*Leith*)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
Harnsworth, R. Leicester
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B'tside*)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred

Jones, David Brynmor (*Swansea*)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Lambert, George
Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
London, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (*Fermanagh, N.*)
Morley, Charles (*Breconshire*)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Newnes, Sir George
O'Kelly, Conor (*Mayo, N.*)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Pease, H. Pike (*Darlington*)
Pirie, Duncan V.

Reid, Sir R. Threshie (*Dumfries*)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Rigg, Richard
 Robertson, Edmund (*Dundee*)
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Russell, T. W.
 Samuel, Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Shaw, Charles E. (*Stafford*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.

Sinclair, John (*Forfarshire*)
 Sullivan, Donal
 Taylor, Theodore C. (*Radcliffe*)
 Thomas, F. Freeman (*Hastings*)
 Thompson, Dr E. C. (*Monagh'n N*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W.R.*)
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Wallace, Robert
 Wason, Eugene (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)

Weir, James Galloway
 White, Luke (*York, E.R.*)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Chas. H. (*Hull, W.*)
 Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)
 Younger, William
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir John Gorst and Mr.
 Tennant.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 34, to leave out Sub-section 7."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of the sub-section, to the word 'shall,' in line 35, stand part of the Bill."

DR. MACNAMARA said he hoped the Home Secretary would agree to leave in those words and insert some modification in the sub-section which would be agreeable to the House. After a child under fourteen had been at school twenty-seven and a half hours a week, it ought not before and after school hours to be allowed to work more than twenty-five hours a week. One-third of the children who worked out of school were employed for more than twenty-five hours a week. He was prepared to modify the sub-section in order to provide that it should not apply to children who worked in a factory or workshop, because their case was met by other legislation.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said the objection to this sub-section was that it had been found impossible to carry out a similar regulation in the administration of the Factory Acts, because a weekly limit of hours could not be enforced. Also the limit of twenty-five hours would interfere with work under the Factory Act, as the half-timers worked from twenty-seven to twenty-eight hours, and, in some cases, thirty hours one week and twenty-five hours the next. Moreover, he was informed not only by agriculturists, but also by the Agricultural Department, that this sub-section would have a serious effect in the agricultural industry. He

thought the best course would be to omit the whole sub-section.

Question put, and negatived.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (*Somersetshire, S.*) moved to add at the end of Sub-clause 1 the words, "provided it is proved that such person is aware of the age of such child." He said he wished to safeguard persons who employed children who were apparently over sixteen years of age, but, in fact, under sixteen. Very often a boy who might look sixteen years of age was often not more than thirteen or fourteen. In case a farmer employed a boy upon the statement of his father or mother or guardian that he was sixteen years of age, that farmer ought not to run the risk of the penalties proposed by this section. He was very anxious to see the Act put into force, but innocent people should not be fined in this manner, and the consequence of this course would be that local authorities would refuse to put the Act into operation. He thought there would be the greatest disinclination on the part of English County Councils to put this Act into force unless it was made clear that those employing children on the strength of the statement of their parents or guardians ran no risk at all. At the present time there was great difficulty in the way of getting children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, and if they put more restrictions in the way of people employing those children the difficulty would be increased. With the view of making the Act work more smoothly, he begged to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 3, line 23, at the end of Sub-section (1), to insert the words 'Provided that it is proved that such person was aware of the age of such child.'—(*Sir Edward Strachey.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said the Amendment had only just been placed in his hands, but as far as he had been able to consider it, he did not think it was necessary. It had not been found necessary in other Acts, and he did not see why an exception should be made in the present Act. He would, however, consult with his experts, and if it was necessary, and not exceptional, he would consider its insertion in another place. His own opinion was that it was not necessary.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY said he would accept the assurance given by the Home Secretary, and he asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said the proposal contained in Sub-section 2 might lead poor people whose children were at work during the day into a great deal of trouble. He wished to restore the words which appeared when the Bill was first drafted. It was not advisable to mix up the crime of work with the crime of cruelty or bad treatment. This was quite a different offence to that of parents being charged with cruelly neglecting their children.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 3, line 25, to leave out from the word 'sixteen,' to the word 'he' in line 27, and insert the words 'causes or knowingly permits a child to be so employed.'—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said the effect of this Amendment, would be

practically to restore the clause to its original form. The clause was amended in this way after considerable discussion, and as it stood it was more effective, and in substance differed very little from the word, suggested by his right hon. friend.

MR. GALLOWAY thought the Home Secretary might agree to insert the word "knowingly," which was originally in the Bill.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said that in order not to take up further time he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said the next Amendment standing in his name on the Paper was merely a drafting Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 27, after the word 'liable' to insert the words 'on summary conviction.'—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS moved to leave out Sub-section 4, which provided that in lieu of ordering a child to be sent to an industrial school the Court might order the child to be taken out of the charge or control of the person who actually had the control or charge of the child, and committed to the care of some fit person who was willing to undertake the same until the child reached the age of sixteen years. Here it was proposed to take a child out of the control of the parent and send it to some other person to take care of it. That meant that if children violated the by-laws connected with work the parents were liable to lose them. That was a very strong order. A Departmental Committee had already reported that interference between parent and child for anything short of cruelty would produce worse evils than those it attempted to remedy. For cruelty and bad treatment they had ample provision already under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Acts,

and therefore this provision was absolutely unnecessary. Having regard to the fact that there was power to send the child to an industrial school, which was, in his opinion, a strong enough power, he did not think the additional provision was at all necessary. It was an interference with parental authority which this House ought not to sanction, and he would ask the Government whether they were not creating fresh crimes rather rapidly. Although the surroundings of some of the poor people were not what they ought to be they did their best. Fancy a charwoman going out to work, and upon returning home finding her child taken away from her and sent to someone else to look after, and she would be obliged to pay so much a week towards its maintenance! If a parent thrashed or starved a child they had ample power to deal with the offence under the Cruelty to Children Acts, but if a parent broke a by-law through letting a child go to work it was not the same kind of crime, and ought not to be punishable in any circumstances by depriving parents of their children.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 3, line 34, leave out Sub-section (4)."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'provided,' in line 40, stand part of the Bill."

* MR. COCHRANE replied that this provision, which was inserted in Grand Committee, created no new crime. A child was often more offended against than offending, and all the sub-section did was to give power to the magistrate, if he saw fit, to place the child in the care of an uncle or aunt, sister or grandfather, if such person was willing to undertake the charge, instead of committing the child to an industrial school.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Government to introduce similar proceedings into the houses in Belgravia. He asked permission to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Jesse Collings.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 40, to leave out the words 'Provided that,' and insert the word 'and.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 13, at end, to add the words '(2) Where an employer is charged with any offence under this Act he shall be entitled, upon information duly laid by him, to have any other person whom he charges as the actual offender brought before the Court at the time appointed for hearing the charge, and if, after the commission of the offence has been proved, the Court is satisfied that the employer had used due diligence to comply with the provisions of the Act, and that the other person had committed the offence in question without the employer's knowledge, consent, or connivance, the other person shall be summarily convicted of the offence and the employer shall be exempt from any fine. (3) When it is made to appear to the satisfaction of an inspector or other officer charged with the enforcement of this Act, at the time of discovering the offence, that the employer had used all due diligence to enforce compliance with this Act, and also by what person the offence had been committed and also that it had been committed without the knowledge, consent, or connivance of the employer, and in contravention of his order, then the inspector or officer shall proceed against the person whom he believes to be the actual offender in the first instance without first proceeding against the employer.'"—(*Sir Francis Powell.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS moved an Amendment with the object of preventing officers of the local authority from entering private dwelling-houses. He said this was a new clause which was introduced in Grand Committee, and it appeared to him that it would give power to any police officer to enter any poor man's house where children were suspected of being at work at a time when they ought not to be employed. That was a very great power to confer on a police officer, and he thought it would be very hard on poor people in this country that they should be harassed to death, not on account of any crime, but because,

perhaps, they might be keeping their children up knitting or sewing. If he could get a teller he would tell against this proposal. It was a farce in these circumstances to call a poor man's house his castle. The Prussians had a proverb "Poverty is no crime, but it is ten times worse." This country was tending towards the adoption of that idea in its legislation. To be poor was an offence in the eyes of some. He wished they could do away with poverty and its sad incidents, but, while they had it, let them not turn poverty into a crime or ten times worse. They would never propose such legislation for the dwellings of any other class of people. He moved—

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 17, after the word 'place,' to insert the words 'not being a private dwelling-house.'"—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he could not accept the Amendment. He entirely sympathised with the view of the hon. Gentleman with regard to a man's house being his castle, but what were they going to do? Were they going to prevent an officer who was armed with a magistrate's warrant from entering a dwelling-house where the Act was being contravened?

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet) said it appeared to him that this was a specimen of legislation of the grandmotherly kind. Apparently the State was going to assume the entire responsibility of bringing up families. He thought legislation of this kind was entirely contrary to the general opinion of the country. Every man ought to be master of his own house, and so long as no crime was being committed in it no one should have a right to go into the house without his consent. He strongly deprecated this ridiculous proposal, and he thought the Committee should set themselves against this grandmotherly system.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR said he quite understood the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division, and the right hon. Gentle-

man the Member for Thanet. They defended the right of an Englishman to do as he pleased in his own house. That claim would include the right of a man to thrash his wife, to starve and sweat his children and sweat other people's children in his own house. The supporters of the Amendment sympathised with the poor no doubt, but he did not believe that what they proposed was an intelligent method of securing that the children who would be the next generation of adults should not be sweated. He was very glad that the Government had not given way on this matter.

MR. GALLOWAY said if the previous Speaker had known the two hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House longer he would not have cast aspersions upon them. The Amendment went very much further than he thought was desirable. It would, in fact, prevent the carrying out of the Act where it was well known offences were being committed. He asked whether the words in the clause were the best that could be put in to carry out the object in view. He was sure it was not the intention of the Government, or of his right hon. friend the Home Secretary, to injure the Bill, but the words seemed to carry the matter further than was intended. While there should be absolute power given for the carrying out of the Act, he did not think every local authority should get power to obtain from a magistrate an order for an officer to enter a dwelling house because the authority might have the idea that the law was being broken.

LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE (Wiltshire, Cricklade) said if the hon. Member for South-West Manchester had been longer in the House he would not have been guilty of the discourtesy of implying that his hon. friend the Member for the Radcliffe Division had cast aspersions on the Members for Thanet and Bordesley. In former years the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Thanet had often charged the right hon. gentleman the Member for Bordesley with supporting grandmotherly legislation. It was a touching spectacle—although it had its comic side—to see these two right hon. gentlemen now sitting together on the same side of the

House reproaching others with a desire to introduce grandmotherly legislation. With regard to this particular Amendment the Home Secretary had pointed out that if it was accepted it would destroy the value of the Bill. Clause 7 was one on which the whole Bill turned, and if the Committee refused to give power to have the warrant of a magistrate executed inside a dwelling-house where children might be employed, they would reduce the whole of this legislation to an absolute farce. He was very glad

that the Home Secretary had made up his mind to resist this Amendment.

*MR. TENNANT said there were three trades which were carried on extensively in the home, namely, file-cutting, match-box making and brush-making. He should certainly support the clause as it stood.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 15; Noes, 252. (Division List No. 139.)

AYES.

Bond, Edward
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
Flower, Ernest
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hope, J. F. (*Sheff., B-side*)
Horner, Frederick William

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Long, Col. Chas. W. (*Evesham*)
Lowther, Rt. Hon. Jas. (*Kent*)
Nolan, Col. J. P. (*Galway, N.*)
Plummer, Walter R.
Robinson, Brooke
Tully, Jasper

Whitmore, Charles Algernon

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Jesse Collings and
Mr. Powell-Williams.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allan, Sir William (*Gateshead*)
Atkinson, Right Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (*Manch'r*)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (*Christch*)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bowles, Col. H. F. (*Middlesex*)
Bowles, T. G. (*Lynn Regis*)
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (*Shropsh.*)
Brown, Geo. M. (*Edinburgh*)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Right Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Bull, William James
Burns, John
Caldwell, James
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. (*Glasg.*)
Campbell, J. H. M. (*Dublin Univ*)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V C W (*Derbysh.*)
Cecil, Evelyn (*Aston Manor*)
Channing, Francis Allston
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. T. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas

Corbett, T. L. (*Down, North*)
Craig, Charles Curtis (*Antrim, S*)
Craig, Robert Hunter (*Lanark*)
Cranborne, Viscount
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (*Glasgow*)
Crossley, Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (*Cardiff*)
Davies, M. Vaughan (*Cardiff*)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Edwards, Frank
Elbank, Master of
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Evans, Sir F. H. (*Maidstone*)
Evans, Saml. T. (*Glamorgan*)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Ed.
Ferguson, R. C. Murro (*Leith*)
Ferguson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (*Man'r*)
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fitzerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Furness, Sir Christopher
Fyler, John Arthur
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest

Garfit, William
Gibbe, Hn A. G. H. (*City of Lond*)
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (*Londonderry, S.*)
Gore, Hn G. R. C. Ormsby- (*Salop*)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (*West Ham*)
Groves, James Grimble
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gunter, Sir Robert
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (*Londondy*)
Hardie, J. Keir (*Merthyr Tyd*)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harnsworth, R. Leicester
Hatch, Ernest Frederick G.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Sir Alexander
Hermion-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hogg, Lindsay
Houlst, Joseph
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, John (*Yorks. N. R.*)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
Kennedy, Patrick James
Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (*Denbigh*)

Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice.

Labouchere, Henry
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Law, Andrew, Bonar (*Glasgow*)
 Law, H. Alex. (*Donegal, W.*)
 Lawson, John Grant (*York, N.R.*)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (*Cornwall*)
 Leigh, Sir Joseph
 Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
 Levy, Maurice
 Lloyd-George, David
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erakine
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (*Bristol, S.*)
 Lonsdale, John Brownlee
 Lough, Thomas
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowther, C. (*Cumb. Bisdale*)
 Lucas, Reg'd J. (*Portsmouth*)
 London, W.
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (*Liverpool*)
 Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
 McArthur, Charles (*Liverpool*)
 McCalmont, Colonel James
 Majendie, James A. H.
 Manners, Lord Cecil
 Mappin, Sir Fredk. Thorpe
 Markham, Arthur Basil
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E. (*Wigt'n*)
 Maxwell, W. J. H. (*Dumfriessh.*)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Mitchell, William (*Burnley*)
 Moore, William (*Antrim, N.*)
 More, Robt. Jasper (*Salop*)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (*Monm'thsh.*)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Mowbray, Sir Robt. Gray C.
 Murnaghan, George
 Murphy, John
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (*Bute*)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (*Bath*)
 Myers, William Henry
 O'Brien, P. J. (*Tipperary, N.*)
 O'Doherty, William

O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Palmer, Walter (*Salisbury*)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Partington, Oswald
 Pease, H. Pike (*Darlington*)
 Pemberton, John S. G.
 Percy, Earl
 Pirie, Duncan V.
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Price, Robert John
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Raach, Major Frederic Carne
 Ratcliff, E. F.
 Rattigan, Sir William Henry
 Reid, James (*Greenock*)
 Reid, Sir R. Threshie (*Dumfries*)
 Rennant, James Farquharson
 Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
 Benwick, George
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Hn. M. W. (*Stalybridge*)
 Ridley, S. F. (*Bethnal Green*)
 Rigg, Richard
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John H. (*Denbighs.*)
 Roberts, Samuel (*Sheffield*)
 Robertson, H. (*Hackney*)
 Roe, Sir Thomas
 Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
 Roper, Colonel Sir Robert
 Round, Rt. Hon. James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, T. W.
 Rutherford, John (*Lancashire*)
 Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
 Samuel, Harry S. (*Limehouse*)
 Samuel, Herbt. L. (*Cleveland*)
 Seely, Chas. Hilton (*Lincoln*)
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles E. (*Stafford*)
 Shipman, Dr. John G.
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (*Romford*)
 Smith, Abel H. (*Hertford, N.*)

Smith, Jas. Parker (*Leamers.*)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (*Strand*)
 Spear, John Ward
 Stanley, Edw. Jas. (*Somerset*)
 Stanley, Lord (*Lancs.*)
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Jn. M.
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strachey, Sir Edward
 Stroyan, John
 Taylor, Austin (*East Toxteth*)
 Taylor, Theodore C. (*Roadcliffe*)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thompson, Dr. E. C. (*Monagh'n N*)
 Thomson, F. W. (*York, W. E.*)
 Tomlinson, Sir Wm. E. M.
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Valentia, Viscount
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (*Sheffield*)
 Wallace, Robert
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Warde, Colonel C. E.
 Wason, E. (*Clackmannan*)
 Wason, John Cathcart (*Orkney*)
 Weir, James Galloway
 Welby, Lt. Col. A. C. E. (*Taun'tn*)
 White, Luke (*York, E. E.*)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, A. S. (*York, E. E.*)
 Wilson, Chas. H. (*Hull, W.*)
 Wilson, John (*Durham, Mid*)
 Wilson, John (*Glasgow*)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (*Bath*)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wrightson, Sir Thomas
 Yerburch, Robt. Armstrong
 Younger, William
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir Alexander Acland-
 Hood and Mr. Anstruther.

*MR. TENNANT said that he had endeavoured to improve this Bill, but what had been done to-day had very largely taken away from any success they had in Grand Committee. He did not think the Bill was worth very much now. He begged to move—

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 4, line 26, at end, to insert the words, 'Proceedings may be brought by or in the name of any officer of the Corporation or County Council, or by an officer of the school attendance committee, or by a constable.'"—(*Mr. Tennant.*)

Question proposed, "That those word be there inserted in the Bill."

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS said he could not accept this Amendment, because it would introduce a difficulty in carrying out the Act if he did. The words of the Amendment had a limiting and not an extending effect. At present as the Bill stood any person might take proceedings, but if these words were accepted they would limit the power to certain specified officers, and exclude the possibility of private persons or other proper officers taking proceedings.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 7, agreed to.

Clause 8, agreed to.

Clause 9

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 37, to leave out the word 'rate,' and insert the word, 'fund.'—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 4, line 40, at end, to add the words, 'Provided that a County Council shall not raise any sum on account of their expenses under this Act within any borough or urban district the Council of which is a local authority under this Act.'"

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS moved an Amendment to leave out the word "means" at the end of line 17 and to insert "the Council of any county, or municipal borough, or urban district." He regarded this Amendment as a most important one. They were now for the first time in their legislation providing that the great mass of the population of England should have no power to administer their own by-laws. He thought he could make it clear to the Government that that was not only a bad thing in itself, but a bad thing in the interest of the administration of this Bill—

And, it being half-past Five of the o'clock, further consideration of the Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), stood adjourned

Bill, as amended, to be further considered upon Monday next.

PUBLIC OFFICES (DUBLIN)
(RECOMMITTED) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

Clause 2.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) said the hon. Member for East Mayo, who had something to say about this Bill, had left the House in the belief that there was no chance of its coming on this evening. He moved to report Progress.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

POOR LAW (DISSOLUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND ADJUSTMENTS).

Bill to give power to dissolve School Districts formed under the Acts relating to the relief of the poor, and for facilitating adjustments or alterations of areas or authorities under those Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Long.

POOR LAW (DISSOLUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND ADJUSTMENTS) BILL.

"To give power to dissolve School Districts formed under the Acts relating to the relief of the poor, and for facilitating adjustments or alterations of areas or authorities under those Acts," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 237.]

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION ACT (1897)
AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend The Infant Life Protection Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Spear, Mr. Duke, Mr. Schwann, Mr. Hogg, and Mr. Melville.

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION ACT (1897)
AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Infant Life Protection Act, 1897," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. (Bill 238.)

Adjourned at twenty-three minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 6th July, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with: Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5); Erith Tramways and Improvement.

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill: Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

Metropolitan District Railway (Various Powers) Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Wolverhampton and Cannock Chase Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment.

Leigh Corporation Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [H.L.]. Commons' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Beckenham Urban District Council Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Mayo be proposed to the House as a Member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Lord Ribblesdale; and that the Duke of

Bedford, a Member of the Select Committee, be appointed Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to.

Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [H.L.]; Pentillie Estate Bill [H.L.]; South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [H.L.]; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill. Gateshead Corporation Bill. Sheffield Corporation Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1, and referred to the Examiners.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Neath, Pontardawe, and Brynaman Railway Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Romford and District Tramways Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.] Amendments reported (according to Order), and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order Confirmation Bill. Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order Confirmation Bill. House in Committee (according to Order): Bills reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3^a to-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, &c.) Bill [H.L.] Commons Amendment considered (according to Order), and agreed to.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. (No. 155.) Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. (No. 156.) Read 1^a, to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

PETITION.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.]

Petition against; of Westminster Corporation; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Regulations for the instruction and training of pupil teachers and students in training colleges.

Regulations for secondary schools (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904).

Regulations for evening schools, technical institutions, and schools of art and art classes (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904).

TRADE REPORTS—(ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3016. France (Bordeaux).

No. 3017. Venezuela.

No. 3018. Italy (Genoa).

No. 3019. China (Ningpo).

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

No. 593. Russia (Tea Industry of the Caucasus).

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION BOARD (IRELAND).

Annual Report, for the year 1902. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Minutes of the Board of Education, dated 6th July, 1903, withdrawing Article 102 and Articles 111 to 129, inclusive, of the Provisional Code of 1903.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, granting a retired allowance to Mr. M. J. O'Callaghan, late clerk of the second division in the Department of Public Works, Ireland, under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act.

METROPOLITAN WATER STOCK REGULATIONS, 1903.

Order made by the Local Government Board prescribing regulations with respect to the creation, issue, transfer, dealing with, and redemption of any Metropolitan Water Stock which the Metropolitan Water Board create under the Metropolis Water Act, 1902.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Regulation, dated 1st July, 1900, made by the Treasury under the Friendly Societies Act, 1896.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

THE NATIONAL STANDARD OF PHYSICAL HEALTH.

*THE EARL OF MEATH: My Lords, I rise to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, and to the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting for 1902, in which he states that

"the one subject which causes anxiety in the future as regards recruiting, is the gradual deterioration of the physique of the working classes from which the bulk of the recruits must always be drawn";

and to ask His Majesty's Government whether they would be prepared to issue a Royal Commission or a Committee of Inquiry with a view of ascertaining whether the poorer populations in our large towns are exposed to conditions which, if continued, must inevitably contribute to a low national standard of physical health and strength, seeing that if such be the case it would constitute a grave national peril. The Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training

in Scotland, over which my noble friend the Earl of Mansfield presided, and to whom and his colleagues we owe a deep debt of gratitude for bringing before the public in so concise and lucid a manner the present physical conditions of the people of that country, unanimously reported that—

“there exists in Scotland an undeniable degeneration of individuals of the classes where food and environment are defective, which calls for attention and amelioration in obvious ways, one of which is a well regulated system of physical training.”

Do these words apply only to Scotland, or are they applicable to the rest of the United Kingdom? This is the question I desire His Majesty's Government to take into their most serious consideration. The subject to which I am anxious to draw the attention of the Government and of your Lordships' House is to my mind one of the most important of our social problems. It is a question of self-preservation. If my contention that a very large proportion of the population in our large cities are physically weak, be true, and that that degenerate portion is rapidly on the increase, then I think there can be no question about the urgent importance of the subject and the need of Government action. That wise statesman Lord Beaconsfield once said—

“The public health is the foundation on which repose the happiness of the people and the power of a country. The care of the public health is the first duty of a Statesman.”

I am fully aware that the most important and the most interesting subject can be made unbearably dull by being over-weighted with statistics. I shall, therefore, do my best to spare your Lordships unnecessary figures; but, at the same time, I do not think it is possible for a subject of this character to be adequately and seriously discussed without occasional reference to statistics. I hope, therefore, your Lordships will bear with me, remembering the difficulty that there is in making clear such a subject without quoting figures.

In order that there may be no misapprehension in the minds of your Lordships in regard to the nature of the social problem to which I have called the attention of the Government and of this House, I should like to make it perfectly clear that I do not contend that physical

deterioration is taking place among all classes in this country, nor, indeed, that any class is actually deteriorating, for the exact reverse is certainly the case in regard to some sections of society. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the physical condition of the upper and middle classes has on the whole improved. Evidence is doubtful as to whether the artisan and well-to-do labouring classes have improved or not; they probably have remained more or less stationary. Nor do I even assert that degeneration has taken place amongst the poorer classes in either town or country. What I desire to emphasise is that even should it be proved that the average individual member of a poor town population is physically the equal, or even slightly the superior, of his poor town predecessor, the overwhelming increase which has taken place in recent years in the numbers of poor men and women who live in towns has completely altered the physical condition of England, and turned a negligible national defect into one of the most serious gravity. There can be no doubt that the poor of to-day are born and live under much better conditions than the poor of a century, or even of half a century ago, and that the death-rate, both in town and country, has diminished, and it is therefore possible, and even probable, that the general average health and strength of even the poorest and most neglected in the towns are greater than those formerly enjoyed by a class similarly miserable. But although there may be degrees of misery, and because there may be a slight diminution in the physical weakness of these wretched classes, it is no reason why the national conscience should be satisfied, if it can be shown that physical weakness in these classes is still excessive, is far greater than that to be found amongst the more well-to-do, and can be avoided, especially when it can be shown that people residing in urban districts already number nearly four-fifths of the population and are rapidly increasing, whilst the country bred, which in the past recruited the weakened blood of the cities, are either stationary in number or actually decreasing.

In 1851 the urban population of England and Wales numbered only 8,990,809 out of a total population of 17,927,609, or just 50 per cent.; according to the

last census the urban districts are now inhabited by more than 25,000,000 souls out of 32,527,843, or 77 per cent. of the total population. Scotland shows a very similar state of things. There 3,367,280, or 75.3 per cent. of the population, live in urban districts. These figures mean that the population of Great Britain is largely town bred, and that for one man who lives in the country there are more than three who reside in the town. For purposes of comparison, and to show of how much greater importance this subject is to us than to neighbouring countries, I may state that whereas the urban inhabitants of Great Britain are 77 per cent., and those of Scotland 75.3 per cent., the town inhabitants of Germany are only 36 per cent., and those of France only 25 per cent. of their entire populations. Dwellers in cities need not necessarily be of inferior physique. I have no doubt I shall be told that some of the finest athletes come from the towns. That is so, but they come from that portion of the population who are in comparatively comfortable circumstances, who are well fed, live in healthy homes, and have leisure for outdoor exercise. The great public schools of Great Britain are filled with the healthy and sturdy sons of the professional classes living largely in towns, but then, as a rule, their parents are healthy, and they come of a healthy stock. The sons of the upper and middle classes, educated at the great seminaries, far from degenerating, have increased in stature and weight above the limits attained by their predecessors. From statistics taken it can be shown that in 1901 the average Marlburian boy of thirteen years of age was 5½ lbs. heavier and 2 inches taller than his predecessor of 1874, and that the Rugby boy of thirteen in 1901 was 6 lbs. heavier and 2½ inches taller than his predecessor of 1879.

But if we consider the condition of the less favoured classes, we are confronted with an entirely different set of figures. Mr. Charles Roberts, in a Report to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, says that—

“The more intelligent classes are taller and heavier at corresponding ages than the less intelligent, the more favoured classes than the less favoured;”

and he gives the following figures in support of his statement. He states that

The Earl of Meath.

the public school boy, between eleven and twelve years of age, averages 55 inches in stature, and 78.7lbs in weight; the elementary school child 52.6 inches in height, and 67.8lbs. in weight; the factory child 51.6 inches in height, and 67.4lbs in weight; and those at Industrial and Reformatory Schools, whom Mr. Roberts, I think inaccurately, describes as representing the slum population, 50.8 inches in height, and 64.63lbs in weight. It must be remembered that the Industrial and Reformatory Schools, though they recruit their inmates largely from the slums of cities, do not in their statistics actually represent the physical conditions of the children of the slums, for, as the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland have pointed out, these boys and girls are well fed, live in healthy dwellings, amid good sanitary surroundings, and under a healthy discipline, which rapidly improves their physique and morale, so that, on leaving the school, 80 per cent. turn out good and useful citizens. Therefore, my contention is that Mr. Roberts's figures, although they are bad enough in themselves, do not represent the real state of affairs, and that, if we could obtain accurate anthropometric measurements of the children inhabiting city slums, we should possibly find that the figures were much lower than those given by Mr. Roberts. These figures are corroborated by Dr. Hunt, medical officer of the School Board of Halifax, who examined fifty boys, between the ages of ten and eleven, attending the schools, for weight, and 450 for height. These boys came from three categories of schools—country, suburban, and central, and the figures he gives show that the upper and middle class boy averages about 3 inches more in height, and 11 lbs. more in weight than the average elementary school boy; and 4 inches in height, and 14 lbs., or one stone, more in weight, than the slum or factory boy.

The Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland found that in Edinburgh nearly 30 per cent. of the elementary school children were badly nourished, 19.17 per cent. were in poor health, 12.33 per cent. were mentally dull, and 78 per cent. were more or less physically weak and suffering from some kind of disease. And the gentlemen who carried out these investigations for the noble Earl and his

colleagues stated that the percentage of defective children would be larger if slight affections of throat and ear were included. Out of 30,000 children in Edinburgh, Dr. Leslie Mackenzie calculated that some 50 per cent.—that is, a total of 15,000 children—were suffering from the throat, and some 40 per cent., or 12,000, from slight affections of the ear, making a total of 27,000 children out of 30,000 suffering from ear and throat. In the course of his examination he found that 259 male children out of 299 and 294 females out of 298 were suffering from either affections of the ear or throat. These figures are the more alarming as one would imagine that Edinburgh, with its magnificent situation, in close proximity to its splendid Queen's Park and picturesque Arthur's Seat, would produce healthier children than, say, the enormous industrial city of Glasgow. If the children of Edinburgh are in this lamentable condition, what must be the condition of those of Glasgow and of some of the more crowded cities of England? In Liverpool we know that its medical officer has reported that out of 4,574 children there is an infantile mortality of 2,229—or about 50 per cent. This is less than the average mortality amongst working-class children, which is 55 per cent. as against 18 per cent. in the upper classes. One child in every six dies in the British Isles in its first year, and, of course, many more if we consider only children of the working classes. If Edinburgh is as bad as has been stated, what must be the condition of the children of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Bradford, Bristol—I could go through an endless list of manufacturing towns into the slums of which the sun scarcely ever penetrates, and where the air is polluted with vicious vapours and impregnated with black soot.

To combat these evils Lord Mansfield and his colleagues acknowledge that many reforms are needed. In his "Essays on Education" Herbert Spencer said—

"To be a good animal is the first requisite to success in life, and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition to national prosperity."

To be good animals children must have strong and healthy parents, good and ample food, plenty of fresh air and exercise, be properly housed, and lead

regular disciplined lives. It is only necessary to mention these requisites for health in order to see at once how impossible it is that a race of healthy and strong children can, under present conditions, be reared in the poorer parts of our large cities. Mr. John Burns, M.P., has very truly said that—

"The conditions essential to manhood begin before the baby is born—a healthy home, reasonable labour, temperate living on the part of the father and mother, these are the indispensable preliminaries to healthy life in children."

Again, this admirable representative of all that is best amongst the artisan class—an exemplification in his own person of mental combined with physical vigour—has said that if our future working class are to be healthy—

"The fathers must drink less beer and the mothers less tea."

I would add that the mothers of the future must be taught knowledge necessary to the proper nurture of children. At present there are working-class mothers—I trust not many—who are under the impression that babies flourish on gin, pork, bacon, and cabbage; and if they should cry and show physical discomfort from the effects of this diet, that all can be set right by a dose of some much advertised soothing syrup.

Without proper feeding we cannot have a sturdy nation. It must be seen that pure, fresh milk be brought within the reach of the poor both in town and country, and this is of even more importance in the country than in the town, for it is a sad fact that in many parts of the rural districts it is almost impossible for the labouring classes to obtain fresh milk. The future mothers must be taught not only that milk is the proper food for babes, but that the greatest care must be taken to see that the milk is sweet, for a large proportion of infantile mortality is due to decomposing or septic milk. The death-rate among breast-fed children is only about one-thirtieth of that among those who are fed otherwise. A most laudable effort, and one which should be largely followed, has been made by the Battersea Borough Council in order to enable mothers to obtain pure, fresh milk at a reasonable charge. The Council has started a milk depôt for mothers. The milk is humanised and sterilised, and at this moment some 300

babes are being daily fed at a charge of 1s. 9d. a week for those from six to eight months, and at 2s. for older babies. A baby fund has also been started to assist the poorer mothers, and arrangements have been made with the local Poor Law Guardians in the case of absolute paupers. As long ago as 1870, when I was in the diplomatic service, there existed in Berlin a model dairy which brought pure milk to the very doors of the poor by means of locked perambulating milk and cream carts, which passed at regular hours through the poorer quarters of the town and stopped at fixed points. The people could themselves fill their jugs from taps in the vehicle, over which was clearly painted the kind of milk and price. Owing to the cans being locked it was quite impossible for anyone to tamper with the supply. I cannot help thinking that something of that sort might be done nearer home.

I am quite prepared to be met with the statement that the average city child is both taller and heavier than the city child was, say, when her late Majesty Queen Victoria came to the Throne. This may very possibly be true, but such a statement, if proved, would not weaken my argument. Our knowledge of the laws of health and of sanitation has vastly improved; our factory laws have been passed since those days; we have established an universal and compulsory system of education; we have passed special laws for the protection of children, and public opinion is much more alive to their interests than it was in 1837. It would, then, be indeed sad if we could not point to some physical improvement in the case of city children of the poorer classes, even though it has been estimated, with what truth I know not, that 3,250,000 persons in the British Isles live in overcrowded dwellings, with an average of three persons in each room. I desire to point out, that whereas city children in 1837 constituted a comparatively insignificant portion of the infantile population of the country, they now form an overwhelming majority, and, as such, must in the future materially influence the national physical average, and that annually this urban and weaker element is growing more and more numerous to the serious detriment of the nation. I,

The Earl of Meath

for one, shall never be satisfied as long as such a material difference can be shown between the physical condition of the children of the richer and of the poorer classes. I believe that science and municipal effort, supported by a sensitive public conscience and the spread of knowledge of the laws of health and of sanitation amongst the future mothers of England, can to a very large extent neutralise the advantages which at present those classes enjoy who can live in the country and need not consider money in the bringing up and training of their children. Before I leave the subject of the children, I must draw attention to the fact that the population of this country is not increasing as it used to do. Lord Rosebery has remarked that it is useless to possess an Empire unless it is inhabited by an Imperial race. At this moment the population of Australia is practically stationary. What our colonies need is a continued steady stream of healthy agriculturists to develop their boundless resources. If the increase of population in Great Britain had proceeded since 1881 in the same ratio as it did previous to that period, there would in 1891 have been 2,434,000 more children in the country than there actually were. Since that period the birth and marriage rates show a still further decline. I now come to the youths and adults. Lord Selborne has been good enough to cause me to be supplied with a Return of the boys and youths medically examined from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1902, at the Royal Marine Recruiting Offices for the Royal Navy and Royal Marines, and he has remarked that—

“He thinks it desirable to point out that this list by no means covers the whole number of men and boys who apply for entry into either of these services, as a very large percentage of the applicants are turned away by the recruiting sergeants for some physical deficiency, such as defective teeth without being brought before the doctors at all.”

This Return shows that, during that period, 6,169 lads offered themselves, out of which number 1,686, or 27·3 per cent., were rejected as unfit. This proportion is a little better than that which is recorded in the case of Army recruits. The General Inspector of Recruiting for the Army, in his Report for the year 1901, states that

the percentage of rejections on grounds of physical development all over the kingdom of those who offered themselves for the Army was 29·04. But from statistics I have obtained, through the kindness of the First Lord of the Admiralty, it would appear that just under 33 per cent. of the lads who desired to enter Greenwich Hospital with a view to joining the Navy had to be rejected. This is the more extraordinary, as these lads must be sons of former seamen or marines, and, one would fancy, would consequently enjoy the advantage of, at all events, a healthy father.

It must not be forgotten that in this case also no account is taken of those who were rejected by the recruiters for physical defects so apparent as to be noticed on sight. None of these figures, therefore, show the numbers of those who were rejected by the sergeants as being obviously unfit, and it must always be remembered that there is a direct pecuniary inducement to a recruiting officer to bring a recruit before the doctor, so that those rejected by the recruiters must have been physically hopelessly defective. There is nothing to show how large was the number thus rejected, but report puts it at about half those who presented themselves. This may be an exaggeration, but, if true, it would mean that over 50 per cent. of the young men and lads offering themselves for the Army and Navy have to be rejected. Let us, however, leave out of consideration those rejected by the recruiting sergeants. The figures are quite large enough in all conscience, and I have no desire to exaggerate the matter. I do not, however, believe that there would be much, if any, exaggeration in saying that some 50 per cent. of those who offer themselves for the Army and Navy are rejected between recruiting officers and medical men, and subsequent dismissals for inferior physique. I have been shown a statement in writing from an Admiralty provincial recruiting officer, in which he asserts that fully 50 per cent. of the candidates for the Navy are rejected for physical causes, and General Sir Frederick Maurice has lately informed the public that, out of five men who enlist, only two remain effective soldiers after two years, and that the men who slipped through the officers tests, and

afterwards had to be turned out of the Army, were—

“ Miserable, anæmic specimens of humanity, fit to do no proper man's work in any position of life.”

Let us leave these extra rejections out of consideration. It will then be seen that considerably more than one-fourth of those who offer themselves from both town and country for the Army and Navy are rejected for physical defects. That more than a fourth of the young men and lads who desire to serve their country in Army or Navy should be unfit to do so, is surely a very serious matter. What makes it still more serious is that it is reported for 1901 that the proportion of men rejected was highest in the class headed “labourers, servants, husbandmen, etc.,” the rejections amongst labourers being 18·37 per 1,000. In 1902, owing probably to the great efforts made to obtain recruits during the war, the rejections for the Army were nearly 50 per cent. in excess of the figures for the previous year. The actual figures were: 100,771 recruits offered themselves, and 47,916, or nearly 50,000, were rejected. In Germany, town life exercises a similarly harmful influence on national physique, for whereas 80 per cent. of the recruits from the country are found to be physically fit for military service, only 38 per cent. of those coming from Berlin can take their places in the ranks, and it must be remembered that these figures represent the average physical condition of the entire young male population of Berlin, and not only those coming from the poorer districts, as is the case in dealing with town recruits in the British Isles.

The Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland showed that the condition of life under which the poor lived in Edinburgh was detrimental to health and strength, but in considering the rejections for the Navy from this town we find in 1902 only 23·6 per cent. were rejected, whilst 24·9 were rejected from Bristol, 30·3 from Exeter, and 35·9 from London, so that Edinburgh is not so bad as some towns in England. In Manchester, from figures supplied by Colonel Leatham, the chief recruiting officer, it appears that in 1899, during the early part of the Boer War, some 11,000 men offered their services to the Army; of

these only 3,000 could be accepted, and eventually it was found that out of these 3,000 only 1,072 were fit for service in the Regular Army, 2,107 being relegated to the Militia. So that in round numbers, out of 11,000 men from Manchester, 8,000 were rejected, whilst only 1,000 were found fit to fight the battles of their country. These figures were not peculiar to the year 1899, for in 1900, out of 12,235 who offered to enlist in Manchester, 8,205 were rejected, and in 1901, out of 11,896 who came forward, 8,820 were found physically incapable of military service. It may be said that these figures relate to men brought up in the slums and who are out of employment owing to physical incapacity to do any hard work. This probably is more or less true, but it only strengthens the force of my argument for inquiring into the condition of life of the poorer populations in our large cities. But that physical weakness is not confined only to the very poor in our towns is shown by the recent statement publicly made by the colonel of the Birmingham Volunteers, who complained that he had to reject some 32 per cent. of the young men who applied to him for admission into his battalion, and that on one occasion he had to reject eleven out of thirty-one recruits. Now, these men must have been men of a superior social position to the ordinary Army recruit, and should not have been subject to the influences hurtful to health entailed by extreme poverty.

Mr. Cantlie, F.R.C.S., after making some most exhaustive inquiries, has come to the conclusion that pure-bred Londoners cannot exist beyond the third generation, showing that without the infusion of country blood the populations in our large cities would, under present conditions, inevitably die out. Mr. Cantlie has also made inquiries in the country, and found that rickets is one of the commonest ailments in country districts. He ascribes this to want of food, insufficient food, or the wrong food. It is probably owing to want of milk, which in some parts of the country it is almost impossible for the poor to obtain, as milk farmers are under contract to send their entire supply to the large centres of population, and cannot, therefore, sell it locally. This

is a very serious grievance, and one which should be remedied. There are other causes, however, which lead to a low physical condition amongst the people. The Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland has pointed out that many reforms are needed in order to ensure a physically healthy population, and that all these reforms must proceed *pari passu*, or more harm than good may be done; for instance, they have shown how harmful physical exercises can prove in the case of underfed and sickly children, though the same exercises are indispensable to proper development, and most beneficial when carried out under medical supervision.

Briefly stated, the principal requisites in the production of a physically capable population are: first, healthy parents; secondly, sanitary homes; thirdly, good, abundant and well-cooked food, including a cheap supply of fresh milk; fourthly, pure air and water; fifthly, facilities for exercise and healthy recreation; sixthly, a good educational system, which shall combine physical with mental and moral training, and shall instruct the young, especially the girls, in the elements of hygiene, dietetics, and the care of infants and home sanitation, and shall bring them up under good and healthy moral surroundings. It is only necessary to mention the above, which are but a few of the indispensable requisites to the production of a healthy population, in order to show how much remains to be done before we can hope to attain, not perfection, but even a moderately healthy standard of national life. If this moderate standard is to be reached, it will not be sufficient for one Department of Government to move in the right direction. The subject, when investigation has pointed out the proper course to be pursued, must be made a national one, and Government and people combined, must throw their entire energies into the matter, and insist on a general advance along the lines of national health and strength, so that future generations may be able fearlessly to face and bear the burden which fierce foreign competition and the ever increasing responsibilities of extending Empire

have placed, and will place, on the shoulders of the subjects of King Edward. I am no pessimist. I firmly believe in the capabilities and energy of the Anglo-Saxon, and have confidence that, with the ancient pluck of their race, the future of the Empire will be made by its sons and daughters even more glorious than its memorable past, if only we, the fathers of the rising generation, do not neglect our duties, but give our sons and our grandsons a chance to equip themselves properly for the contest, and see that, in founding the mightiest Empire the world has ever known, we do not, by our indifference and carelessness, hinder nature in her efforts to people that Empire with an Imperial race.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON: My Lords, I make no apology for rising in support of the inquiry which the noble Earl has asked for. I am sure that every man who desires to see a great and efficient race raised in these islands and in the Greater Britain beyond the seas will feel that it never can be unwise to investigate the conditions of life, and to see how far they contribute to the development of a fine and noble race. I am not here for one moment, therefore, to hold a brief on behalf of any pessimistic attitude with regard to the population or its physical deterioration, but I am here to try and show that there are very good grounds for asking for a searching and careful inquiry. I do not wish to approach this matter in a spirit of dread, for there are so many matters which appear incontrovertibly to prove that over a large period of years a distinct advance has been made, and this it would be neither wise nor politic to overlook. In the first instance, there has been an improvement with regard to the stature and vigour of the population of our country. As compared with a hundred years ago our population has trebled, and nearly quadrupled—from 8,900,000 to 32,500,000. As a result of investigation made by the British Association it has been ascertained that the stature of the race has risen within the last generation or two from 5 feet 7½ inches to 5 feet 8½ inches, and I am sure we are all acquainted with the commonplace argument that we have only to visit the Tower of London and attempt to put on

the armour of our ancestors to ascertain how far far the physique of the race has developed in the course of centuries. We should not look upon things from a dark point of view. Petulance and fear paint everything dark, and one can see nothing in the dark.

I, for one, am prepared to say at the outset, that there is so much to encourage us, that we ought to face every inquiry with a wise and well-balanced judgment. Amongst such encouraging features is the increase of longevity. The child born yesterday, if it was a boy, can look forward to 4·39 years more of life than did the child of fifty years ago; and if a girl, her expectation is 6·11 years more. In other words, there is a distinct increase in the expectation of life, and to every child born to-day there is the opportunity of from four to six years longer service of its country and race. It is true that this is largely due to the advance of medical skill and sanitary science, but these have combined with the happier conditions of modern life to give the greater chance of a vigorous and healthy race. Such constitute to us abundant reasons for gratitude that our lot is cast in an age of greater physical and material advantages. But surely for that very reason we ought to look more anxiously and more carefully to ascertain whether any causes are at work which may arrest these happy and healthful conditions. The greater caution, therefore, should be exercised by us lest unobserved changes should be introduced which might deprive us of so noble an inheritance and undermine the physical vigour of our race. Whatever we send beyond the seas in the form of manufactured goods, believe me to export men and women of noble and healthy physique, who will be worthy representatives of our people on other shores, must form the most important commodity of our manufacture. Far more than gold mines and acquired territories is the manufacture of that manhood and womanhood which can go forth with strength, intelligence, and moral force to fulfil the destinies of our people.

I am bound, therefore, to ask you to consider those great and grave questions which are being put to us by men who have studied these matters deeply and who ask that those questions may be

answered "yes" or "no" after due and careful inquiry. Are we sending out in sufficient quantity and in sufficient quality a race which is calculated to hold this great Empire together and to fulfil what we all believe to be the duties and the destinies of our people? The answers which are given by some who have considered the matter are, that as regards numbers our population is not growing as rapidly as it should, but that the declining rate of increase is a matter of great moment. Let me ask your Lordships to notice one or two facts in this matter. First, I take the birth rate. The birth rate, which was 36·3 in 1876, had declined in 1898 to 29·4. But birth rate is, perhaps, not in itself a final test of the increase of population. Experts, therefore, have called our attention to the marriage question, and have endeavoured to arrive at some definite opinion as to the productive power of marriages in this country. Dr. Newsholme, taking a large range of married people of the age in which a family would naturally be expected, reached the conclusion that in 1,000 such marriages the children born in 1871 were equal to 292, in 1881, to 286, and in 1891 to 264. Here is a distinct fall in the out-put of the population.

I turn to the evidence of Mr. Edward Cannan, a well recognised expert in political economics. In order not to be betrayed by a mere superficial estimate of figures, he arranged a careful system by which the births of one year could be compared with the births of twenty-six years previously in order to test the relative increase. Taking the cases, of married women under forty-five years of age, he found that for 100 births twenty-six years previously, there were in 1880, 139; that is, an increase of 39 per cent. But when the same comparison was made for the year 1890, the figure was only 117. Making the comparison once more for the year 1900, the figure was only 108. Here, again, is a distinct drop in the output of population. But Mr. Cannan undertook a further calculation. He arranged a system which he called a system of "weighted marriages"—that is to say, he only selects married people of an age in which a family is probable, and he

considers what are the normal figures of birth rate for the earlier and the later years of such marriages. Out of this careful system he arrives at the conclusion that whereas the size of the families in 1880 was 4·34, in 1890 it had fallen to 4·08, and in 1900 to 3·63; in other words, in twenty years the average size of families had fallen from four and one-third to three and two-thirds, on which he makes the ominous remark that if the same rate of decline continues for sixteen years longer the source of natural increase would be dried up. I turn now to what appears to be confirmatory evidence of this decline in the size of families. If there is a diminution in the rate of increase that diminution will show itself in the lessened proportion of the number of children. In order to test this, I propose to take the census Returns of 1881 and the two following decades. If we divide the population into two sections, those under fifteen to represent the child section, and those above fifteen the older section, we encounter the following results—that whereas in 1881 those over fifteen numbered 16,505,848, those under fifteen numbered 9,468,591. In 1891 the population over fifteen had risen to 18,830,290, and the children—that is, those under fifteen—numbered 10,172,235. In 1901 those over fifteen were 22,000,000, and those under fifteen, 10,526,075. That is to say, whereas the children under fifteen were 36·5 per cent. of the total population in 1881, they were only 32·3 per cent. of the population in 1901. The result of this is, and each of us can work it out for himself, that there are 1,142,000 fewer children under fifteen in the country than there would have been if the proportion of 1881 had been maintained.

Mr. Thomas Welton, F.C.A., on the basis of this shortage of children, reckoned that in the seven largest counties there were 858,500 children short of what there would have been had the old rate of increase been maintained, and if these seven counties were taken as representatives of the whole population, the shortage of children amounted to no fewer than 1,579,000. But in any case we seem to be confronted by the fact that there are more than 1,000,000 children less than there

The Lord Bishop of Ripon.

would have been had the old rates of increase continued, and this, I fear, is not a matter which we can feel ends with the census of 1901. One of the daily papers has shown us that the case of London in 1902 exhibits the same tendency. Then the birth rate fell to 28.5, that is, .05 lower than it was in 1901, and this means that there are 2,309 children fewer in London than there would have been if the average of the previous ten years had been maintained. Now it may be said that a diminished population is not necessarily a bad thing: it may arise from a noble and self-denying spirit actuating its citizens, and certainly I, for one, would pay the homage of my respect to any man who, from motives of prudence and chivalry refused to draw to his side the partner of his life till he had first prepared adequately a home for her and her children. But I fear that these diminishing returns are not wholly due to creditable or self-denying causes. Experts who have looked at the matter have come to this conclusion also. Professor Marshall tells us—

“In France for a long time, recently in America, and to a less extent in England, there has been a tendency for the abler and more intelligent part of the working-class population to avoid having large families, and this is a source of great danger.”

Dr. J. S. Billings attributes in the same way the main cause of the declining rate of increase to the deliberate and voluntary avoidance of child bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people. Dr. Billings is speaking for the United States it is true, but the fashion of one place is becoming, I fear, the fashion of more than one place. A doctor in a northern city told me that £30 a week was paid in postal orders in the purchase of appliances for the restriction of population. But we are not without evidence of a statistical kind. Mr. Welton, whom I have before quoted, has pointed out, and he has based his statistics on married women under forty-five years of age, that whereas in the decade 1881 to 1890 the mean number of births of such marriages was 132,917, in the following decade the mean number was 132,943, an incredibly small increase; in other words, that the percentage of birth for a hundred wives of the age mentioned was in the first decade 27.2,

and in the second decade only 25.1. And he adds the ominous conclusion—

“It follows that we have gradually reached conditions when the ratio of births having sunk from 28.3 to 23.6, the natural births are reduced by artificial means to the extent of 26,000 a year, or 500 a week.”

He continues these calculations outside London and reaches similar conclusions. There is, therefore, from every point of view, ground for inquiry as to whether causes are not at work which tend in an unnatural way to weaken the vigour, the force, and the numbers of the growing population of the country.

But we sometimes console ourselves that the deficiencies of the mother country are compensated by the vigour and prolific character of the colonies. I am afraid that here, too, we must read the story of a declining rate of increase in the population. Take the case of Canada. Canada increased in the decade, 1871 to 1880, by 839,000. In the following decade her increase was 508,000, and in the last decade, 1891 to 1900, it was 506,000. It has been pointed out by Mr. Cannan, that Scotland, which has a population 800,000 less than that of Canada, yet increased by natural means 500,000 within the last decade. What can we say when the increase of Canada, with its larger population, only exceeds that of Scotland by 6,000? I turn to Australia, and I meet the same story of diminishing births. The births in 1891 were 126,000; they had fallen in 1899 to 114,000. And lastly, when I group together the Colonies of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and compare their population to-day with their population of thirty years ago, I find in all cases a tendency to a diminished birth rate. It has been calculated by Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I., that the percentage of children under five years of age is normally 12.70 of the whole population. Let us take this figure and test the condition of the colonies I have named. In 1871 the number of children in these colonies under five years of age was 16.5 of their whole population. In 1901 the number of children under five years of age was represented by 11.66; that is to say, while in 1871 the children under five were 4 per cent. above the normal they are now 1 per cent. under the normal figure. It is true that we have an Empire of great and extensive colonies; it is true that the spaces of the earth are

given to us; but of what service are these unless a great, numerous, and vigorous population is ready to fill them, or how can we, with diminishing numbers, speak with our enemies in the gate? Lord Rosebery rightly said—

"An Empire is but little use without an Imperial race."

I turn now to the second allegation, namely, that there are signs of a deterioration in physique amongst our population. It is not my purpose to commit myself to these figures. My only object is to prove that there are adequate grounds for inquiry. But when I look at the arguments which are adduced, I first encounter what I may describe as some birth facts. There has been an increase in infant mortality in the decade from 1871 to 1880 of 149 per thousand; in the next decade it had risen to 160·59 per thousand; and in the last decade to 173·45 per thousand. Within the last thirty years births with congenital defects have risen from 1·85 to 4·08. Perhaps still more striking is the fact that in the last fifty years we are told that premature births have risen 300 per cent. But from these birth facts we may turn to those results which are arrived at by inspection and investigation. And here let me first speak of Army Returns. I am quite ready to admit that Army Returns ought not to be regarded as final or sufficient evidence of the state of the whole population. In the nature of the case they are only partial, but this is a very different thing from saying that they have no value at all. They certainly represent samples of some classes of the population. They are, in one sense, a test of the condition of the rural population. For let me remind your Lordships that in 1901, out of 76,750 men inspected, 49,138 are classed as labourers, 11,000 as husbandmen—that is, they are representatives of the rural population. Of these, 30·7 per cent. were found to be defective. This has, of course, not been taken as evidence of a deterioration throughout the population, but it constitutes evidence of a deterioration in some of the population.

remind your Lordships that whereas in 1845 the standard height for admission to the Army was 5 feet 6 inches, in 1883 it was dropped to 5 feet 3 inches, and in 1900 to 5 feet, and that of the men in 1901 no fewer than 593·4 per thousand were under the old standard height of 5 feet 6 inches. The chest measurement, again, was a 34 inch standard up to 1883, and in 1901 I find that 511·8 per thousand were under this measurement. In the matter of weight 8 stone 8 lbs. is not a great weight, but whereas in 1871 159·4 per thousand were under this weight, in 1898 269 per thousand were under it, and in 1901 325 per thousand. As a general result the War Office Report tells us that 12·30 per thousand represents the increase of rejection in 1901, and amongst those offering themselves from England and Wales the ratio rejected per thousand was 30 per cent., being 299·77 per thousand.

The opinions of military experts speak pretty freely of the apprehension which those interested in military matters feel regarding the material from which the Army is drawn. But we have not only military statistics to proceed upon. We have the results of the Scottish Commission, and here we have the startling statement that the children in the schools very often suffer from unrecognised ailments. Thus, in the schools of Edinburgh no fewer than 700 children were found suffering from phthisis, heart complaints, and 15,000 from other ailments. Every one of these children might be protected and a more healthy child by thought, and medical inspection. It is a pity that the State has not already been put to the test by Lord Meath, but it is brought before us in the form of a small part. The results of the children both in the schools, as far as evidence goes, are the result of conditions than of the children. You have heard how the public schools are taller and stronger than those in factories and in the streets. Mr. Hall, in Leeds, has shown that Jewish children are measured 57½ in.

and weighed 85 lbs., and the Gentile children in good localities measured 57 ins. and weighed 77 lbs., the Gentile children in the poorer localities measured only 50½ ins. and weighed only 67½ lbs. I submit therefore that there is evidence which warrants our inquiring into the physical condition of the population.

One more fact needs to be noticed, because it has an important bearing upon the public welfare. The rural districts, it will be admitted, are the reservoirs of our national strength. We are no longer a nation in which the rural districts are as populous as they were. In 1870 the urban population was 15,697,000, and the rural population 15,787,000; that is to say, the urban and the rural populations were equally balanced. Fifty per cent. of the people were then in the country districts. To-day this has been reversed, and only 23 per cent. of the population can be reckoned as rural; 77 are urban. What becomes of the population crowded into the towns? The influence of the town is to burn up the population in numbers and in vigour. You have heard from Lord Meath Dr Cantlie's evidence that it is difficult to find the fourth generation of a Londoner. Professor Marshall tells us the same. Only a very small proportion, he says, of those artisans to whom London owes its pre-eminence as a centre of highly

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districts we may do much to conserve the general vigour of the population. My object in asking for this inquiry is not from any belief that we can do very much by distinct legislation, but that by such inquiry we may be enabled to rouse public attention and public spirit in these important matters. We are tempted to ask whether a change has not come over the moral ideals of the people. Is it true that as a generation we love pleasure more and responsibility less? Have we formed different ideas of family life? Is the child that was once a welcome addition to the home circle now regarded as a burden? If this should be the case we might well despair of the commonwealth. But I am persuaded that it is possible for us to reinvigorate our moral ideals by an improved public opinion. Then better and nobler days are before us; then, when duty and responsibility, rather than pleasure and comfort, are the guides of our conduct, we shall bring back that time when the home was the unit of the nation, and the sanctity, happiness, and vigour of the home were matters of careful thought and attention, and in this way we shall bring back those conditions which make for the happiness of the individual and for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (the Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, I am sure your Lordships will agree with me that the House is indebted to the noble Earl and the Prelate for the speeches which have brought before the House questions of the welfare of the nation in the first place. The noble Earl has pointed out the need of recreation and attract

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I do not propose to weary you with the more particular results which come from the Army Returns, but I may

The Lord Bishop of Ripon.

remind your Lordships that whereas in 1845 the standard height for admission to the Army was 5 feet 6 inches, in 1883 it was dropped to 5 feet 3 inches, and in 1900 to 5 feet, and that of the men in 1901 no fewer than 593·4 per thousand were under the old standard height of 5 feet 6 inches. The chest measurement, again, was a 34 inch standard up to 1883, and in 1901 I find that 511·8 per thousand were under this measurement. In the matter of weight 8 stone 8 lbs. is not a great weight, but whereas in 1871 159·4 per thousand were under this weight, in 1898 269 per thousand were under it, and in 1901 325 per thousand. As a general result the War Office Report tells us that 12·30 per thousand represents the increase of rejection in 1901, and amongst those offering themselves from England and Wales the ratio rejected per thousand was 30 per cent., being 299·77 per thousand.

The opinions of military experts speak pretty freely of the apprehension which those interested in military matters feel regarding the material from which the Army is drawn. But we have not only military statistics to proceed upon. We have the results of the Scottish Commission, and here we have the startling statement that the children in the schools very often suffer from unrecognised ailments. Thus, in the schools of Edinburgh no fewer than 700 children were found suffering from phthisis, 1,300 from heart complaints, and 15,000 from lesser ailments. Every one of these children suffering from an unrecognised ailment might be protected and developed into a more healthy child by a little care, thought, and medical inspection. I must pass by the statements which have already been put before your Lordships by Lord Meath, but it is enough for us to remember that in the evidence which is brought before us the question of race plays but a small part. The enfeebled condition of the children both in height and weight is, as far as evidence goes, rather a result of conditions than of pedigree. You have heard how the boys in our public schools are taller and heavier than those in factories and industrial schools. Mr. Hall, in Leeds, arrived at similar results, for he showed us that while the Jewish children of twelve years of age measured 57½ in.

and weighed 85 lbs., and the Gentile children in good localities measured 57 ins. and weighed 77 lbs., the Gentile children in the poorer localities measured only 50½ ins. and weighed only 67½ lbs. I submit therefore that there is evidence which warrants our inquiring into the physical condition of the population.

One more fact needs to be noticed, because it has an important bearing upon the public welfare. The rural districts, it will be admitted, are the reservoirs of our national strength. We are no longer a nation in which the rural districts are as populous as they were. In 1870 the urban population was 15,697,000, and the rural population 15,787,000; that is to say, the urban and the rural populations were equally balanced. Fifty per cent. of the people were then in the country districts. To-day this has been reversed, and only 23 per cent. of the population can be reckoned as rural; 77 are urban. What becomes of the population crowded into the towns? The influence of the town is to burn up the population in numbers and in vigour. You have heard from Lord Meath Dr Cantlie's evidence that it is difficult to find the fourth generation of a Londoner. Professor Marshall tells us the same. Only a very small proportion, he says, of those artisans to whom London owes its pre-eminence as a centre of highly skilled work come from parents who were born there, and there are scarcely any whose grandparents were born there. In other words, not merely do the conditions of the town impair the physical vigour, but that inestimable quality of energy is weakened amongst the urban population. Lowered vitality, less energy, are the inevitable results of unfortunate town conditions.

Our aim, therefore, should be, seeing that the country, as the natural reservoir of strength and energy, is being depleted, to pay as much heed as we can to the conditions of town life, to make our town conditions approximate as far as possible to country ones, and, I might venture to say, our country conditions to approximate as much as possible to our town conditions. By giving health to the towns and providing recreation and attraction in our country

districts we may do much to conserve the general vigour of the population. My object in asking for this inquiry is not from any belief that we can do very much by distinct legislation, but that by such inquiry we may be enabled to rouse public attention and public spirit in these important matters. We are tempted to ask whether a change has not come over the moral ideals of the people. Is it true that as a generation we love pleasure more and responsibility less? Have we formed different ideas of family life? Is the child that was once a welcome addition to the home circle now regarded as a burden? If this should be the case we might well despair of the commonwealth. But I am persuaded that it is possible for us to reinvigorate our moral ideals by an improved public opinion. Then better and nobler days are before us; then, when duty and responsibility, rather than pleasure and comfort, are the guides of our conduct, we shall bring back that time when the home was the unit of the nation, and the sanctity, happiness, and vigour of the home were matters of careful thought and attention, and in this way we shall bring back those conditions which make for the happiness of the individual and for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (the Duke of DEVONSHIRE): My Lords, I am sure your Lordships will agree with me that the House is deeply indebted to the noble Earl and to the right rev. Prelate for the speeches with which they have brought before it this Question, than which none can be more important to the welfare of the country. I must, in the first instance, congratulate the noble Earl on the change which he has introduced into this Question since he first placed it on the Notice Paper. The latter part of his notice then ran—

“To ask His Majesty's Government what steps they propose to take in order to arrest this physical deterioration, which varied and undoubted evidence shows to be gradually taking place among the poorer portions of the populations of the large cities of Great Britain, and which, if allowed to continue unchecked, threatens the State with grave national peril.”

In those words the noble Earl, I think, unduly assumed what he has attempted to-day to prove, that an actual deterioration is taking place in the physical condition of the people. He also assumed that it was in the power of His Majesty's Government, without further inquiry and without obtaining further advice, to take certain steps to remedy that deterioration. I think the noble Earl has been very well advised in altering the form of his Question and asking simply whether His Majesty's Government are prepared to enter into any inquiry on the subject.

Perhaps I had better advert first, for a moment, to a Question which is not referred to in the notice on the Paper, but of which the right rev. Prelate gave me private notice—namely, as to the symptoms which he thinks exist, not of a decrease, but of a retardation of the rate of increase of the population of the country. I am sure your Lordships will not expect me to follow the extremely able, if somewhat elaborate, argument which the right rev. Prelate addressed to us on that subject. It must, I think, have been a subject of astonishment to your Lordships, as it has been to myself, that it should be possible for the right rev. Prelate to carry in his memory the mass of figures and statistics he placed before your Lordships, so far as I could see, without the assistance of a single note. If I had many days in which to consider all the figures the right rev. Prelate has placed before us, I do not know that I could feel sure of being able to arrive at any accurate conclusion on that subject. It requires a trained professional statistician to deal with statistics of that character and arrive at an accurate conclusion upon them. All I was able to do when the right rev. Prelate gave me notice that he was going to add his Question to that of the noble Earl was to consult the Local Government Board as to the opinion which they had formed upon the subject of a possible retardation of the rate of population; and this is the opinion which I have obtained from them:—

"The Bishop of Ripon, in his letter to the Duke of Devonshire, speaks also of a retrogression or retardation of the increase of the population. This, however, is not so. At each census during the last ninety years there

has been a decennial increase of the population, varying from 11·6 to 18·0 per cent. At the last census, 1901, the increase was 12·2, compared with 11·7 at the preceding census. The population was over 3,500,000 more than in 1891. It is the fact that the birth-rate has declined during the last quarter of a century, but during the last five years there has been a tendency to a rise in the marriage-rate, and it remains to be seen whether this is arresting the fall in the birth-rate. There has, no doubt, been a growth of emigration from country to town, with the result that the increase of the town population has been much greater than the increase of the country population. The increase of the country population, including urban districts with less than 5,000 inhabitants, during the last decennial period was just over 3 per cent. It has been suggested that the number of children in the average family is decreasing, but there are no official statistics on this subject, and any statement upon it must be conjectural."

I quite admit that the right rev. Prelate has brought before our notice, at all events, many facts which are eminently worthy of consideration, and which may tend to modify in some degree the conclusion arrived at at the present time by the Department chiefly concerned, and they will, no doubt, form the subject of most careful inquiry by that Department. But it appears to me that, important as that part of the question is, it is perhaps less important than the other branch of the subject which has been raised to-day. If the condition of a large part of our population is such as it has been described, and if this alleged deterioration is taking place in consequence of the increased numbers of the population who dwell in our towns, then it seems to me doubtful whether it can be an object which any of us desire that the population should go on increasing under conditions which, as it appears, are unfavourable to their health and physical development. It appears to me, also, a question whether the two branches of this inquiry can be satisfactorily conducted together, and whether it is not desirable that our attention should first be concentrated on the subject of the alleged deterioration of our population. As to that deterioration, the evidence which has been referred to is chiefly that obtained from the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting. He speaks of—

"the gradual deterioration of the physique of the working classes, from which the bulk of the recruits must always be drawn,"

and he goes on to say that in the reports from all the manufacturing districts stress

is invariably laid on the number of men rejected on account of bad teeth, flat feet, and inferior physique. His statement of the way in which the working classes have deteriorated appears to be based solely on the reports of recruiting officers in these manufacturing districts, and must be, to a very large extent, a matter of personal observation and opinion. They are not, and I do not believe they can be, supported by any accurate statistics.

Some reference has been made to the statistics contained in the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting showing the percentage of recruits rejected as unfit for military service on medical examination. Those Returns, however, appear to me to be absolutely inconclusive in regard to the question of deterioration of any large part of our population. There is one factor in the matter as to which no figures are given, and which yet seems to me to govern the whole question—that is to say, the number of recruits that are rejected by the recruiters before undergoing a medical examination at all. No attempt is made to give the number of these recruits, and the number of those rejected at the subsequent medical examination must depend to a large extent on the care and stringency with which that preliminary examination has been conducted. If your Lordships look at the return of recruiting last year, you will see that entirely different results will be obtained from the figures given, according as you take a period of five years or three years. Beginning in 1898 the percentage of rejections was 35; in 1899 it was 32·9; in 1900, 27·4; in 1901, 29·04; in 1902, 32·22. It is quite impossible to suppose that those figures really throw any light on the physical condition of the population during those years. Whatever they may show, it is impossible to suppose that the physical condition of any part of the population varied in proportion to those figures. Those figures, and the conclusion of the Inspector-General of Recruiting based upon them, have also been examined by the officials of the Local Government Board; and, although I do not say that they are in a position to draw broad deductions from them, they are at least in as good a position to form their conclusions upon them as the Inspector-General of Recruiting. They concur in the view that there is no evidence of

deterioration in the physique of the town working-classes in this country, but, rather that it has improved of recent years; and that if a better class of men do not enlist it is because a more permanent and lucrative prospect is offered in civil life.

I do not submit those conclusions as absolutely conclusive on the subject, but they do offer for our consideration another view of the question from that which has been presented by the noble Lords who have preceded me. But, my Lords, I do not think that it is at all necessary to prove that there is actual deterioration going on with respect to the physical condition of any class of the population. These figures do undoubtedly present for our consideration a question at the present moment which, whether it is better or worse than it has been in former years, is sufficiently grave and important to merit the fullest consideration and inquiry. The subject has been brought recently under the consideration of the Secretary of State for War. In a Minute by the Director-General of the Army Medical Department, Sir William Taylor, which I propose to lay on the Table, that officer says—

“The rejection of one out of every three men examined by the medical recruiting officer points clearly to poorness of recruiting material.”

And this does not represent the whole of the physical unfitness among men who seek to become soldiers. A large number of men are rejected by the recruiting sergeants, and are never medically inspected. This is a condition of things which is serious, not only from the military point of view but from the industrial point of view. Another passage in the Minute I have mentioned says—

“If these men are unfit for military service, what are they fit for?”

And it states that the rising generation in all classes below the artisan class includes a large number of men of very low physique. I trust that those conclusions may be to a certain extent exaggerated and extreme conclusions. Looking to the very stringent requirements of such a profession as the military, and the high standard of physique which is necessary to make a really good soldier, it may be hoped that a very large proportion of these rejected candidates for enlistment are

not altogether unfitted for some useful employment in civil life. But undoubtedly it is a serious fact that considerably more than one in three of those who offer themselves for enlistment are pronounced medically unfit. That is a subject which deserves our most careful consideration. I do not think I can dwell much upon the conclusions which were arrived at by the Commissioners on Physical Training in Scotland. I do not understand that they arrived at any definite conclusion as to the deterioration or otherwise of any class of the population in Scotland. All they say is that—

“There exists in Scotland an undeniable degeneration of individuals of the classes where food and environment are defective.”

This means, no doubt, not a degeneration as compared with the lower classes of previous years, but as compared with the less needy classes of the present time. These questions have been brought, as I have said, under the attention of the Secretary of State for War, and he is, and has been, in communication with the Home Office and with the Local Government Board upon them. Those Departments are all agreed that further inquiry of a complete and searching character is most necessary, and I think it is extremely likely that the mode of inquiry which has been suggested, namely, the appointment of a Royal Commission, will be found to be the most desirable. But we are not disposed to think that the immediate appointment of that Royal Commission would be most desirable. We are not yet in possession of all the necessary facts. The general Report of the Registrar-General, and the decennial supplement, which are issued after every census, are in course of preparation, but they have not yet been completed. Further, we consider that there would be no advantage in appointing a Royal Commission until the scope of its inquiry and the terms of reference had been made the subject of the most careful consideration. What my right hon. friends the Secretary of State for War and the Home Secretary propose to do is to consult upon these subjects, in the first instance the medical profession, through the Councils of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. They propose to consult with them as to the best means of obtaining information, not

so much as to the extent, but—what appears to us much more important—as to the causes of this undoubted physical deficiency existing in some parts of the population, and as to the best means of remedying these deficiencies, and of improving the national health and strength. We propose to consult these bodies as to whether, in the first place, the appointment of a Royal Commission would be desirable; and, if so, what should be the reference to it and what should be its composition. When these preliminary inquiries have been completed, I think that no time will be lost in taking further steps. As I have said, though I cannot promise the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission I think that may be found to be the most expedient course.

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD: My Lords, I am sure your Lordships are all glad to hear from the noble Duke that some means of dealing with this subject are in prospect. Having been the Chairman of the Royal Commission which has been referred to in the course of this debate, I am somewhat disappointed that the noble Duke has not made more allusion to Scotland in his speech, because, so far as I could learn, the Local Government Board, and the other authorities quoted, had reference mainly to England and not to the portion of the country with which this Report was concerned. And I may say that I regret now, not as a Commissioner but as a member of your Lordships' House, that this Commission did not extend its operations to a larger portion of the United Kingdom, because it strikes me that after all the welfare of the rising generation is very much the same, whether the children be Scottish children or English or Welsh children. I am disappointed also to find that something more is not going to be done immediately to inquire into this subject in other portions of the United Kingdom. At the same time I am perfectly certain that what the Government put their hand to they will carry out properly, and I feel sure that any means that can be found to show, and to make others in the country realise, the serious state of matters that has been brought forward, will be adopted by His Majesty's

The Duke of Devonshire.

Government. The reason we were unable to obtain more medical information as to the state of matters in the big towns in Scotland was naturally one of Treasury consideration. We were only able to have certain children inspected in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and we would greatly have preferred to have included Glasgow in the scope of our investigations. We ventured to state this in our Report and to hint that at no distant date a similar investigation into the needs and conditions of the school children in Glasgow would not only be appropriate but almost a necessity. The medical evidence that we received was the best that we could obtain, and, although the number of children that were examined was not very large, still the results that were obtained were sufficiently alarming. I trust that some further inquiry will be made without loss of time, because this is more than a mere Scottish question or a mere British question—it is, as the right rev. Prelate said just now, a question of the most intense Imperial interest. Although His Majesty's Government have, as we know, many important inquiries on at the present time, I consider that an inquiry into this matter is almost more important than any other.

THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE: My Lords, I would ask your Lordships' permission to read a letter which deals in a very important way with this subject. In the north of Scotland the race had, perhaps, some of the finest specimens anywhere in the United Kingdom, but the deterioration that has taken place for many years has been very marked and rapid. I hold in my hand a letter from a medical gentleman who practises over a large extent of country in the north-east of Scotland—Dr. G. P. Hay, of Forres, who writes—

“ I am sorry I cannot furnish you with any statistics on the deterioration of the physique of the people, but the facts are many and come under my daily notice. Children's first teeth are, in a great many cases, decayed as they appear in the mouth, and, in many cases, the second teeth decay as fast as they appear. The health of young servant girls is much affected by the condition of their teeth, and their usefulness, as a consequence, is impaired. There are few who have not false teeth before they are twenty years of age. This class of girls suffer greatly from bloodlessness. The cause of all this is, in my opinion, due to

the working class feeding principally on tea (boiled), wheaten bread, jams, and tinned food. There are very few houses in which porridge is made for this class, or milk taken by the children, and it is a great difficulty to get them to take it when ill. Many parents complain to me that the children have too many home lessons, having to stay up late to finish them, and suffer in their health accordingly. All this tends to deteriorate the physique of the rising generation, and to injure their nervous system.”

I merely give that as an instance of the deterioration that is going on in the north of Scotland, and I am glad that this important matter is receiving consideration.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): My Lords, I did not intend to intervene in this discussion, because I thought the noble Duke's answer to the two interesting speeches which we heard first would have been sufficient for the position at which we have now arrived. But when the noble Earl behind me, who was Chairman of the Commission which I appointed a couple of years ago, spoke, I thought it desirable that I should assure him that at any rate those of us who are responsible for the administration of Scotland in these matters are by no means ungrateful to him for the great trouble which he took in the inquiry, and for the successful results at which he arrived. But I think it right to point out that, after all, the exact reference which was put before his Commission dealt rather with the question of physical training. The point which has come out most prominently to-night—the alleged deterioration of the population—arose under the inquiry of the noble Earl in a more or less accidental way. There is no doubt whatever that, upon the medical evidence put before the noble Lord's Commission, they did arrive at the conclusion that there exists in Scotland an undeniable degeneration of individuals in places where food and environment are defective. Further than that I do not think the noble Earl himself would say that the inquiry, he was able to make into that branch of the subject, was in any way exhaustive or conclusive of any definite result. There was no idea of regarding the Scottish inquiry as in itself complete, but I do think the

noble Duke was right when he pointed out that, at any rate in the first instance, what was necessary for arriving even at a preliminary result was a distinct detailed scientific inquiry by expert medical men rather than by a Royal Commission who had no special training for the duty which might be laid upon them. The Commission over which the noble Earl presided noted certain causes as predisposing to physical degeneration. He mentioned bad housing and bad and insufficient nourishment. I am satisfied that we are in some danger in putting in this matter effect in place of cause, and cause in place of effect. I admit at once there is a case for further inquiry, but I am rather inclined to think that the cases that were inquired into under my noble friend's auspices were those from which you all must certainly expect the very results which his Commissioners found to be existing. In other words, I am not at all sure that it is not the fact that those who are weakly and who are going under in the struggle for life, are those who are unable to provide their children with proper housing and with sufficient nourishment. My Lords, various suggestions have been made by the Commission over which the noble Earl presided, some of which can be further tested without waiting for the inquiry indicated by the noble Duke. There is, for instance, the matter of further medical inspection of children at school. Some large School Boards in Scotland are taking steps to place this inspection upon a scientific and proper basis. It will be our desire, as far as the Scottish Education Department is concerned, to encourage other School Boards to follow their example, and we hope that by these means we shall obtain a truer estimate of the actual state of the school population than we have at the present time. There is also a Joint Commission of the Scottish Education Board and the Board of Education which has for this purpose to arrange for physical exercises suitable for the various ages and various conditions of the children. The Earl of Meath was perfectly accurate when he said that unless these things were carefully supervised they would do more harm than good. It is the opinion of the Scottish Department that much longer time should be devoted to physical training and recreation in schools than is

done at the present time. How this may be made possible is a matter for consideration and inquiry, but I hope that the suggestions which have been made will encourage effort in this direction, and we are prepared to consider any application of this kind. I would not have risen at all had I not felt some apprehensions that the noble Earl thought the Commissions' Report had not received attention, but I can assure him that the matters referred to therein have been brought to our notice, and that the inquiry over which he presided will bear good fruit in the future.

*EARL STANHOPE: I trust the Government will pursue the inquiry, especially into the physical condition of the children of the working classes in those places like Glasgow where manufacturing pursuits are followed and the conditions of life are hardest.

The subject then dropped.

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order): Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

NAVAL CADETSHIPS.

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD: My Lords, some two months ago a very interesting discussion arose in your Lordships' House, through the noble Lord the Earl of Glasgow, upon the new naval scheme described in the Memorandum issued by the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty towards the close of last year. Amongst the many important charges brought about under cover of that Memorandum, one, I venture to think, of the most important is that which deals with the new system of cadetships for officers for the Royal Navy. In the first place, the age of entry has been reduced to between twelve and thirteen years, and, in the second place, competitive examination has been abolished. Now, as far as I know, the only system that exists is one of pure nomination by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Criticism has been passed, and Questions have been asked as to what guarantee the public has that out of the several hundreds of applicants the

Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

First Lord of the Admiralty will make a wise and just selection. Speaking on this point the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty used words to this effect, *i.e.*, his sole object would be to endeavour to get those boys who in the future would be likely to make the most competent and efficient officers. He said that in making his selection he should know no other guide than this, and he used these words—

“I have been thinking very carefully what steps I can take to obtain sure and efficient machinery for ascertaining which of the numerous boys who apply for the grant of nomination will really make the most competent and efficient officers.”

I venture to ask the noble Earl if he can give the House any information with respect to the grant of nomination for naval cadetships for the first examination under the new scheme of entry, and further if he has been able to discover any machinery for ascertaining which of the boys to whom he is about to give these nominations are likely to make the most competent, the best, and the most efficient officers.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): My Lords, the problem which confronted me on the reduction of the age of entry to the Navy from what it was to the present limit of between twelve and thirteen is this—how, without resorting to competitive examination, even in a limited form, to make certain that I selected from among the very numerous applicants those boys who would in the future make the best naval officers. After thinking the matter over a long time I resorted to the following scheme. I appointed a Committee, over which Admiral Sir John Fisher presided. He had three colleagues: Commander Hyde Parker, now serving in the “*Britannia*,” Mr. Ashford, science master of Harrow and the selected headmaster for the Royal Naval College at Osborne, and Mr. Baddeley of the Civil Service, who, as my private secretary, has had great experience in this matter. I laid before this Committee all the information I possessed in respect of all the applicants for nomination who had applied to me, and gave them leave to take any steps that were open to them to seek more information. Among other things they gave the opportunity to every schoolmaster to say anything he

wished about the respective qualifications of the boys who were going up from his school. Out of a total number of between 350 and 360 boys I eliminated a few—some 20 to 25 who had only applied for one or two branches of the service. In respect of the remaining 325, who had all entered for all three branches, I invited all of them, without distinction, to appear before this Committee. The work of the Committee extended into three weeks, and each of the boys who responded to the invitation was seen separately by the Committee in an informal interview which lasted a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes in each case. I said to the Committee: “Do not make any attempt to find out what the boy’s knowledge is or his standard of education. All I want is for you to report to me generally as to his intelligence and his suitability for the naval service.” Now, I think I may say safely that the experiment has been most successful. I asked Professor Ewing, the new Director of Naval Education, who is not a member of the Committee, to attend the meetings frequently and to report whether he thought this was a satisfactory process of arriving at a fair estimate of the boys’ comparative intelligence and suitability for the Service. Professor Ewing says—

“Although I have not been a member of the Committee before whom the boy candidates for nomination have appeared, I have watched the proceedings of the Committee pretty closely, being anxious to see how far this system of informal examination has proved effective. It appears to me to have worked exceedingly well. What the Committee has done is to make the boys talk, and, by putting questions of the most various kinds, to see whether they are observant and intelligent. It speaks well for their method of inspection, that after a few minutes’ talk with each boy the Committee have been practically unanimous in their classification of him, and this although the four members of the Committee are men of very different habits of mind. After watching the system at work, I think that probably any group of reasonable men with equally various qualifications and experience, questioning the boys in the same informal way, would form substantially the same judgment on each.”

Now with this report before me which, of course, is a private report to myself, I have made my nominations. I wish expressly to have it understood that I alone am responsible to Parliament for the nominations, and I have only described what I have done in the matter

in order that Parliament may see that I have taken such steps as have been open to me to find a better method than competitive examination for the selection of the most suitable boys for His Majesty's naval service. All the boys to whom I have given a nomination will now have to pass a medical and qualifying examination. If they pass the qualifying examination they will pass into the Royal Naval College; if they do not pass, they will never have another chance. I certainly intend on a future occasion to apply the same method, but I shall always take care that the names of the Committee are not published or known in advance. I shall have no hesitation in stating afterwards who the gentlemen were, but I intend to change them on each occasion and never to let the names be known beforehand. I think I may fairly say that this method appears likely to prove a real success.

The subject then dropped.

PREFERENTIAL AND RETALIATORY DUTIES.

***LORD WELBY** : My Lords, I rise to ask the Lord President of the Council whether the Government in the course of their inquiries into the results of free trade will collect information as to the administration of preferential and retaliatory duties under the system of protection which reigned up to 1842, and as to any difficulties or disadvantages to trade which attended that administration, and, if so, whether they will have the information reduced to a form in which it can be laid before the public. In offering a few remarks I wish to avoid any controversial aspects of the question and to confine myself entirely to the business view, but I think you will admit that my Question has a very important bearing upon the fiscal policy that has been brought before the country. The fact is that no country, or very few countries, have had such long experience of preferential and retaliatory duties as those under which this country was governed between 1815 and 1842. Of course, the system of protection existed a long time before 1815; but the period between 1815 and 1842 was one of complete peace, and during that time the country was entirely subject to preferential and retaliatory tariffs. That being so, and

The Earl of Selborne.

seeing that a great revolution in our fiscal system is about to be instituted, it would be a breach of duty if the Government does not avail itself of the information which may be gathered in order to utilise it when this great subject is under our consideration. The information, no doubt, is somewhat difficult to get. A long time has elapsed since the reign of preferential duties. All the people who were connected with the administration of those duties have long since passed away, but, at the same time, information on the subject can be obtained by Government, which is the only authority to properly obtain it. I have some recollection of these matters. When I first entered the Treasury between forty and fifty years ago, the reign of protection was not entirely over. A very large number of duties were still in force which were of a protective nature. I was the private secretary to the Financial Secretary of the Treasury during the preparation of the Budget of 1860 and the discussions which followed, and have the most vivid recollection of the labours which my chief had at that time. I heard much of the complaints and remonstrances from the protected interests from which protection was being swept away. The result left on my mind from that recollection, and also from what I learnt from my seniors in office, has been the extreme difficulty that was experienced in the administration of preferential and retaliatory duties while they were in full swing, the anomalies of the system, the injury protection duties caused to large trading interests, and the unjust preference they gave to a small class of traders.

Protection ruled from 1815 to 1842, and I want to draw the attention of the Government to the point on which I think useful information can be collected. From 1815 to 1860, there were three periods of relaxation from or abolition of protective duties. The first was under Huskisson from 1824 to 1826, the second was in the time of Sir Robert Peel from 1842 to 1846, and finally there were the Budgets, 1853 to 1860. I want to suggest to His Majesty's Government that a Return should be prepared of all the preferential and retaliatory duties that were relaxed or abolished at that time. This Return

should state the amount of preferential duties accorded to the colonies, and the amount of retaliatory duties imposed on foreign countries. It should also give the receipts under those duties and the quantities of articles protected which had been imported some years before the change and some years after the change. I think if a Return of that kind were presented it would cover practically the field of the inquiry which is now being instituted, and it would also cover the whole field which lies before the Government and the country when they have to choose—if it be the decision of the Government—what preferential duties should be imposed in the future. But that would only be the first part of the Return. The second part should include a careful research into the number of Committees that sat from 1820 to 1840. They are not a very large number but I am sure that in their proceedings the Government would be able to find a great deal of information from the witnesses that appeared, bearing upon the results of the administration of preferential duties, and the difficulties and anomalies they produced. There is one particular Committee, the Report of which I should like to see republished and circulated, *i.e.*, the Committee on Import Duties which sat in 1840. The Report that that Committee returned to the House of Commons is one of the most interesting documents bearing upon this question. There was also the Committee on Silk Duties, and that which sat on Timber Duties, and no doubt there are others to which reference might with advantage be made. In nearly every one of these Committees there was examined one of the most accomplished and able civil servants ever in the service of the Crown, *i.e.*, Mr. James Deacon Hume, the mentor of Huskisson, the adviser of Sir Robert Peel on commercial questions. Of course, in addition, a large amount of information may be gathered from the speeches of Ministers who proposed reductions in tariffs, and the information so obtained may very effectively be put in the form of a Memorandum and attached to the Return for which I ask.

Now, to show why I think such information would be very useful, I

venture to refer your Lordships to one or two instances of the anomalies and difficulties that have arisen in the administration of these preferential duties and retaliatory tariffs. First of all, I will refer to the Return attached to the Committee on Imports. There is a Paper of all duties which involved protection. It classifies them in three heads. Those duties applied to nearly every object necessary to the existence and comfort of the community. That, I think, would show the field over which the preferential and retaliatory tariffs of those days ranged. I will further call attention to one or two instances, and will first take the duty on coffee. In those days the coffee duty was 6d. in the lb. in the case of colonial coffee, 1s. 3d. in the lb. on foreign coffee, and an intermediate duty of 9d. if the coffee came from the Cape of Good Hope and from East of the Cape. The result of the working of that duty was that it actually paid the importers from Hamburg and the Continent to send the coffee to the Cape of Good Hope in order to bring it back and land it here at a duty of 9d. per lb. It was reckoned that the extra charges of freight of that junketing journey were 1½d. per lb., which had to be added to the intermediate duty of 9d. I ask your Lordships to consider what an absurdity that administration was reduced to. In addition to the duty which the Legislature thought desirable to impose upon coffee, it was found profitable and legal to send coffee several thousands of miles across the sea, with all the loss of the interest on the money concerned, and bearing the numerous charges of freight insurance and shipment in order to sell it here in London. Another very important case which the Government will have to consider, if effect is given to the policy suggested, is that of wool. In 1841 the duty was 1d. per lb. on foreign wool, and in that year we consumed 42,000,000 lbs. of foreign wool, 15,000,000 lbs. of colonial wool, and 92,000,000 lbs. of our own. It was calculated by Mr. James Wilson, the eminent economist who conducted the *Economist* newspaper, afterwards one of the most able Secretaries of the Treasury, that the extra charge on the raw material by this system of duty amounted to

between £500,000 and £600,000, the value of our exported woollen goods being between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, so that the duty amounted to a duty of 10 per cent. on the raw material as compared with the finished article. Truly, for a Legislature trying to safeguard the interests of trade and promote manufacture, a stranger method of effecting that object could not have been resorted to. Passing to the duties on silk, it had been the intention of Parliament to give all round a general protection of 30 per cent. on silk. Ministers in Parliament, when the duties were subsequently reduced, had to confess that in the carrying out of the administration of those reduced duties, by blunder or by intention, instead of protection ranging around 30 per cent., it ranged from 30 to 250 per cent.

I will pass on to the case of timber, and the singular history of the timber duty may not be known to your Lordships. In 1810, when Napoleon was organising the Northern Federation, there were great fears in England that the whole of the timber trade would be put an end to—our chief source of supply being Northern Europe. In order to secure a supply of timber, very strong encouragement was given to ships to bring timber from Canada by levying a duty of 55s. a load upon foreign timber. In 1815, when the war came to an end, that duty also should have come to an end, but it did not, and in 1820 a Committee of the House of Commons, which sat to inquire into the question, reported that no pledge had been given as to the continuance of this duty. A Government witness said he could not see why timber in this country should be made dearer for all time to the consumer because of the Copenhagen Expedition. But it did last for a very long time, and timber consumers for a very long time were condemned to pay larger prices in consequence of that expedition. Before the Committee which sat in 1835 a calculation was made that at that time we imported 1,000,000 loads of timber; 600,000 loads came from our own colonies, and 400,000 came from foreign countries. The result of that was that the duty received from timber was £1,400,000, but the price of timber, which was one of the main articles of our manufacture and trade, was raised not by £1,400,000

Lord Welby.

but by £2,750,000, the difference of £1,350,000 going into the pockets of the colonial timber producer. And perhaps in connection with that, as an instance of the way in which those duties were administered, I may refer to a speech made by Sir Robert Peel in 1842. He said that for a long time mahogany, being foreign wood, had been taxed 55s. a load, and if brought into England the cost and duty were so high that it did not pay English furniture makers to use mahogany. It was then exported under drawback to the Continent and made up in furniture shops of France, Belgium, and Germany and then brought back into this country, the unfortunate consumer paying 20 per cent. duty on it. Thus a wise legislature kept all furniture making from mahogany out of the country when it might have usefully employed a number of furniture makers here. Then again, take the case of foreign copper. It was allowed to be brought into England and to be smelted here, but it was not allowed to be made into bolts. Our shipbuilders had to send it to foreign parts to be made into bolts and we had to get the bolts from the foreigner unless we could obtain the supply in our own country. Take another instance. Mr. James Wilson calculated in 1844 that the sugar and wheat duties took out of the pockets of the consuming classes in England £18,000,000 in addition to the amount of the duty. Comment was made at that time that the sum taken out of the pockets of the consumer in addition to the duty would have paid once and a half over, the whole taxation of the country.

I have said enough to show how necessary it is there should be some inquiry into the history of these preferential tariffs from which I have only culled a few instances. There can be very little doubt indeed that the Legislature of that date never contemplated such absurdities as these to which I have called attention. The Ministers and their officials did not understand the questions with which they were dealing, and these anomalies were in essence the results of legislative blunders. Unluckily those blunders had a habit of remaining a long time on the Statute-book and were only removed when some greater man of the day had his attention

called to them and swept the whole system away. But if we are going to undertake again such a system of preferential or retaliatory duties what guarantee have we that some of the blunders will not recur? In those days the Ministers and officials were as able as our men of to-day, but they fell into these errors, and is there any security whatever that when we enter upon this dangerous course the blunders will not be repeated? Only in the case of the corn duty the Prime Minister said recently that he had not realised its effect upon the stuffs brought in for cattle food. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that in the negotiations of the Treasury with the millers protection was afforded which was not intended to be afforded. Therefore, I venture to point out that already we have seen that there may be mistakes in dealing with this one duty, and I cannot help thinking there is a danger of greater mistakes being made if and whenever a general scheme of preferential duties is enacted. The instances I have given you are only instances, but they are nearly all founded upon responsible authority. I do not ask your Lordships to accept them as infallible, but I say they do show what very dangerous ground we are treading upon, and I venture to impress upon your Lordships that it is the duty of the Government and of Parliament to see that full information on these duties is obtained, that the Government make it clear that they really understand what it is they are about, and further I venture to hope that no mandate will be asked from the electors until such information has been put before them, so as to make it perfectly clear that they understand the new policy which they are asked to substitute for the old.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: My Lords, I quite agree with the noble Lord that it is extremely desirable that some information should be laid before Parliament, and through Parliament before the country, as to the history of our own experience of preferential and retaliatory tariffs. I am quite sure that there is no one who is more qualified than the noble Lord himself to indicate

the sources from which such information can be best obtained. The noble Lord has indicated the nature of the Return, which he would like to ask for; and if he will either move for that Return or communicate privately either with myself or, as perhaps would be better, with the Treasury, we will endeavour to see whether the information he asks for could not be prepared. I suspect there is one part of the Return indicated by the noble Lord which might be regarded as forming a new and perhaps rather inconvenient precedent. I could not very well hear the noble Lord, but I think he said that speeches in Parliament which would throw a great deal of light on the subject might be summarised. I am afraid some objection might be taken to the production of a condensed summary, even of debates which had taken place so many as fifty years ago. We might have some difficulty in supplying that part of the Return. But any information as to the nature of the duties, which then obtained, and as to correspondence which related to those duties we shall be happy, I am sure, to produce as far as we can. I may mention that I have already communicated with the Treasury on this subject and they have expressed their willingness to provide information as far as they can, and have also suggested that a great deal of information on the subject would be found in the Report of Mr. Joseph Hume's Select Committee in 1840 on Import Duties, a Report with which I think the noble Lord is familiar. If he will communicate with the Government—either through myself or the Treasury—we shall be happy to give what information we can.

LORD WELBY: I beg to thank the noble Duke for his answer. I never intended that a summary of the speeches of the statesmen to whom I alluded should be prepared, but in most of these speeches there are illustrations of these effects and anomalies to which I have called attention, and I think these might with great advantage be selected from their speeches and collected as evidence. That would not take very long and this evidence, coming as it does from Chancellors of the Exchequer and

other responsible Ministers of the Crown, would be evidence upon which the Government and the country might rely.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 6th July, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—West Bromwich Corporation Bill [Lords]; Lochnell Estate Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have not been complied with, viz. :—Bangor Corporation Bill [Lords]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [Lords]; South Eastern and London, Chatham and Dover Railways Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time to-morrow.

Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Gateshead Corporation Bill. As amended, considered.

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Hexham Gas Bill [Lords]; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Nantwich Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Sheffield and South Yorkshire Navigation Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Sheffield Corporation Bill. As amended, considered.

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed. [New Title.]

Torquay Corporation Water Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Bournemouth Gas and Water Bill [Lords]; Chatham and District Light Railways Bill [Lords]; Maryport Harbour Bill [Lords]; Mid Yorkshire

Tramways Bill [Lords]; Salford Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Lanarkshire and Dumbartonshire Railway Bill, without Amendment.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to provide for the constitution of Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham, and for matters incidental thereto." [Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confer power on the Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company, Limited, for the repayment and reduction of their capital; and for other purposes." [Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable money to be raised or secured upon the Pentillie Estate in the county of Cornwall devised by the will of Augustus Coryton, esquire, deceased." [Pentillie Estate Bill (Lords).]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Company to construct a railway and a pier; to raise additional capital; to enter into working agreements with the London and South Western Railway Company; and for other purposes." [South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill (Lords).]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to empower the Bury and District Joint Water Board to construct additional waterworks; to repeal and amend enactments relating to the Water Undertaking of the Board; and for other purposes." [Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill (Lords).]

Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company Bill [Lords]; Pentillie Estate Bill [Lords]; South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway Bill [Lords]; Bury and District Joint Water Board Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PETITIONS.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition from Banbury, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Edinburgh, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Petition from Hackney, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

OLD AGE PENSION SCHEME.

Petition from Baildon, for adoption; to lie upon the Table.

SEA-TROUT FISHINGS IN ORKNEY.

Petition of the County Council of Orkney, for inquiry; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EAST INDIA (LIABILITY FOR INCREASE IN BRITISH SOLDIERS' PAY).

Return [presented 2nd July] to be printed. [No. 237.]

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for the Instruction and Training of Pupil Teachers and Students in Training Colleges [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 6th July, 1903, withdrawing Article 102 and Articles 111 to 129, inclusive, of the Provisional Code, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for Secondary Schools (from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes, from 1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 22nd June, 1903, granting to Mr. M. J. O'Callaghan, late Clerk of the Second Division, in the Department of Public Works, Ireland, a Retired Allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Copy presented, of Regulation, dated 1st July, 1903, made by the Treasury, under the Friendly Societies Act, 1896 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION
(IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year 1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

METROPOLITAN WATER STOCK
REGULATIONS, 1903.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Local Government Board prescribing Regulations with respect to the creation, issue, transfer, dealing with, and redemption of any Metropolitan Water Stock which the Metropolitan Water Board create under the Metropolitan Water Act, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Letter from General Officer Commanding the Forces in South Africa transmitting the proceedings of a

Board of Officers assembled to report upon certain Supplies of Meat and Vegetable Rations at Pretoria considered to be unfit for issue [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY EXPENDITURE.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 31st March—*Sir John Colomb*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 238.]

ROYAL GARRISON REGIMENTS.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 30th April—*Mr. Churchill*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 239.]

IRON AND STEEL, 1901.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 3rd July—*Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 240.]

TRAMWAYS AND LIGHT RAILWAYS
(STREET AND ROAD).

Return ordered, "of Street and Road Tramways and Light Railways authorised by Act or Order, showing the amount of capital authorised, paid up, and expended; the length of line authorised, and the length open for the public conveyance of passengers, down to the 30th day of June, 1903; the gross receipts, working expenditure, and net receipts; the number of passengers conveyed, and the number of miles run by cars, during the year ended the 30th day of June, 1903; together with the number of horses, engines, and cars at that date (in continuation and extension of Parliamentary Paper, No. 307, of Session 1902)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour*.)

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS
(CONTRACTS.)

Return ordered, "of all Contracts made in the United Kingdom for manufactured articles by the several Government Departments in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1903, either with contractors outside the United Kingdom or with contractors or agents who obtain the articles from abroad (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 304, of Session 1901)."—(*Sir Howard Vincent*.)

PROBATION OF FIRST OFFENDERS.

Address for "Return of the number of cases within the Metropolitan Police District, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Durham, in which persons convicted of first offences have, by reason of their youth or the trivial nature of the offence, been released under recognisances on probation of good conduct in the years 1900, 1901, and 1902, under The Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887; and of the number of cases in which such persons have been called upon to appear to receive judgment, or are known to have been subsequently convicted of a fresh offence (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 348, of Session 1900)."—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Alien Immigration Returns.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state in what respect the Returns of Aliens arriving in this country laid every month upon the Table are not strictly accurate; and if he can inform the House from what source the figures are derived, and if there is any penalty for a false Return; and further, to what classes of persons the Returns apply, and in the case of the aliens arriving at Newhaven how the information is obtained.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) I am not aware of any particular in which the Returns of Aliens are inaccurate, and every endeavour is made to secure their accuracy. The figures are derived from lists of alien passengers furnished to the Customs authorities by masters of vessels arriving from European ports at the twenty-nine ports in this country of which the hon. and gallant Member will find a list in the monthly Return laid before the House. The lists obtained at five of these ports which are specified in the Return are exclusive of saloon passengers. A penalty for a false Return is provided by Section 2 of the Act 6, William 4, cap. xi., under which the Returns are collected. The information

is obtained at Newhaven, as at other ports, in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

Trade Returns.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if, having regard to the importance of having the trade statistics for 1902 available as quickly as possible, the issue of the statistical abstract can be somewhat expedited in view of the fiscal discussion now in progress.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) Every effort will be made to publish the statistical abstract at as early a date as possible, but it cannot be issued until the necessary data are available. Meanwhile the hon. and gallant Member will find figures relating to the trade of 1902 in the Monthly Accounts of Trade and Navigation for December last.

British Exports for 1902.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state what proportion of the British exports for 1902 consisted of goods manufactured in the United Kingdom, of coal and other raw material for industrial competition, of ships and machinery; and what was the total value in each of these three classes taken by British colonies and dependencies and by foreign countries respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) Of the total value of the exports of British produce in 1902, 74 per cent. was accounted for by manufactured and partly manufactured articles, exclusive of ships and machinery; 9 per cent. by ships and machinery; and 11 per cent. by raw materials. The total values of the exports of these three classes taken by British possessions and foreign countries, respectively, were—Manufactured articles, exclusive of ships and machinery: to foreign countries, £120,000,000; to British possessions, £89,400,000. Ships and machinery: to foreign countries, £16,100,000; to British possessions, £8,500,000. Raw materials: to foreign countries, £28,900,000; to British possessions, £2,500,000.

Foreign Imports into British Colonies.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what were the total imports of foreign goods into Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, the Cape, and Natal, respectively, in the last completed year for which figures are available, and how much of these respective imports consisted of manufactured goods.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The total imports of foreign goods into Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, the Cape, and Natal, respectively, in the year 1901, the last for which there are complete Returns, were as follows: Australia, £12,438,000; New Zealand, £2,018,000; Canada (for year ended 30th June, 1902), £32,527,000; Newfoundland (for year ended 30th June, 1902), £572,000; the Cape, £4,418,000; Natal, £1,601,000. The colonial Returns do not distinguish manufactured from other goods.

Duty on and Price of Wheat in Germany.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what is the duty per quarter upon wheat charged upon entry into Germany; and what is the present price of wheat in Germany compared with the price of the same quality in Britain.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The Customs duty leviable in Germany on imported wheat is at the rate of 3 mks. 50 pfgs. per 100 kilogs., equal to 7s. 7½d. per quarter. The average price of wheat on the 1st July, at the nine German markets, for which particulars are quoted in the *Reichsanzeiger* for the 2nd July, was 35s. 6d. per quarter. The average *Gazette* price of British wheat in England and Wales for the week ended 27th June was 27s. 6d. per quarter.

Income Tax in France.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if foreigners having real estate in France will be subject to the income tax recently imposed upon the full amount of their incomes, or if only upon such income as is derived from property in France.

(Answered by Lord Cranborne.) From the provisions of the Bill recently submitted to the Chamber of Deputies it appears that foreigners of more than one year's residence, whether they have real estate in France or not, will have to pay on their entire income, whether derived from France or from other countries. Foreigners not residing in France but possessing there landed property or agricultural, commercial, or industrial establishments are apparently subject to income tax only in respect of such property or establishments. The law is, however, not to take effect till the next year but one after the date of its enactment.

Great Britain and Belgium—Maritime Law.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with regard to the draft treaties relating to the law of collision and salvage at sea, based on suggestions made at conferences of shipowners, lawyers, underwriters, and merchants organised by the Comité Maritime International at Antwerp, 1898, London, 1899, Paris, 1900, and Hamburg, 1902, received from the Belgian Government, and the suggestion that these draft treaties should be submitted to a diplomatic conference for consideration, if he will state what action is to be taken by the Government; and what reply has been made to the Belgian Government.

(Answered by Lord Cranborne.) The Belgian Government have been informed that it has long been the settled policy of His Majesty's Government not to be officially represented at such conferences, the decisions of which, if they were represented thereon, might possibly be regarded as to some extent placing them under an obligation to alter or modify the existing maritime law of this country.

Admiralty Gifts of Stone for Church Building.

MR. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the amount and value of the stone recently given to build a church at Pembroke Dock; by what authority it was given; and whether similar contributions will in future be given towards

the building of Nonconformist places of worship in the town proportionately, according to the numbers of the respective congregations.

(Answered by Mr. Pretyman.) The amount of the stone cannot now be stated accurately. It was part of the material arising from the demolition of an old battery. The stone was valued at £60, and that amount was charged to the Vote liable for grants to religious institutions by authority of the Board of Admiralty. The building was a mission church for a district mainly inhabited by dockyard employees. Applications for grants of this character for churches or for Nonconformist places of worship are considered equally on their merits.

Foreign Imports into India.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: To ask the Secretary of State for India what was the total import of foreign goods into India in the last completed year for which figures are available, and how much of these imports consisted of manufactured goods.

(Answered by Secretary Lord George Hamilton.) The total imports of private merchandise from foreign countries into India in 1901-2 amounted to £14,984,934, of which £7,432,427 represented articles wholly or partially manufactured.

Factories and Workshops—Fire Precautions.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will consider the expediency of introducing legislation such as will bring within the scope of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, premises such as those in Queen Victoria Street, the scene of a recent fire which was attended with the loss of life of some of the workers.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) I do not think that it would be expedient to bring within the Factory and Workshop Act, for the purposes of the provisions relating to means of escape from fire, buildings which would not be either factories or workshops for any other purpose of the Act.

Underground Kitchens.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he purposes introducing this session such legislation as will place underground kitchens in hotels and restaurants and other refreshment houses under the same conditions as already apply to underground bake-houses in view of the report made by Dr. Collingridge, the medical officer of health to the City of London, showing that there are 135 underground kitchens in London which are unfit for the purpose of cooking food.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) I am advised that the kitchens of restaurants are "work-places" within the meaning of the Public Health Acts and Section 2 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, and therefore local authorities, including the Court of Common Council for the City of London, to whom, if I understand aright, the report mentioned in the Question was made, have considerable powers for the enforcement of sanitation in such places. I am not prepared to introduce legislation applying to these kitchens the provisions of Section 101 of the Act of 1901, which I understand to be the hon. Member's suggestion.

Vivisection—Consecutive Experiments on the same Animal.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, is there any limit to the number of consecutive operations that may be performed on the same dog under the Act 39 and 40 Vic., c. 77, as administered by the Home Office.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.) The Act imposes no such limit, but it is within the power of the Secretary of State to impose one, if thought necessary, by conditions attached to the licence.

Post Office Sorters and Official Papers.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why the privilege accorded to telegraphists of perusing official papers concerning their personal character is withheld from sorters.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

I am not certain to what official papers the hon. Member refers; but as regards papers relating to questions of discipline, the practice prevailing in the Department is as stated in the Report of the Tweedmouth Committee: "We understand that, before punishment of an officer, the precise nature of the charge brought against him is explained to him in writing, and that he is allowed to make, on his own behalf, a written explanation. This rule which secures officers against unjust treatment should be strictly adhered to. More than once a claim has also been made that officers should have the right to see all confidential reports made on their conduct. The admission of this claim would, we consider, be detrimental to the control exercised by superior officers." So far as I am aware, no privilege has been accorded to telegraphists which is withheld from sorters. But the extent of the official correspondence which can be shown to the officers must, of course, vary with the circumstances of the case.

Overtime Payments to Postmen for Increased Bounds.

MR. FREEMAN THOMAS (Hastings): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in the event of a postman's walk having increased in consequence of building and other causes, and his time having exceeded the recognised eight-hour day enough to cause a revision of his walk, payment would be made to him for the overtime worked continuously prior to the revision.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

As soon as a postman's attendance exceeds the proper limit, his duty should be reduced; and if any postman is in this position he should apply to his postmaster on the matter.

Rural Postmen.

MR. FREEMAN THOMAS: To ask the Postmaster-General what distance per day has a rural postman to walk to entitle him to be classed as a full-time man.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.)

The distance a rural postman has to walk in order to be classed as a full-time man

varies according to circumstances, and it is not possible to give any general answer on the subject.

Glasgow Post Office.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state the number of officers employed in the Glasgow Post Office who are in receipt of fourteen shillings per week or under, and how many of these are employed wholly or partly in handling public correspondence.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state the amount paid out as overtime in the Glasgow Post Office (postal department) during March and April of the present year, and also the total amount paid for overtime to sorting clerks since January, 1900.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I will make inquiry to see whether I can obtain the information desired by the hon. Member.

Glasgow Post Office—Revision of Staff.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Postmaster-General whether a revision of the staff employed on postal duties at Glasgow is at present under his consideration; and, if so, when will the result be promulgated.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) The Postmaster of Glasgow is now preparing his proposals for a revision of the indoor force. When submitted, they will, of course, have to undergo the usual careful examination, and I cannot at present say when it will be possible to promulgate the result.

Glasgow Post Office—Clerical and Sorting Duties.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a number of officers employed as sorting clerks at Glasgow have for a number of years been engaged on clerical duties in the Accountant's Branch Inquiry Office; and whether, in view of the fact that the hours of attendance for these duties are on week days 9 a.m. till 5 p.m., and on Saturdays 9 a.m. till 1.30 p.m., with all local and bank holidays

off, and that three members of one family are participating in such duties, he will take steps to have all sorting clerks who have been employed on such duties for a longer period than two years removed to the sorting office and placed on duties according to their seniority, so that they may become acquainted with the practical working of the department to which they belong.

(Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.) I have no information upon this subject, but I will inquire into the matter.

Post Office Pensions—Boy-sorter Service.

CAPTAIN NORTON: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state whether boy-sortership service in the postal service counts effectively for pensions.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) Service as boy sorter does not reckon for pension.

Promotion in the Civil Service.

COLONEL WYNDHAM-QUIN (Gloucestershire, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware of the effect of the Treasury ruling of 8th May, 1896, as regards the promotion of holders of minor staff posts to the higher division whereby they are required to revert to second division salary on promotion, thereby causing a loss of salary, while, at the same time, the clerk is called upon to perform work of a higher character and assume greater responsibility; whether he will state the object of such a rule and the authority under which it has been adopted; and will he take steps to have it cancelled, in view of its effect in inflicting monetary loss on those members of this class in the service who prove themselves fit for further advancement.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) The regulation was made by the Treasury as the authority immediately responsible for the salaries of civil servants. Staff posts of the second division were created for superior duties of Accounts, Registration and Supervision: and the salaries attached to them were fixed on a liberal scale, as such posts constitute the prizes of the second division, and it was not contemplated that further promotion was

open to the holders. If a clerk who had been promoted from the second division to a staff post were allowed, on further promotion to the first division, to carry with him the salary of the staff post, it might easily happen that he would be receiving a higher salary than a clerk who had entered the first division after a severe examination in subjects of the highest class and had been an equal time in the service. This would be unjust to the other higher division clerks, and it would, moreover, be a waste of public money, as the normal minimum of the higher division (£150 or £200) is much lower than the salary of a staff post. The rule is, in my opinion, equitable to the clerks and necessary in the public interest.

Annual Leave of Customs Assistant Clerks.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, seeing that the Commissioners of Customs, when recommending that the annual leave of their assistant clerks who are engaged upon checking duties should be increased from fourteen to eighteen days, stated that this increase would involve no additional cost to the State, the Treasury will reconsider their previous decision and sanction this increase, which will place these men in the matter of leave on a footing with their colleagues in the majority of Government offices.

(Answered by Mr. Elliot.) The Treasury are not prepared to grant a general increase of annual leave to abstractors in the departments under their direct control, nor can they make a special exception in the case of such officers when employed in the Customs.

Vaccination Prosecutions in the Trowbridge and Melksham Unions.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that a medical inspector in his Department has visited the Trowbridge and Melksham Union, and has threatened the vaccination officers of that union with dismissal if they do not institute legal proceedings against defaulters under the Vaccination Acts without the consent of the guardians;

and if so, will he state whether the inspector has taken this course in pursuance of instructions from the Local Government Board or of regulations as to his duties, and if the latter, where such regulations are laid down.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) A medical inspector of my Department visited the union and reported to me that both the vaccination officers refused to take proceedings in cases of default under the Vaccination Acts. I am not aware that he threatened them with dismissal. On receipt of the report I wrote to the vaccination officers, pointing out that I could not permit of further delay in their performing their duties in this matter, and I requested to be informed definitely whether they were prepared in future to carry out their duties, including the prosecution of persons in default. The replies of the vaccination officers being unsatisfactory, I have called upon them to resign.

Fair Rents in County Limerick case of John O'Connell.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what is the cause of delay in the hearing of the appeal to have a fair rent fixed in the case of John O'Connell, of Glen-sharrold, Carrickerry, Ardagh, in the county of Limerick, tenant, James O'Grady, Delmege, landlord, the said case having been heard before the County Court Judge of the said county in October, 1901.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The case will probably appear on the first list of appeals for hearing at Limerick, but no date has yet been arranged for a sitting for that district.

Irrecoverable Poor Rate in Ireland.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state whether poor rates, for which a decree was obtained by rate collectors and returned by the Sheriff marked *nulla bona*, are to be written off by the County Council of the district as irrecoverable.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) It is not practicable to lay down any general rule for dealing with such cases. For

instance, although a return of *nulla bona* might be made in the case of a person rated as an occupier, the rate might be recovered from subsequent occupiers who, under Section 19 of the 12 and 13 Vic., cap. 104, would be liable for the rate two years after it was made. Every case must be considered and determined according to its own particular circumstances.

Delay at Level Crossing at Letterkenny.

MR. M'FADDEN (Donegal, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the gates at the Letterkenny level crossing on the new Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway were closed on the 23rd June last from 8 a.m. to 8.25 a.m., and that in consequence carts were kept standing at the crossing and delayed at that time; and that similar delays are of almost daily occurrence at this and also at the level crossing at Oldtown, on the same line, because of an insufficient staff being provided at both these places; and whether, in view of the inconvenience to the public by the gates being kept closed for a long time at these places three times a day, the Board of Works in Ireland will direct the Lough Swilly Railway Company to tell off a man to open and close those gates.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) The company state that the delay at Letterkenny referred to is exaggerated, that no complaint was made, and that if complaint had been made operations would have been suspended to allow the passage of vehicles. A man is specially told off to attend to the crossing at train times. The delays at Oldtown never exceeded five minutes, and were not caused by insufficiency of staff.

Delays on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Railway.

MR. M'FADDEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the train due to arrive at Letterkenny at 10.50 a.m. on the 23rd June last on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway did not arrive until 1 p.m., and in consequence passengers to Londonderry from Letterkenny and stations on the Burtonport line were delayed; and whether, in view of the repeated complaints as to delays and repeated breakdowns on both the Letterkenny and

Burtonport lines, he will direct the Board of Works in Ireland to hold an inquiry as to the working of these lines by the Lough Swilly Railway Company.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The delay in this case was due to a leaking engine. The Board of Works is in correspondence with the company with the object of securing a punctual and satisfactory working of the line.

MR. M'FADDEN : To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the train due at Letterkenny from Londonderry on the Letterkenny line at 1.40 p.m. did not arrive until 4.30 p.m. on the 22nd June last; and whether, in consequence of this breakdown and one the same day on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway the Board of Works in Ireland will compel the Lough Swilly Railway Company, which works both lines, to make compensation to Mr. John P. Speer and other Letterkenny passengers prevented on that day by these delays from travelling to Londonderry, or what steps the Board intend to take in reference to the complaints made as to the management of these lines by the said company.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The delay to the 12.10 p.m. train from Londonderry on the date mentioned was due to the detention of earlier trains. No breakdown occurred to the former train. The Board has no power to call upon the company to provide compensation to passengers for alleged losses sustained by the latter.

MR. M'FADDEN : To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that by reason of a breakdown on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway, near Creeslough, County Donegal, on the 22nd day of June last, the train due to arrive at Letterkenny at 10.50 a.m. did not arrive until nearly 7.30 p.m., and, in consequence, upwards of 200 labourers and harvestmen from the Rosses and Gweedore districts proceeding to England in search of work missed the steamboats at Londonderry and were compelled to remain in Letterkenny and Londonderry all night; and

whether, in view of the circumstances of these men, the Board of Works in Ireland will see that the Lough Swilly Railway Company, which works this line under agreement with the Board of Works, will make compensation to them for the loss sustained.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The late arrival of this train at Letterkenny was caused by the failure of the engine. Owing to the absence of telegraphic communication there was delay also in preparing a relief train. The Board of Works has been for a considerable time endeavouring to arrange with the company for the provision of telegraphic communication, which, it is now stated, will be established as soon as possible. The Board has no power to take action as suggested at the conclusion of the Question.

Stanford Court Martial—Alleged Breach of Parole by Officers.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.) : To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what steps he proposes to take to mark the displeasure of the War Office at the breach of their parole not to attend any places of public entertainment till the decision of the Court-martial was given by attendance on the race course at Ascot by officers recently charged in the Stanford Court-martial.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The Commander-in-Chief has taken disciplinary action with regard to the officers affected by the action named in the Question.

Training of Troops in Scotland.

MR. CROMBIE : To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the acreage available round Stobs Castle, Hawick, for military training, and how many infantry soldiers, regular and auxiliary, will be exercised on this area during the month of July current; and, in the event of the area proving too small, whether he could transfer the training of these troops to Salisbury Plain; also whether it is contemplated to acquire further area for the training of troops in Scotland.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) The Stobs estate, which has been purchased, is of 3,615 acres; negotiations are in progress for the purchase of a further tract of country adjoining this estate. The arrangements for the training in this district are made by the General Officer Commanding, and no details have been forwarded to the War Office. So far as Salisbury Plain is concerned the arrangements for training there have been completed, and they could not now be added to.

Army Pensions—Case of John Smith, R.F.A.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether his attention has been directed to the case of John Smith, who, after seven years' service as gunner in the 66th Battery Royal Field Artillery (No. 19,311), has been discharged in ill health upon a pension of 8d. a day for fifteen months from the date of his discharge; and whether, seeing that this man's service has been mainly abroad, in Egypt, South Africa, and India, he will explain why the pension has been fixed for a limited period

(Answered by Lord Stanley.) Gunner Smith's ill health was stated by the Medical Board to be not due to his service as a soldier, but to rheumatic fever from which he suffered prior to enlistment. He was not, therefore, eligible for a permanent pension, but, as his disability was regarded as possibly aggravated by service, he was awarded a temporary pension for the maximum period admissible for his length of service.

Military Position in Northern Nigeria.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any further news concerning the military position in Northern Nigeria to communicate.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.) The information received from Northern Nigeria since 22nd June, the date of the hon. Member's previous Question, is as follows:—Captain Sword, who had been reported as retiring to Bauchi, reached

that place without opposition on the 23rd of May. Two days later, the Resident at Bauchi reported that the progress of the Ex-Sultan of Sokoto had been checked by the garrison at Gujba, and that a letter had been received from the Ex-Sultan, in which he stated that he did not wish to fight. On the 17th of June, the Acting High Commissioner reported from Zaria that he had had an interview with a native chief, who told him that he had left the Ex-Sultan at Burmi about the end of May, and that the Ex-Sultan's forces were dwindling rapidly, and that he had great difficulty in finding food for them, and for the large number of women and children with him. The Acting High Commissioner stated that the Ex-Sultan had written to the Resident at Bauchi, describing himself as "a fugitive," and asking to be allowed to travel, and that the Resident had replied that he must surrender unconditionally, but that his life would be spared. He adds that the disturbance was now confined to the small area to the north-east of Bauchi on the Gongola river, and his last telegram, received on 1st July, stated that the situation continued to improve. No further fighting has been reported.

Imports of Foreign Goods into Crown Colonies.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what were the total imports of foreign goods into the various Crown Colonies in the last completed year for which figures are available; and how much of these imports consisted of manufactured goods.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.) It is impossible to give such a Return as the hon. Member asks for. The Colonial Returns ascribe their imports to the country from which they are imported, and a considerable quantity of foreign produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to the colonies is treated by them as imports from the United Kingdom. The aggregate imports from foreign countries into the Crown Colonies in the last year for which the complete Returns are available are given in the Return, Command 1638, recently published.

South African Constabulary—Terms of Enlistment.

MR. CAWLEY (Lancashire, Prestwich): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will state the terms on which the South African Constabulary were enlisted in 1901.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.)

The explanatory Memorandum containing the conditions of service, a copy of which was furnished to each applicant for enlistment in the South African Constabulary, is too long to quote, but I will place a copy in the Library.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Royal Army Medical Corps.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he has been able to equalise the allowances of the captains of the Royal Army Medical Corps with those possessed by lieutenants of the same Corps who are attending the Military Medical College in London.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The question of the grant of mess allowance to captains attending the Medical College has been thoroughly considered and it has not been found possible to make this concession.

Cape Ragging Court-Martial.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the law officers of the Crown were consulted as to the form and limitation of the charges on which ten officers were tried by Court-martial in reference to the incident at Mount Nelson Hotel on Christmas Eve in December, 1901; and, if not, who is responsible for them.

MR. BRODRICK: The charges were framed by the Judge-Advocate General according to custom.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Does the right hon. Gentleman accept the responsibility.

MR. BRODRICK: Of course I accept responsibility for all that is done under my charge. The Judge-Advocate General has special responsibility, in which I do not interfere.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether documents in connection with the civil action brought by Mr. Frederick Stanford against the seven officers recently tried by Court-martial were submitted to the War Office by Mr. Stanford; and, if so, whether charges of indecency against the said officers were made in the statement of claim of the plaintiff, Mr. Stanford, in the said action.

MR. BRODRICK: The reply to both Questions is in the affirmative.

Woolwich Arsenal—Lyddite Committee.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will give now or on some near date the names of those he means to appoint to the Committee or Commission on the late serious explosion of melenite, or so-called lyddite, at the Royal Arsenal.

MR. BRODRICK: The names of the Gentlemen appointed were announced in the Press on the 20th ultimo, viz.:—Rear-Admiral Parr, President; Colonel Hadden, Dr. Dupré, Major Nathan, Captain Thomson, members; Captain Watson, secretary.

Woolwich Arsenal Explosion—Coroner's Jury's Verdict.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the verdict and rider found by the Coroner's Jury in the Woolwich explosion inquest have been brought to his notice; and, if so, will he state what action he proposes to take in the matter.

MR. BRODRICK: The verdict and rider of the Coroner's Jury have been brought to notice, and the recommendations contained in the latter are being carefully considered.

Woolwich Arsenal—Previous Gunpowder Explosions.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that on the occasion of the last gunpowder explosion in the Royal Arsenal in 1868 or 1869, the Coroner's Jury found that the explosion was due to want of proper superintendence, and if, on the occasion of the late lyddite explosion, the Coroner's Jury made remarks in the same direction; and, if so, will he state if any steps will be taken to prevent a third Coroner's Report to the same effect.

MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member appears to be misinformed. The explosion alluded to took place in 1867. The Coroner's Jury did not find that it was due to want of proper superintendence. The causes of the recent explosion are under investigation.

Gulf of Pechili—Assembly of Ships of War.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what are the numbers of the British, American, and Japanese fleets in the north of the Gulf of Pechili or thereabouts at the present time; and whether, seeing that the Russians have fifty-seven vessels at Port Arthur, can he state what is the object of this gathering of fleets.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The number of British ships at present in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Pechili is twelve. The Admiralty is unaware that any special gathering of ships has taken place, or that any special object is aimed at by the Governments responsible for the movement of vessels in Chinese waters.

"Hyacinth" and "Minerva"—Cost of Repairs.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what amount of time and money has been incurred in overhauls on the "Hyacinth" and "Minerva" respectively since the date of handing over of the former by the builders, and how much of this has been expended during the

financial year ending 31st March, 1903; what has been the mileage run, on trials and commissions respectively, by these ships since the date of intimation to the Boiler Committee that these vessels were ready for comparative trials.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The total amount spent on repairs, alterations, and additions to H.M.S. "Hyacinth" since she was first commissioned on 3rd September, 1900, has been £19,255. The expenditure on H.M.S. "Minerva" for the same period was £7,310. For the financial year ending 31st March, 1903, the figures were:—"Hyacinth" £6,695; "Minerva" £2,890. It is not possible without reference to the dockyard to state the total number of days occupied by the repairs and alterations, nor is it possible to give the information asked for as to mileage run until the Engine Room Registers have been received. If my hon. friend will put another Question dealing with these points, I shall be happy to answer it.

Grants to the West Indies.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the total cost to the taxpayers of the United Kingdom of the various grants made to the West Indies since the Report of the Royal Commission of 1897; and what is the present annual charge, whether for subsidies to any of the governments of the Islands, or for any steam packet service, or repayment of interest.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E., for Mr. J. Chamberlain): Since the report of the Royal Commission and up to the end of the last financial year Parliament has voted in grants or for annual services a total of £306,180. In addition to this £82,000 has been voted in relief of the distress caused by hurricanes, and £250,000 as a grant in aid of the sugar industry pending the coming into force of the Brussels Convention. A yearly contribution of £13,500 is also paid towards the subsidy granted by the Canadian Government for the Canadian and West Indian Steamship Service, and

£20,000 a year is paid as the Imperial share of the subsidy for the Direct West India Fruit and Mail Service between England and Jamaica. In reply to the second part of the Question I would refer the hon. Member to the Estimates for Colonial Services, Class V., Vote 3. These grants, excluding the hurricane grants have been mainly necessitated by the depression of the sugar industry in the West Indies, due, in the words of the Royal Commission, "to the competition of other sugar-producing countries and in a special degree to the competition of beet sugar produced under a system of bounties."

Canadian Militia.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any correspondence has passed between the Canadian Government and His Majesty's Government in regard to the mode of appointment of the commandant of the Canadian Militia; and whether the Canadian Government have asked for Amendments to the British North America Act with this object in view.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): The answer is in the negative in regard to both parts of the Question, but I have invited the Dominion Government to discuss with His Majesty's Government the question of some proposed Amendments in the Dominion Militia Act.

Re-stocking of South African Farms—Canadian Cattle.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Canadian Government have complained to His Majesty's Government in regard to preference shown other countries in the matter of the purchase of horses and cattle required for the re-stocking of farms in South Africa.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): The question of obtaining cattle from Canada for the purpose of re-stocking farms in South Africa was brought before me by the High Commissioner, and his representations were communicated to Viscount Milner. I am informed, however, that Lord

Milner's technical advisers in this matter preferred, for re-stocking purposes, stock from tick-infected countries, as experience had shown that they were less liable to, and better able to resist, the endemic diseases of cattle in South Africa than cattle from Canada or from this country. I have not received any complaint from the Government of Canada.

Canadian Mails—Galway as a Port of Call.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any negotiations have taken place with the Canadian Government with a view to making Galway the port of call for the new Transatlantic line of steamers subsidised by the Canadian Government; and, if so, whether he can state the position in which these negotiations now stand.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN): No negotiations have taken place. I understand that the result of the tenders for a new Transatlantic Service was not successful.

Indian Army—Privilege Leave and Furlough.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the fact that British officers of the Indian Army are not permitted to combine privilege leave with a year's leave of absence out of India, thus necessitating in some cases the return of an officer to Bombay from privilege leave spent in the United Kingdom for the purpose of commencing the year's leave which may be due to him; and whether privilege leave and furlough in the Indian Army may be permitted to run concurrently as in the Indian Civil Service.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I am aware that under the regulations now in force military officers (with the exception of those in civil employ) are not permitted to combine privilege leave with furlough out of India. I believe that the Government of India are looking into this question, and until I hear from them I must postpone any expression of opinion upon the proposed concession.

Cheap Fares for Indian Officials.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will use his influence with the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company to reduce the fares of officers and civil servants when coming home on leave, who are at present charged at the same rate as the general public.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON : A Committee has been appointed to report on questions relating to the mail service with India, and certain questions in regard to passages in which the Government is interested will be considered by them.

British Troops in India—Officers' Leave.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the fact that the establishment of British Officers per Native infantry battalion has recently been increased from eight to twelve, that under the previous regulations two officers per battalion were permitted to be absent together on a year's leave, thus according them one year's leave after every three years' service, and that by the altered regulations officers now obtain one year's leave only after every five years service, he will recommend that, in view of the increased British establishment, three officers per battalion be permitted a year's leave of absence at the same time.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON : Under the Leave Rules for the Indian Army (1886) leave is granted at the discretion of the Lieutenant-Generals of the four commands. It does not seem to me to be advisable to interfere with this discretion.

Land Concessions in British Central Africa.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government will furnish the House with information as to concessions of land, which have been granted to individuals or companies in the British Central African Protectorate and other territories within the conventional basin of the Congo and the free-trade zone, as indicated by the Berlin General Act of

1885, which are subject to British control, showing their extent and the conditions under which they are held.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord CRANBORNE, Rochester): Information respecting concessions of land in the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates will be found in the Paper laid on Friday last. As regards British Central Africa, grants of Crown land have been made to the company engaging in the construction of the railway in the Protectorate, subject to the conditions contained in the published contract. Beside these various small areas have been let at times for farming and building purposes.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE :** And if there is any large concession will a Return be granted?

LORD CRANBORNE : Does the right hon. Gentleman mean with regard to Central Africa?

***SIR CHARLES DILKE :** Yes.

LORD CRANBORNE : All will be contained in the published contract.

British Attachés to the Japanese Army.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state if any arrangement has been made with the Japanese Government as regards officers of the British Service being attached to the Japanese Forces for the purpose of studying the military system and language of the country; and, if so, when will the appointment of officers be announced.

LORD CRANBORNE : No such arrangement has been made, but the matter will not escape attention.

Lunacy and Drunkenness in Glasgow.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the inquiry instituted by the Corporation of Glasgow into the connection between the increase of lunacy and drunkenness; whether he is aware that it is suggested that the increase of

lunacy in this respect is due to the inferior quality of the spirit now sold in lieu of genuine malt whisky; and whether the Government officials will give any assistance in this inquiry.

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER** (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I have no official information on the subject of the inquiry mentioned. If invited to do so by the Corporation of Glasgow, the Inland Revenue officials would be happy to supply such information as their records and experience may enable them properly to give.

Whisky Distillation.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will grant a Return showing the total quantity of malt and grain whisky distilled during last year from pot and patent stills respectively; also a Return showing the quantity of patent-still spirit despatched duty paid and under bond from England to Scotland for the same period for the purpose of being made up as whisky.

***MR. RITCHIE**: I am afraid I cannot grant the suggested Returns. The Board of Inland Revenue have no official information on the matters referred to. Their Returns do not distinguish between pot-still and patent-still spirits.

Scotch Whisky in Tied Houses.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will cause instructions to be issued to the excise officials to prevent the use of beet molasses, decayed and damaged maize, the refuse of the sugar refineries, and other such inferior and injurious substances in the manufacture of patent-still spirit for potable purposes; and whether he is aware that such spirit distilled in England is that which is now almost exclusively used in the tied houses owned by brewers and sold to the public as Scotch whisky.

***MR. RITCHIE**: The Board of Inland Revenue have no authority to interfere with the discretion of distillers as regards the materials used by them. I have no reason to believe that materials

injurious to health are used in the distilleries of the United Kingdom; and I am satisfied that the hon. Member's allegation with regard to tied houses, owned by brewers, is an unwarrantable reflection upon a trade that, with possibly a few rare exceptions, is, in my opinion, honestly and honourably conducted.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Scotch whisky sold in tied houses costs ninepence a gallon?

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Warranted to kill at forty rods!

No answer was returned.

Government Departments—Distribution of Duties.

MR. HOULT (Cheshire, Wirral): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can now announce the names of all the members of the Committee appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the position and duties of the various Government Departments, with the view to consolidate the commercial and trade interests of the country in one Department.

***MR. RITCHIE**: Besides Lord Jersey, as Chairman, the following Gentlemen have agreed to serve: the Right Hon. Sir John Gorst, Sir James Mackay, G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., member of the India Council, Sir Charles Ryan, K.C.B., late Comptroller and Auditor-General. I may say I hope very shortly to be able to add another name.

Licence Reduction—Action by the Wandsworth Justices.

***MR. THORNTON** (Clapham): On behalf of the hon. Member for Wandsworth I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a letter issued by the clerk to the justices for the Wandsworth Division, inviting persons interested in licensed premises within a specified area in the borough of Wandsworth to submit, not later than the end of August next, a comprehensive scheme, showing a substantial reduction in the number of such licensed premises, and intimating that

in the event of such scheme being considered by the justices unsatisfactory or insufficient, they would themselves deal with the question at the general annual licensing meeting for 1904; and, if so, will he consider the advisability, this session or next, of taking steps to prevent the confiscation of licensed property.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's):** Yes, Sir, I have seen a copy of the letter in question. With regard to the second paragraph of the Question, the matter is, as I think my hon. friend knows, now enjoying the serious attention of the Government, who desire to prevent the occurrence of what he fears.

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.): May I ask whether the circular is within the statutory powers of the magistrates, and, if not, what action can the licensed victuallers take when such unjust and illegal action is taken?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Consult a solicitor.

***MR. AKERS DOUGLAS:** I am not at all disposed to express an opinion as to the description of this action as given by the hon. Member. The duties of the licensing justices have been defined by the Lord Chancellor in another place, and I must refer my hon. friend to that pronouncement.

Motor-Car Outrage at Wimbledon.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to an outrage perpetrated at Wimbledon last Wednesday; and if he will consider the advisability of offering a further reward for such evidence as will secure the conviction of the offender.

***MR. AKERS DOUGLAS:** The case to which I understand the hon. Member to refer—viz., the frightening and injury of two polo ponies by a motor-car which did not stop when the accident occurred has been reported to the police by the owner of the ponies, who has offered a

reward of £25 for evidence leading to the conviction of the driver or owner of the car. It is contrary to the settled practice of the Home Office to offer rewards for the conviction of offenders, and it is not proposed to make any exception to the rule in this case. If the owner's offer is ineffective it is not likely that a further offer from the police would be successful.

Post Office—Wages Committee.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his endeavour to form a Committee of Inquiry into the wages of certain classes of Post Office employees has been successful, and can he give the names of the gentlemen willing to serve appointed by him, and when will the Committee commence its sittings.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am not yet in a position to make any statement on the question.

Magisterial Jurisdiction.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether his attention has been called to the recent case before the magistrates at Southport in which a member of the bench had been himself convicted of an offence similar to that which was on trial before him; and, if so, whether he will take steps to prevent a magistrate adjudicating in future under such circumstances.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (SIR ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs): Yes Sir, my attention has been called to this case, but the control of the magistracy does not rest with the Attorney-General, and therefore I do not feel that I can take any action in the matter.

Burtonport Train Delays.

***MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.):** I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that all the trains from Londonderry and Letterkenny to Burtonport on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway were on the days of the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of June last from two hours to six hours late in arriving at Burtonport, and that one train (the 5 p.m.) on the 24th did not arrive at all, he will say what action the Board

of Works propose to take in reference to the failure of the Lough Swilly Railway Company in working the line.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The delays were due to failure of engines. The 5 p.m. train on the 24th June arrived at 11.45. The Board of Works is giving special attention to the matter with the object of securing punctual and satisfactory working of the line.

Plains of Boyle—Roscommon.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the recent letting of a grazing farm of eighty-six Irish acres at Ballymore, on the Plains of Boyle, and to the fact that when the farm had been surrendered to the agent for the landlord, five tenants with small congested holdings adjoining memorialised the agent to have the grazing farm cut up and divided between them, offering either to pay a fine for the portions allotted to them, or such rent as the outgoing tenant had paid—viz., £1 11s. per acre, and that, notwithstanding these tenants' offer, the lands were let to a large grazier at a rent of £1 5s. per acre; and whether he is aware that these tenants were the lineal descendants of the men who were evicted off this land in 1846; and, if so, whether he will consent to the scheduling of this portion of County Roscommon under the Congested Districts Clause of the Land Bill, with a view of restoring these descendants of evicted tenants to their native holdings.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the plains of Boyle, off which hundreds of families were evicted in years gone by, is outside the operation of the Congested Districts Board, and of the circumstances in which families are living on adjoining lands, he will include these tracts for resettlement in the Land Bill now before the House.

MR. WYNDHAM: These lands can, under the Bill, be purchased from the owner if willing to sell. If so purchased the Bill contains ample powers for resettlement.

Smerwick Pier.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the need for an extension of the pier at Smerwick, and the impossibility of the Council supplying any funds owing to the high rates at present, he will give special consideration to this case.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Congested Districts Board at its last meeting decided to adhere to the terms of its former proposal—namely to contribute towards the cost of this work if undertaken by the County. I cannot hold out any hope that the work will be carried out under the Marine Works Act.

Cork Police Inquiry—Mr. Riordan's Fine.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Cork): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a recent police inquiry at Cork, when the Court, consisting of two district inspectors, imposed a fine of £5 on Mr. J. F. Riordan, solicitor, who objected to be examined in the case on the ground that anything that had occurred between himself and Constable Sullivan had relation to a matter in which he was professionally engaged and was consequently privileged; whether he is aware that Mr. Riordan's action was supported by two senior leading members of his profession who were present at the inquiry; whether such action of the two district inspectors is sanctioned by him; and whether it is the intention of the constabulary authorities to levy the fine.

MR. WYNDHAM: The question put to Mr. Riordan, and which he refused to answer, is this: "Do you recollect Constable Sullivan having called at your office at any time?" He admitted that the constable was not his client. He was not asked any question as to whether the constable had made any communication to him, or if so, what was the nature of that communication. The Court of Inquiry ordered Mr. Riordan to answer, as no question of privilege arose. On his declining to do so, the Court imposed a fine as stated. In this the Court acted within its statutory rights, and seems to have been justified in

its action by the facts. If its order is illegal, Mr. Riordan has his remedy. The question of levying the fine is under consideration.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Was this action of the inspector in accordance with law?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have answered that part of the Question. The Committee acted within its statutory powers, and if the order is illegal, Mr. Riordan has his remedy at law.

MR. CREAM (Cork, S.E.): Is there any precedent for such an order?

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: Does the right hon. Gentleman approve of this action?

MR. WYNDHAM: It would be most improper for me to express either approval or disapproval.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: Will the fine be levied by the police authorities?

MR. WYNDHAM: That, I have said, is under consideration.

Burtonport and Letterkenny Railway.

MR. M'FADDEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Board of Works in Ireland has been drawn to the fact that on the 15th day of June last over 100 passengers were carried in open trucks or timber wagons (without any protection on the sides of the wagons) on the Burtonport and Letterkenny Extension Railway by the Lough Swilly Railway Company, which works the line, and that on the same occasion passengers were carried in each of the guard's and luggage vans; and, if so, will he say what remedy the Board of Works propose to adopt to compel the railway company to provide proper accommodation for the public under the terms of the working agreement.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts appear to be correctly stated. The Board of Works is in correspondence with the company, with the object of securing a remedy against the want of adequate accommodation in future.

M'Farlane's Estate.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the case of Henry James M'Farlane, owner, v. William Joseph Hepburn, petitioner, which is a petition for the sale of the estate of the owner, has been pending in the Land Judges Court in Ireland since the 9th of March, 1881, and that an absolute order was made for the sale so far back as the 14th of June, 1881, he will ascertain on what grounds and by what authority this case was transferred from the Land Judge's Court to the Court of the Irish Land Commission; and whether, seeing that the latter Court has since the beginning of the present year adjourned the case till the next sittings, and that the later adjournment was decided upon behind the back of the tenants, who are anxious for a sale of the lands, and on a day in which the case had not been listed for hearing, he will state what explanation, if any, its officials connected with the Land Judges Department and the Land Commission have to make for the irregularities which have taken place in this matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Justice Ross has not interfered with this estate, inasmuch as he is personally interested in it. The matter was transferred, not to the Land Commission, but to Mr. Justice Meredith, sitting as a Land Judge by virtue of the regulations made pursuant to Section 23 of the Land Law Act, 1896. I understand that the estate would long since have been sold but for the action of a few of the tenants in claiming rights which were always exclusively reserved. In consequence of this the negotiations fell through, and all the parties interested in the estate served notice to dismiss the petition for sale. This motion Judge Meredith adjourned to October.

MR. DILLON: What are the rights exclusively retained? Are they the gaming rights?

MR. WYNDHAM: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will give notice of that Question.

Irish Assistant Prison Matrons.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that assistant matrons in English prisons are in receipt of higher salaries than those paid to matrons employed in a similar capacity in Ireland, and that the position of the former is superior to that of the latter in regard to dietary arrangements and annual holidays, steps will be taken to place both classes on a footing of equality.

MR. WYNDHAM: This is a matter for Departmental consideration. Any representations that may be made by these officers in the Irish Service will be duly considered by the Prisons Board.

South Sligo Police.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the peaceable character of South Sligo generally, he will consider the advisability of having the extra police at present stationed in protection huts on the grazing farms of Leitrim Hill and Achonry removed from those districts.

MR. WYNDHAM: The police on duty at the places named belong to the ordinary force of the county, for which no charge is locally made. The extra force was withdrawn last month.

Rostrevor Demonstration.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state on what grounds it has been decided to permit a demonstration on 13th July at Rostrevor, in the County Down; whether any complaints have been received from the Roman Catholic population of that district as to the proposed demonstration, and what reply has been made to those complaints.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have nothing to add to my previous replies on this subject.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Has the right hon. Gentleman received a resolution from the Dundalk Catholics

expressing apprehension of the use of firearms, and will he take steps to prevent it?

MR. WYNDHAM: The resolution has not been brought to my immediate notice. I will see what can be done.

MR. MACVEAGH: Has the right hon. Gentleman received a resolution from the Catholics of Rostrevor on the subject?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have nothing to add to the reply I have already given.

Lung Grazing Lands.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board can state how many houses have been built, and how many farms have been formed out of the grazing lands in the neighbourhood of Lung, adjacent to the Dillon estate; what has been the cost of this transaction; what was the fine required from prospective tenants; and how many tenants have been put into occupation of these houses and lands.

MR. WYNDHAM: This question involves local inquiry, and I must ask the hon. Member to postpone it until Wednesday.

Boyle—Working-Class Housing Scheme.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to an application to the Local Government Board from the Boyle Town Commissioners for a supplemental loan of £800 for the erection of cottages under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts; and if he can explain the delay in giving sanction for the issuing of this supplemental loan.

MR. WYNDHAM: The application must be considered jointly with an application for a loan of £6,050 for a water supply. The margin of borrowing power may not be sufficient to admit of both loans.

Killashee Dispensary Doctor.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board are aware that on the election of Dr. O'Riordan as medical officer of the Killashee dispensary district he undertook, in accordance with the advertisement, to reside at Killashee, and that complaints have been made that Dr. O'Riordan has failed to comply with that condition, and continues to reside at Lanesborough on the outskirts of the district; and, if so, what steps will the Local Government Board take in the interests of the sick poor to compel Dr. O'Riordan to comply with the conditions of his original appointment.

MR. WYNDHAM: Dr. O'Riordan is anxious to take up his residence at Killashee and is endeavouring to procure a suitable house or lodgings there. The matter will receive the attention of the Local Government Board.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Board of Guardians have altered the terms of the appointment by sixteen votes to two without notice given?

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not quite see the relevance of that question.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL, Mayo, (S.): Has not the parish priest of the district made strong representations?

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the whole agitation against this doctor has been got up by a local grazier?

[No answer was returned.]

Irish Land Purchase—Joint Owners.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that many estates in Ireland are held jointly by several persons; whether under the existing provisions of the Land Bill a small minority of co-owners could prevent a sale taking place; and, if so, whether he will consider the desirability of inserting a clause in the Bill with a view to enable

a majority of owners in such cases to carry out a sale on the principle applied to the tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am aware that there are some estates so circumstanced, but I believe they are few in number. The difficulty might possibly be adequately met by conferring on the Judicial Commissioner powers to partition such estates, somewhat similar to those now enjoyed by the Land Judge under the Landed Estates Court Act. The matter is under consideration.

MR. FLYNN: Will there be power under the Land Act to purchase these estates?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

Irish Ancient Monuments.

*MR. HUGH LAW: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if he is willing to introduce into the Land Bill provisions for the protection of ancient monuments of historical interest not already vested in any public authority.

MR. WYNDHAM: I would refer the hon. Member to the 19th Section of the Local Government Act of 1898, which, amongst other things, enables the County Council in addition to the Board of Works, at the request of the owner, to become guardians of ancient monuments and to prosecute those who injure them. I think it would be a thousand pities to hand them over to small occupiers, and I shall introduce words to safeguard these monuments in the national interest.

Fair Tolls.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any provision is made for the sale of tolls of fairs by landowners whose lands may be sold under the present Bill; and, if not, will he insert a provision giving the local authority of the district where such tolls are levied the right to purchase same for the benefit of the locality.

MR. WYNDHAM: Tolls, such as are mentioned in the Question, are altogether outside the scope of the Land Bill. The 31st Section of the Local Government

Act of 1898 enables an Urban District Council to purchase such tolls in the most important instances.

Bruree Police.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, if he will state why extra police have been drafted into the village of Bruree, in the county of Limerick; and on whom will the cost fall.

MR. WYNDHAM: Three constables were sent to Bruree for the better protection of life and property. The cost will be paid from the Constabulary Vote.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: What was the necessity for the protection of life and property?

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no information on that subject.

County Mayo Piers.

MR. O'KELLY (Mayo, N): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when it is proposed to commence the building of the new piers at Belmullet, Mallaranny, and Inishlyre, seeing that the County Council of Mayo, at its meeting on the 23rd instant, accepted the schemes and agreed to make the necessary contribution; and if he will state what proportion of its unexpended grants under the Labourers Acts the county of Mayo will be asked to surrender under these schemes.

MR. WYNDHAM: Necessary inquiries are still being made into the Mallaranny-Belmullet scheme, and negotiations are proceeding with the Midland Great Western Railway Company in reference to Inishlyre. As the negotiations are still pending I regret I am not able to give any further information in the matter.

Irish Railway Rates.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the fact that it costs as much to get an article from Galway to Dublin as it does to bring the same from America; and, if so, can he take any steps in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: At the request of my right hon. friend I will reply to this and the next Question on the Paper. The Department of Agriculture is constantly investigating representations affecting railway transit and railway rates, and if specific instances of unfair or unreasonable charges by Irish carrying companies are furnished to the Department inquiries will forthwith be made.

The following was the second Question referred to.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the Irish farmer, particularly in the West of Ireland, is placed at a disadvantage with respect to foreign competition on account of the charges for the carriage of goods and agricultural products levied by Irish railways; and that the passenger fares are nearly double those charged in other countries; and, if so, whether he intends taking steps in the direction of putting an end to such charges.

Law as to Contempt of Court in Ireland.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, and, if so, when, the Government will afford facilities for the introduction and passage through this House of a Bill to amend the law relating to Contempt of Court in Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): This Question should properly be addressed to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister, as any Bill dealing with contempt of court must be general in its application, and not confined to Ireland.

Valentia Island Mails.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that inconvenience is caused to the inhabitants of Valentia Island, County Kerry, by the practice of retaining at Cahirciveen letters which arrive by the afternoon train; and, in view of the short distance to the ferry, whether arrangements could be made to forward the letters for distribution on the same evening.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Inquiry is being made on the subject, and I will send a reply to the hon. Member as soon as it is completed.

Irish Post Offices—Emigration Notices.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state who is responsible for having cards encouraging emigration exhibited in Irish post offices; and whether, in view of the numbers now emigrating, steps will be taken to have those cards taken down.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Notices giving information to intending emigrants to the colonies have been exhibited at all post offices in the United Kingdom for many years. I see no reason for discontinuing the practice.

Keadue Post Office.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the post office at Keadue, County Roscommon, is carried on in licensed premises, and that the holder of the licence was fined for selling intoxicating drink on Sunday, 19th May, 1903; and, if so, will he consider whether more suitable location can be found for the post office.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It is frequently impossible in Ireland to find suitable candidates for appointment as sub-postmaster who are unconnected with public houses, but I will have inquiry made as regards Keadue.

Limerick Post Office—Learners.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the effect of the admission of large numbers of unpaid learners to the Limerick Post Office, calculated upon the status of the service, the Department will see its way to discontinue the holding of competitive examinations until the present learners at Limerick have been placed on the establishment.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The class of unpaid learners at Limerick will be abolished as soon as practicable. All future entrants will be employed in a paid capacity and will rank for appointment below the present learners. In

these circumstances, competitions will be held as usual when required.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General how many male learners and female unpaid learners are attached to the postal and telegraph department in Limerick; and whether, in view of the lack of vacancies for established appointments at that office, he will say what steps the Department propose to take to provide for such learners within a reasonable time.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The number of male learners at Limerick is, at present, nine, of whom five are in receipt of pay, and of female unpaid learners there are three. During the last nineteen months the number placed on the establishment—viz., four male and four female learners, is, I think satisfactory, and two more female learners will shortly receive established appointments. In these circumstances I hope all the learners will be provided for within a reasonable time.

Railway Crossings in County Kerry.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the delays occasioned by the Great Southern and Western Railway Company and their officials to the people at the railway crossings at Cahirciveen and Kells, County Kerry; and whether, in view of the representations on this subject that have been frequently made to the Board of Trade by the Cahirciveen Rural District Council, and that the medical officer of the district has been kept waiting for periods, amounting in some cases to thirty minutes, when going on sick calls, steps will be taken to compel the railway company to carry out shunting operations at these two points without causing inconvenience to the public.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): A general complaint of the delay to road traffic at these crossings has been made to the Board of Trade by the Rural District Council. The railway company state no unnecessary delay is caused to the public using the roads, and the Board

have informed the Council that if specific instances of the delays complained of are given they will take whatever further steps are possible.

Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway.

DR. THOMPSON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade, whether, having regard to the fact that his attention has been frequently called to the irregularities and breach of the Board of Trade regulations by the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway Company, and to the fact that notwithstanding official promises no action has been taken, he will, in view of the dissatisfaction with the management and control of this Railway Company, take immediate steps to enforce the regulations of his Department.

MR. BONAR LAW: The Railway Company have explained to the Board of Trade that in consequence of the heavy increase in the traffic and in the number of trains required since the opening of the Camdonagh and Burtonport Extensions, the number of goods brake vans has been found to be insufficient. They have, however, arranged for the provision of additional vans, and the brake gear has all been received and is being fitted. The Company promise that no time shall be lost in providing the equipment necessary to make compliance with the Board of Trade's Order under the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889.

Fiscal Inquiry.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, during the process of inquiry into the question of preferential tariffs and retaliatory duties, His Majesty's Government will furnish a full account of the total cost of Imperial Defence, including India; and also the cost of the Consular and Diplomatic Service, showing the cost to the mother country, to India, and to the different Crown and self-governing colonies, of Defence and of Consular and Diplomatic Services.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I do not see very clearly what connection there is between the information asked for in the

inquiry and preferential tariffs, and I learn there would be considerable difficulty in preparing the Return of the kind desired; but the hon. Gentleman will find a good deal of information on the subject on pages 42 and 43 of the Blue-book which gives an account of the Conference between the Colonial Premiers and the representatives of His Majesty's Government.

MR. CATHCART WASON: We want the information from the Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Blue-book is published under authority.

Reduction of Armaments.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government adheres to Lord Salisbury's despatch of 14th February, 1899, to Sir C. Scott, accepting the Russian proposal for a conference to discuss the best methods of bringing about the diminution of armaments by land and sea; whether the Government has taken into consideration the Resolution of the First Commission of the Hague Conference recording its opinion that a further examination of the question by the Powers would prove a great benefit to humanity; and whether, having regard to the increased expenditure on naval armaments since the date of Lord Salisbury's despatch, the Government will take the initiative of inviting the Powers to make another attempt to deal with this question by conference or otherwise.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: His Majesty's Government have not altered their views on this subject, and if any of the Great Powers of Europe will take any initiative steps in the matter we shall be very glad to join them; but it must be remembered that the expenditure for the British Fleet, alone amongst the fleets of the world, or almost alone, is mainly of a defensive character, and that the other fleets of the world cannot claim to have that character. Under these circumstances I think the initiative should come from others.

President Loubet's Visit.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if any arrangement can be made to enable Members of the House of Commons to show their appreciation of President Loubet's visit and the friendly feeling animating a neighbouring nation.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not quite know what the hon. Gentleman has in view when he talks of some method of showing our appreciation of President Loubet's visit. Perhaps it would be by a Resolution of this House.

MR. LAMBERT: No, no.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is the only mark of the sentiment of this House which I think it would be possible for us to give; and I have not the slightest doubt that if a Resolution of congratulation was proposed in this House it would be unanimously carried, and, indeed, enthusiastically received on both sides of the House and in every quarter of the House. But the hon. Gentleman will remember that we have to be very careful about starting new precedents, especially new precedents having anything in them of a ceremonial character. If it is done in the case of President Loubet, it could never be refused in the case of any subsequent visit of the representative of a great Power to this country without an implied slight; and such a visit might be paid under circumstances in which, while the great majority of the House would no doubt desire to show their appreciation, a section of the House perhaps might use their right of debate to express sentiments which would certainly not conduce to international harmony. Under these circumstances, much as I sympathise with the object of the hon. Member, I think it would be unfortunate if we were to endeavour to establish a new precedent on this occasion.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that under the present Rules it is impossible for any private Member to suggest such a Resolution as the right

hon. Gentleman refers to, and that the only method is by the action of the Government?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course it would be possible for the Government to propose such a Resolution, and if it were proposed I am quite certain it would be universally accepted. What I endeavoured to point out to the House was that, however happy such a proceeding might be in the present circumstances, I can easily imagine circumstances under which it would not be unanimously accepted.

MR. LAMBERT: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether facilities will be given to the House of Commons to join in the reception of President Loubet?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know how that can be done—President Loubet arrives at Victoria in an hour and a half—unless we adjourn to the station to meet him.

Taxation of Food Imports.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the Cabinet inquiry on fiscal policy has reached a stage sufficiently definite to enable the Government to say if they intend to propose a tax on food imports.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid that I have no information to give the hon. Member on the subject.

Irish Land Bill.

* SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the nature and importance of the Irish Land Bill, he can give an assurance that a sufficient interval will be allowed to elapse between the conclusion of the Committee and the commencement of the Report stages of the Bill; and whether he can indicate what number of days interval he proposes to allow.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot give any precise estimate as to the number of days that will elapse between the two stages, but in view of the amount of business in hand it will be substantial.

The Illness of the Pope.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there is in the possession of the Foreign Office any information, other than that in the Press, as to the health of his Holiness the Pope.

LORD CRANBORNE: I am sorry to say that, though we all share in the profound regret at the serious illness of his Holiness, I have no information to give to the House.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Can the right hon. Gentleman say what the business will be on Thursday and Friday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the Committee stage of the Irish Land Bill will terminate to-morrow (Tuesday). In that event I shall take the South African Loans Bill on Wednesday. On Thursday the Supply will be the Education Vote, and on Friday I propose to take the Naval Works Loans Bill.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): When will the Sugar Convention Bill be taken, and will any information be distributed as to the doings of the secret Commission in Brussels.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What the hon. Gentleman calls "the secret doings," I think I have explained all about. They are not secret at all. They are simply the doings of a Commission whose reports are, from the nature of the Convention, not to be secret at all, but are to come to us through the Belgian Government. I do not know whether there is any information relative to the Bill which can with advantage be circulated, but I will inquire. I cannot give the precise date when the Bill will be taken.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the county of Durham (Barnard Castle Division), in the room of Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, Baronet, deceased.—(Mr. Herbert Gladstone.)

VOL. CXXIV. [FOURTH SERIES.]

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (AMENDMENT) BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 264.]

NEW BILL.**MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS BILL.**

"To amend the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882," presented by Mr. Cripps; supported by Sir John Gorst and Mr. Bousfield; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 265.]

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 43:—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 29, to leave out from the word 'estate,' to end of line 30, and insert the words 'agreed to be sold within five years after the commencement of this Act a bonus of fifteen per centum of the amount of the purchase money of said estate, such bonus to be paid upon the completion of the sale.'"—
(Mr. John Redmond.)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.) said that when the proceedings on the Bill were interrupted last week they had had some discussion with regard to the desirability of imposing a limit of time, and he was bound to say that in his opinion the arguments of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford held the field. He did not suppose his hon. friend desired that the point should be discussed at any length, but unquestionably it was a matter of enormous importance to the people of Ireland. Some limit of a reasonable character ought certainly to be placed in the Act because it would indirectly induce a certain number of landlords to sell, who otherwise might be inclined to

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hold out for some change in the condition of things, or for some imaginary increased advantages. This limit was desirable if the Act was to be successfully worked during the present generation. No doubt a very considerable number of landlords would be induced to sell under the Bill, but they were apprehensive that a certain section, who would never learn anything from past experience or from the lessons of legislation or agitation, would hold out under some delusion that they would get better terms for themselves or advantage their class. That would create a feeling of irritation in the minds of the tenants who would thereby be excluded from the benefits of the Act which other tenants all around them were enjoying. Could not the right hon. Gentleman see his way to acceding to the insertion of some limit, of which he was sure all the tenants, as well as a large proportion of the landlords, were in favour.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked if the Chief Secretary was in a position to add anything to his previous statement. He fully recognised there was nothing to be gained by prolonging the debate.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) said the Government still occupied the position he took up the other night. He had had an opportunity of consulting with his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer on many points of the Bill, and his right hon. friend was still of the opinion he was last week—viz., that however small, on the merits, might be the danger of a time limit, that was a responsibility which they could not undertake. It should be remembered that some tens of thousands of persons might come to register their names, but that might not give sufficient ground for believing that the loans would be demanded. On the other hand, the money market was so sensitive at these times in contemplating the possibility of that danger, that they ought not to run the risk of frightening the market. The Government were responsible for financing this Bill, and they held that the blame for any such lamentable occurrence would fall upon them. They quite

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understood the arguments of hon. Members opposite, but from the financial point of view they were sure they were doing their duty in remaining firm in this matter. Supposing there was an alarm, as there might be, in consequence of tens of thousands of persons registering their names, what would happen? The new stock would be issued at a serious discount, and the loss would fall on the Irish Development Grant, and therefore on the Irish peasant proprietors. It followed that Ireland herself was interested in seeing that the finances of this Bill commended themselves to those who were best capable of giving an opinion on financial matters. The position of the Government was that, while they could not accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member, they favoured an all round distribution of a bonus of 12 per cent., leaving the rest of the Bill in respect to finance intact. That view had been very carefully considered by the Government; and although he admitted that hon. Members opposite were entitled to express their views, he could hold out no hope that the Amendment could be accepted.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he quite saw that there were financial objections which induced the Government to take up the position they had done; but might he observe that there could hardly be the same objection to giving power to the Treasury to fix a limit at some future date? He had an Amendment on the Paper to provide—

“That if at any time within three years after the passing of this Act the Treasury deem it expedient to limit a time after which such percentage shall not be payable, or to prescribe a reduced percentage, it shall be lawful for the Treasury, and in its discretion, to appoint a day not later than the 1st day of January, 1910, as the last day upon which applications under the first section of this Act may be made, or to declare and prescribe as to subsequent applications a different and lower scale than that in said First Schedule mentioned.”

It seemed to him that, however great might be the objection to the time limit now, it was a wholly different question to say whether in the years to come the Treasury might not take it upon themselves to fix a limit. But, of course, if the Government were determined in this matter not to accept this Amendment in any shape or form he would not take up the time of the Committee by moving it.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the question was that they were not dealing with ascertained facts, but with the impression which their proceedings might create in the minds of financiers, and on that score objection might also be taken to the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman. As he had said, the money market was very sensitive, and they were bound to err on the side of caution.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he would not move his Amendment; but was it not rather unfair that those landlords who held out, on the policy of the "dog in the manger," should get the benefit? He thought that the landlords who came in immediately were entitled to something more than those who wanted to squeeze the last drop out of their tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not go further than he had already stated. Under Clause 43 as it stood the Treasury had power to revise the rates. His own opinion was that those landlords who came in now should do better than those who came in later.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that, although he and his friends held very strong views on this matter, it was manifest, after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that it would be a waste of time to continue the discussion, and he begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said he had an Amendment on the Paper to leave out, in line 29, first sub-section of Clause 43 the word "percentage," and to insert "sum." The Amendment had reference to the distribution of the bonus, but as the right hon. Gentleman said that this could be better discussed on the schedule he would withdraw it now, reserving his right to move it on the Report stage.

MR. WYNDHAM said he felt himself bound to the hon. Member for East Mayo not to settle this question of the distribution of the bonus until they reached the schedule, although he thought it could be settled now.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said he would rather have it settled on the schedule.

*MR. O'DOHERTY asked if he was to understand the right hon. Gentleman as stating that it was the intention of the Government to give a 12 per cent. bonus all round?

MR. WYNDHAM said that in order that there might be no mistake about the matter he might say that it would carry out the views of the Government if he accepted the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Armagh to leave out from "percentage" and insert "of 12 per cent. upon the amount of the purchase money under the Land Purchase Act." But he agreed with the hon. Member for East Mayo that they should wait for discussion on the point till the schedule was reached.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) said he wished to know the effect of the words in Sub-section 4, which provided that the section should not apply to any estate sold by the Land Judge; where either a Receiver had been appointed over the estate, or the estate was so circumstanced that it would, independently of the Act of 1896, be sold without the consent of the owner as to price. Take the case of the King Harman Estate which, owing to the terms of the will of Mr. King Harman, a former Member of the House, was now in Chancery, and would not be available for the next eight years. Did these words in the sub-section mean that that estate could be withdrawn out of Chancery so as to escape the effect of this Act altogether? If so that would be a very serious matter for the tenants.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 42, to leave out from the word 'either' to the end of the line."—(Mr. Tully.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said that where a Chancery order for sale had been obtained it might have been possible to

demand a bonus from the general taxpayer. The object of the bonus was to induce a sale which otherwise would not take place. Therefore, they began with that. But it might be said that there were estates in the Land Judge's Court which were not really going to be sold. His answer to that was that if that were true, and they came out of the Land Judge's Court, they could then be sold with the bonus. However, before the Report stage, he would consider the case of a minor or a lunatic whose estate was in Chancery and see whether some arrangement could be come to.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that something was necessary in order to prevent these estates being discharged once the order for sale had been made. Mr. Justice Ross had refused to sell these estates because a sufficiently good price could not be obtained for them, and they could not take the bonus but would be held up for twelve years to come. It seemed to him some words were necessary to prevent these estates being discharged from Chancery. When an absolute order for sale had been made in the Land Judge's Court it should not be lawful to discharge these estates.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) who was almost inaudible in the gallery, was understood to say: With regard to the first point raised it might be necessary to make some small verbal alterations to allow for a receiver who had been discharged. With regard to the point raised in respect of minors and lunatics, no difficulty would arise in that case because the Court had control in those matters, and nothing could be done without the consent of the Lord Chancellor or those under him who had control of the estate.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the case was rather graver than the hon. Gentleman seemed to think. He knew a case where that question came in, the owner, a widow lady, quite against the interests of the tenants, had stated that if a little more time were given she could bring in the

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mortgage money. The Judge stated that if she did not bring the money in he would commit her for contempt. She had not brought in the money and she was still permitted to prevent tenants from obtaining their holdings. Whenever an absolute order for sale was made the Judge ought to insist on the rigidity of the order and sell the estate out of Court. If there was no intention to sell these estates then the taxpayer ought not be compelled to maintain a Judge at £3,500 a year for that purpose. A gross abuse had grown up with regard to this.

*MR. BUTCHER (York) said he was glad to hear that a modification of the rigour of this clause was to be allowed, and that some estates which originally were not to get the benefit of the bonus were now to get that benefit. He would like it modified in those cases where the estate was solvent and a receiver was appointed mainly for the purposes of administration. As he understood it under this clause, a case of that kind would be entirely excluded from the benefit of the bonus because it would be an estate sold by the Land Court, of which a receiver had been appointed. Would it be open to the parties to discharge the receiver in a case of that kind and take the case out of the Court of Chancery and sell under the provisions of the Act.

MR. WYNDHAM said it might be necessary to introduce some verbal alterations to carry out the hon. Gentlemen's proposal, because it was part of the policy of the Government that a case in which the Court had appointed a receiver for the purposes of mere administration should not be considered to be in the Court at all.

*MR. BUTCHER asked whether it would be possible to discharge the receiver and take such an estate out of the Court of Chancery.

MR. ATKINSON said the appointment of a receiver in the Landed Estates Court was merely for accelerating sale, and in order to get such a receiver appointed it was necessary to petition for sale purely and simply. If such a petition was not *bonâ fide* then it must be withdrawn.

MR. TULLY begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. SHARPE (Kensington, N.) said there was a very strong feeling that Sub-section 4 would press very hardly on all parties and that it should be withdrawn. He therefore begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 22, line 41, to leave out sub-Section 4."—(*Mr. Sharpe.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 4 stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said he thought the desire of his hon. friend would be met by an Amendment which he proposed to move later, and therefore he hoped his hon. friend would not persist in his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 43, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 44 agreed to.

Clause 45.

*MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said he apprehended the right hon. Gentleman would have no difficulty in accepting the Amendment he now proposed to move, as it carried out the policy and object of the Bill.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 23, line 11, at end, to add the words 'No stamp duty or fee fund shall be charged on any searches directed by the Land Commission or Land Judge in the Registry of Deeds, Registry of Titles, or Registry of Judgments.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM said the object of the Amendment seemed to be to prevent stamp duty being charged for searches. Clause 22 already provided that searches should be made without charge, and he held that that included stamp duty or fee fund, and that clause represented the bargain the Committee had come to. He could not extend it any further.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.) said the grievance his Amendment was designed to meet was a very serious one. It was a grievance which was unintentionally inflicted in all the Acts that had been passed. It had never been called attention to in any of these debates, and he therefore considered he was right in referring to it. Taking the case of a farmer who rented a farm at £125, the moment he had purchased it under the Purchase Acts at a price which represented a purchase annuity of, say, £100, if he put it up for sale and sold, the person who bought had to pay, in addition to the stamp duty on the actual price, a sum of £15 for stamp duty on the redemption value of the annuity. Each £100 of annuity represented over £15 for stamp duty in case of a transfer. If a landlord transferred his mortgage he had to pay, not 10s. per cent., but 6d. per cent.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 23, line 11, at end, to add the words 'and stamp duty shall be payable on any conveyance or transfer of land purchased under the Land Purchase Acts, or Part II. of this Act, only in respect of the amount or value of the consideration for such conveyance or transfer, and exclusive of the redemption value of the annuity payable to the Land Commission.'"—(*Mr. O'Shee.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY said in this matter the Government had a great engine of oppression at their disposal; no lawyer would advise his client to fight. While the Government might say the law did not require alteration it was evident that in practice it did. If he had a farm under the landlord and tenant system and he sold it at £500, stamp duty would be paid on £500; but on the day after it was sold the stamp duty would be on £3000. No doubt there was necessity to prevent fraud, but subject to that necessity some such Amendment as this should be accepted.

MR. ATKINSON said he did not think the Amendment was necessary. The stamp duty would only be paid on the real sum paid provided it was a *bona fide* sale.

MR. O'DOHERTY said the wording of the Bill was vague and this Amendment was designed to make it clear.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would consider what had been said as to this practice having grown up and whether these words required altering.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 45 agreed to.

Clause 46.

MR. BUTCHER said he desired to insert words to relieve a trustee who was guilty of a breach of trust. The words he moved followed very closely the words embodied in the English Judicial Trustee Act of 1893. That Act, curiously enough, was not made to apply to Ireland. He failed to see why an Irish trustee should be harder hit than any other, and therefore he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 23, after line 29, to insert the words '(4) In the case of all proceedings in relation to any lands sold in the High Court, or under the Land Purchase Acts, or any charges thereon, or any moneys realised thereby, if it appears to the Court that a trustee is, or may be, personally liable for any breach of trust, whether the transaction alleged to be a breach of trust, occurred before or after the passing of this Act, but has acted honestly and reasonably, and ought fairly to be excused for the breach of trust, and for omitting to obtain the directions of the Court in the matter in which he committed such breach, then the Court may relieve the trustee, either wholly or partly, from personal liability for the same.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON said, as he understood, the position of a trustee guilty of such act was provided for in the clause if the breach of trust was committed after the passing of this Bill, but it could not be dealt with if committed before. He thought the fears of the hon. and learned Member in regard to the trustee who honestly made a mistake were quite groundless. [Cries of "No, no !"]

MR. BUTCHER said he could not agree with what the Attorney-General had stated. His Amendment read—

"In the case of all proceedings in relation to any lands sold in the High Court, or under the Land Purchase Acts, or any charges there-

on, or any moneys realised thereby, if it appears to the Court that a trustee is, or may be, personally liable for any breach of trust."

The clause was merely confined to cases of sales arising out of land in Ireland, and his proposal would give the trustee the same protection in case there was a breach of trust, as was at present the case in England.

*THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member's proposal relates simply to the investment of money, where a trustee has invested money where he had no power, then I think his Amendment is in order, but if it relates to other matters, then it is not in order upon this clause.

MR. BUTCHER: Then I will move it on Report.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that when the Act of 1893, dealing with this subject, was before the House, he called attention to the desirability of applying the Act to Ireland, but Parliament did not do so. Now they were creating for the purposes of this Act alone a public trustee, and it was most desirable that he should act as a trustee generally. The Act of 1893 had worked well in England, and it was desirable that a similar provision should be extended to Ireland.

MR. DILLON reminded the hon. and learned Member for Louth that the Trustees Bill was extended to Ireland upon the Motion of the Lord Chancellor, but that provision was knocked out when the Bill came back to the Commons. What the Chief Secretary ought to do was to extend to trustees in Ireland the same protection and relief which they had got under the Act in England.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think this matter is relevant to this clause. If the hon. Member will bring it up as a new clause it will be further considered.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 46 agreed to.

Clause 47.

*MR. HEMPHILL proposed an Amendment to insert the words, "and the

President for the time being of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland." He understood the Chief Secretary to intimate that he would bring in a clause which would include the President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. He understood the Chief Secretary to have given a modified adhesion to his former Amendment upon this point, and to have promised to include the President when he came to put forward the general section about rule making.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 24, line 38, after the word 'Commission,' to insert the words 'and the President, for the time being, of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, and.'"—(*Mr. Hemphill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said he was anxious that no words of his should be misunderstood. All he promised upon a former occasion was to consider whether it would be proper to discriminate in this matter and bring in the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. The right hon. and learned Member opposite had asked him to insert the words—

"And the President for the time being of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland."

He had no doubt that the rule making authority would consult the Law Society, but he did not think they should lay a statutory obligation upon them to do so. In drawing up the rules it would not be necessary to bring in the President of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland.

*MR. HEMPHILL said this Amendment had been suggested to him by the Incorporated Law Society after very serious deliberation on their part and after full consideration. The Land Commission consisted of men who were, more or less, lay people. [Cries of "No, no!"] He thought the experience of the Incorporated Law Society, speaking through its President, would be of enormous public advantage. On that ground alone he thought his Amendment was reasonable. Of course, if the right hon. Gentleman had made up his mind to the contrary, there was no need for him to take up further time arguing the point.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that, unless they had the support of the general body of landlords' solicitors in Ireland this Act would not work with the same smoothness. They would be consulted in every case by the landlords. They were in possession of the landlords' deeds, and from the tenants' point of view it was desirable to recognise this very powerful body. They had the landlords in the hollow of their hands, and to that extent they had also the tenants in their power. He did not think it was good policy for the Government to resist this Amendment.

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) thought that when the Incorporated Law Society made a suggestion of this kind the Chief Secretary ought to accept it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB moved to insert after "sale" the words "such rules shall be made by a majority, of whom the Judicial Commissioner shall be one." He said it was very important that these rules should be so framed as to inspire the confidence of all whom they concerned. The reasons for the Amendment were so obvious that it was unnecessary that he should detain the Committee by going into them. He begged to move.

Amendment moved—

"In page 24, line 43, after the word 'sale' to insert the words 'such rules shall be made by a majority, of whom the Judicial Commissioner shall be one.'"—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said the object of the hon. Member was already met by the Act of 1891, which would have to be read with the present measure.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. T. M. HEALY said it was very desirable that some assurance should be given that the Trustee Act of 1893 would be applied in some way.

MR. WYNDHAM thought the matter ought to be dealt with by a separate Bill, and he would consider the possibility of

introducing such a measure. Clauses 46 and 47 had been settled after prolonged consideration, in which he had the assistance of the Lord Chancellor of England, and he could not attempt to engraft on to this Land Bill a general Amendment of the Trustee Acts in Ireland.

Clause 47 agreed to.

Clause 48.

Amendments proposed—

"In page 25, line 1, to leave out from the word 'in' to the first word 'the' in line 5."
—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

"In page 25, line 5, after the word 'Acts,' to insert the words 'imposing a limit on advances.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendments agreed to.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said the Amendment he had on the Paper provided for the case of an evicted tenant being restored to his former holding. He did not propose to move the Amendment, as the words to be moved by the Chief Secretary covered not only that case, but also the case of a tenancy created by the Congested Districts Board. He pointed out, however, that the Chief Secretary did not meet the case of an evicted tenant who was given, not his former holding, but another holding on the estate.

MR. WYNDHAM thought the point referred to by the hon. Member had already been met by the Amendment of Section 2, giving a discretionary extension of the term. The Amendment he now moved covered the conclusion arrived at on a former occasion.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 25, line 18, at end, to insert the words 'Provided also that this section shall not apply to the case of a former tenant, or a person nominated by the Land Commission as his personal representative, purchasing his former holding, or to the case of a tenancy created by the Congested Districts Board.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DILLON, while admitting that this was a very valuable Amendment, asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would have any objection to making the

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matter quite clear by adding the words "or the Estates Commissioners."

MR. WYNDHAM thought the words suggested would go farther than the hon. Member intended.

MR. DILLON pointed out that, under the Act, the powers of the Estates Commissioners and the Congested Districts Board would overlap in the matter of migration, therefore the former would require the same powers in that respect as the latter.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would have to consider the matter very carefully. A man could not be asked to give up a farm unless an equivalent were found elsewhere. The words suggested by the hon. Member would abolish all the limitations that had been inserted, unless words were added defining the purpose for which such tenancies were created, and he would rather not attempt hastily to find such words.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Government ought to consider this sub section in connection with the pledge they had given to amend Sub-section 4 of Clause 43.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.) asked whether the object of the Amendment was not to confine the provision to tenants who purchased their old holdings, but to extend it to other cases.

MR. WYNDHAM said the case of a tenant who purchased a holding other than the one he formerly occupied had been met in another part of the Bill. This provision contemplated the case of a tenant who reoccupied his old holding, in which his contention had all along been that the limit of advance should not apply. But in these voluntary arrangements the Government were bound to see that nobody suffered either in kind or in money value. The amount of land available for enlarging or improving holdings was very small. The original limit had been extended to £1,000, and a discretion had been given. He did not think they ought to go farther, but if he were pressed as to the necessity of introducing words

dealing with the Estates Commissioners, he would consider the matter before the Report stage.

MR. CLANCY understood Clause 2 to apply to cases where tenants were supplied with holdings on estates entirely other than those from which they were evicted. That would leave the cases of the men who returned to the estate from which they had been evicted. The less fortunate men would be entitled to a smaller advance than the more fortunate who got back to their former holdings. The evicted tenants on an estate would be treated unequally, and he did not understand that the case of the tenant reinstated on a holding other than his former holding on the estate had as yet been provided for at all. He thought Clause 2 referred to the provision of holdings for evicted tenants on estates other than those from which they had been evicted. If he was right in that, the case of a man going to another holding was not provided for, or else he was not as well treated as a tenant who returned to his old holding.

MR. TULLY said this referred to tenancies created since 1st March last. He begged to enter his protest, because he thought it would be a serious thing if the eleven months men in Connaught were to get extended limits there, and if they were enabled to get hold permanently of the grazing lands which they now held under this temporary method of tenancy. He thoroughly agreed with the protest made formerly on this matter by the hon. Member for Cork.

MR. CLANCY said his Amendment had nothing to do with the remarks of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. WYNDHAM admitted that this was a somewhat difficult question. The clause did not embody all the arrangements at which they had arrived. In proper cases it would enable a man to acquire a holding other than that from which he was evicted up to £7,000. They were all agreed that it was proper

to do this in order to put estates in a proper state to be resold. That could only be done by men going out of farms in badly congested districts, so that the farms vacated might be available for increasing the size of other holdings. He thought that covered the whole ground. It was not proper that persons, in expectation of this Bill, should proceed to map out holdings of convenient size. The Government introduced Clause 48 to prevent that. The general policy of the Government was that there should be a limitation to the manufacture of holdings in order to capture land in the manner already described. That would be the effect of adopting the hon. Member's proposal. They must carry out and not defeat the general policy of the Act, and the way to do that was to foster migration.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he entirely agreed with what the right hon. Gentleman had said. He pointed out that in order to make the intention of the Government clear it was desirable that the drafting should be altered. There was no definition of "holding" in the Bill. By Clause 2, Sub-section 3, it was provided that the expression "holding" in the Land Purchase Acts "shall include a parcel of land in respect of the purchase of which an advance has been made in pursuance of this section." The right hon. Gentleman's Amendment enabled provision to be made for a former tenant, but it would not enable a part to be sold. The reference to a parcel of land was confined to Clause 2. He suggested that a definition should be put in so that "holding" should embrace part of a holding.

MR. O'SHEE said there were farms which were in part occupied by new tenants. Would the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman cover these cases also?

MR. WYNDHAM said Section 1 of the Bill dealt with a holding as it was, and which was to be sold as it was. Section 2 included everything else.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he thought the word "holding" in Section 2 was confined to the provisions of that section. The

Committee were now discussing Clause 48 which began with these words—

“Notwithstanding anything in Section 2 of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1888.”

MR. ATKINSON said it was necessary, in order to make the Purchase Acts apply to these parcels of land, to say that the parcels were holdings.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he quite followed what the hon. and learned Gentleman stated, but he still thought that there was something in his point. He would confer with the right hon. Gentleman on the point.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said the Chief Secretary had told them that Clause 48 was put in the Bill to prevent the manufacture of holdings. They were still hampered by the provision in regard to £2,000 in exceptional cases. That appeared to him to be entirely wrong. It was probable that the words at the beginning of Sub-section 1 were really intended to apply to this class of tenants as well as others. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 25, line 19, to leave out Sub-section 2.”

Question proposed, “That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause.”

MR. WYNNDHAM said this was not a new provision. It appeared in the Bill which he introduced last year. When an estate was in Court, holdings were let to persons, and it might be held that those who occupied under these Court tenancies had no right to come under an Act of this kind. A fair compromise had been struck in the case of those who had the advantage of taking land which had not been finally disposed of, by permitting advances to be made up to £1,000, and in some cases up to £2,000. It would defeat the policy of the Government if they omitted the sub-section. These estates often comprised untenanted land. He would remind his hon. friend that even hon. Members who had taken exception to the Bill as a whole had all said that some effort should be made to deal with the problem of the congested districts. He

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doubted whether they could deal with these districts if they omitted the sub-section.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he entirely accepted the view of the Government in this matter. He thought all restrictions were mischievous. It was another instance of legislating for all Ireland by reference to the condition of what were called the congested counties. Besides that, it was a reversal of the decision of the Court of Appeal in the Owens case. He asked whether the case of an evicted tenant who had been created a Court tenant was met by the Amendment the Chief Secretary moved a moment ago. Thousands of the Court tenants were evicted tenants. To say in an offhand way that these evicted tenants when they became Court tenants were not to have the full benefit of the Act would be to deal a blow at the general body of the evicted tenants. Did Sub-section 2 override Sub-section 1 even in the case of an evicted tenant provided for by the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman? He would recommend the right hon. Gentleman to put in his proviso as an entirely separate sub-section, and then it would appear that neither Sub-section 1 nor Sub-section 2 would govern the case of the evicted tenant. There were a great number of cases of which he was personally cognisant where there had been no eviction, but the tenant had remained with the consent of the landlord and encumbrancer, and it was out of the money which the tenant had spent in improvements on the tenancy that the owner had been kept from sale.

MR. WYNNDHAM said he would take into consideration the point raised by the hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said that in that event he would not press the Amendment to a division.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 48, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 49.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said he had an Amendment to leave out Sub-section (c) of this clause which he proposed to put for the purpose of eliciting

an opinion from the Attorney-General for Ireland in regard to its effect. At present the almost universal practice was that when a tenant died intestate leaving a widow, she went on keeping the holding and paying the rent though she could not bequeath it. It seemed to him that that sub-section, if it became law, would be at variance with the general practice.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 25, line 39, to leave out Sub-section (c).—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (c) stand part of the clause."

MR. ATKINSON said that the condition of things which the hon. and gallant Member wished to provide for was covered by the proviso at the end of Sub-section 1.

COLONEL NOLAN said he was satisfied with the explanation and would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he had two Amendments on the Paper relating to the same sub-section. The effect of these Amendments taken together would be to reverse the procedure in the case of the death of a tenant. Under the clause, on the death of the proprietor of a holding, the Land Commission might require the holding to be sold within twelve months, or, in default, they might cause the holding to be sold, provided that the Land Commission might, instead of that procedure, nominate some person interested in the holding to be the proprietor of the holding. As he had said, he wanted the procedure to be reversed.

Amendments proposed—

"In page 26, line 2, to leave out from the word 'may' to the word 'nominate' in line 8.

"In page 26, line 12, after the word 'otherwise' to insert the words 'or may cause the holding to be sold.'—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*MR. HEMPHILL confessed that in his opinion the Amendments of his hon. and gallant friend were an improvement.

The arrangement in the clause as it stood would cause delay and the Amendments would facilitate the working of the Act and prevent family differences.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that if the Government yielded on Amendments of this kind they would be giving away one of the most effective securities the Treasury possessed. The Land Commission might nominate a person or in default order a sale; but what would happen if there were a dozen sons and none of them would say he was responsible for the annual payments? Why should not the Land Commission have the power to order a sale within twelve months of the death of the owner of a holding?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) thought that the question was important. The nomination ought to come first, and if the Land Commission were not satisfied with the nomination then they ought to have the power of sale.

MR. WYNDHAM said that this was really a question of drafting. His draftsman had considered the clause very carefully, and he agreed with the draftsman. He hoped his hon. and gallant friend would not press his Amendment.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he knew from experience that, though his Amendments might not be so good as a matter of drafting, they would be better law in the interest of the peace of families.

MR. T. M. HEALY said it was to the national interest of Ireland that this clause, which was a little stringent, should be retained so as to defeat any attempted fraud.

MR. WYNDHAM said he agreed that all these questions had to be carefully considered. If he accepted the Amendment he would have to elaborate the second part of it. There was the difficulty of intestacy and of relations who could not make up their minds to do anything, and unless they could come to a satisfactory family arrangement they must put up the estate for sale.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB knew what was likely to happen. The first thing was to nominate somebody, as innumerable family feuds ought to be avoided. He thought that his Amendment would bring about a better state of things, but after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) moved to leave out Sub-section 2 of Clause 49. He said he was not in want of sympathy with the object, but he thought the clause was so drafted as to defeat the object it wished to attain. It would be important in Ireland in the future, when the sales had been achieved, that the greatest care should be taken to protect the interests of the small peasant proprietors. With regard to sub-letting he perfectly agreed that sub-letting and mortgaging were some of the greatest drawbacks Ireland had to combat, but he could not agree that this sub-section would altogether eradicate the system of over-borrowing, and he therefore thought a sound system of credit ought to be established in Ireland. Abroad most of the peasant proprietors had a system of land banks. In Germany there were the Raiffeisen Banks, and they had the Crédit Fonciers in France, which helped the peasant proprietors to obtain loans on favourable terms and at the lowest rates of interest. If this sub-section were retained in its present form he felt there would be a temptation for the peasant proprietors to surreptitiously borrow money from the small shopkeeper or the gombeen man, and it would go a long way in the future to establish a system of landlordism, which he would look upon as a very great evil. They did not want the tenant and the gombeen man going hand in hand and imitating "Charles Surface" and his uncle in the scene where they were found drinking to the toast of "Success to Usury." Therefore, if the Chief Secretary could promise to establish some sort of State credit in Ireland for the benefit of the peasant

proprietors, it would go a very long way towards increasing their prosperity. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would eliminate this sub-section from the Bill and introduce some clause in order to counteract the difficulties which he saw ahead in the mortgaging and sub-letting of Irish land.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 13, to leave out Sub-section 2."—(Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore.)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 2 stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Gentleman had asked him to omit this sub-section in order to draw attention to another reform. He quite agreed that this was an important matter and that they ought in the future to do something towards the establishment of land banks, but he did not hold that they ought to omit this sub-section. On the contrary, he attached great importance to it.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that the words of the right hon. Gentleman should be printed on the back of the vesting order of the tenant in letters of gold.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB expressed himself as being entirely in favour of, and as supporting the sub-section. He would, however, like to have an answer to one question. This sub-section made null and void on a holding of the rateable value of £2 any instrument or mortgage for sums exceeding £20; did it make null and void three or four mortgages of £5 or £6 each, which would in the aggregate be more than the £20, or must it be in one mortgage; and if in more than one how were they to find out what money had been lent?

MR. ATKINSON said that when a man had mortgaged his land for the amount, whether the loan was covered by one or by ten mortgages it was the same thing. With regard to the second point, if the mortgage was registered it could be seen from the register.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL thought the lenders of the money would see to it that they did not lend too much.

MR. T. M. HEALY suggested that if it was made ten times the annual instalment instead of ten times the rateable value it would be far better, because undoubtedly the valuation differed very much in different parts of the country. Under the circumstances it might be well to consider that question.

*MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE said he was quite prepared to accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for North Louth. In future the *status* of the Irish peasant proprietor would be considerably improved. Agriculture would no doubt flourish to a very much greater extent than hitherto, and there would be more foreign trade from Ireland. Ireland, in spite of her drawbacks, dealt with North America for grain, and with South America for manure, and she had to compete with Denmark, Holland, France, and Russia in produce. He thought if extended credit was given to the tenants it would be a great advantage to them. Where a man had to pay a lump sum to his relatives he would be able to do it with much greater advantage to himself in the future.

MR. TULLY hoped that the Chief Secretary would accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for North Louth, because otherwise this clause would be used to extort from the tenants a larger price than the landlords were entitled to. That was a thing they should try to prevent. In the old days of the plan of campaign they had hunted the gombeen man out of the west, and they did not want him back again.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.) supported the suggestion that it should be ten times the annual instalment, because in many cases ten times the rateable value would be more than the whole farm would be worth.

MR. WYNDHAM thought the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Louth was a useful one. The Government aimed roughly at one-third of the balance, and ten times the annual instalment would come to about that amount, and therefore he would accept that.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) said the instalment would increase in ratio to the number of years rent the tenant paid.

*MR. O'SHEE pointed out that if or the first ten years the tenant could borrow ten times the annuity, and that that amount would be much higher than the annuity for the second ten years, and considerably higher than the annuity for the third ten years, and that the effect of this Amendment would be that at the time when their holdings were most heavily charged they would be able to borrow most heavily. He wished to know how the acceptance of the suggestion of the hon. Member for Louth would affect the case of the 80,000 tenants who had already purchased their holdings. He thought it would considerably prejudice their case.

MR. WYNDHAM said this provision could not affect those who had already purchased their holdings. They could not take away that which had already been sold.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, lines 15 and 16, to omit the words 'rateable value' in order to insert the words 'purchase annuity.'"—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Amendment agreed to.

*MR. O'SHEE moved to insert in Sub-section (3), after "registered," the words, "within three months of the date of execution by the mortgagor or chargeant."

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 20, to insert the words within three months of the date of execution by the mortgagor or chargeant."—(Mr. O'Shee.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ATKINSON was understood to accept the Amendment.

MR. GORDON thought the Attorney-General had hardly considered the situation. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman wished to protect the owner, but he failed to see how this Amendment would do so.

MR. BUTCHER pointed out that three months was rather too long a period. A man might mortgage his holding to its full value, keep the mortgage in his pocket, mortgage the holding a second time, and then register the first mortgage. In that case the second mortgagee would lose his money. The instrument ought to be registered within less than three months in order to prevent fraud on a subsequent mortgagee.

*MR. O'SHEE said the ordinary law of priority would apply in such a case.

Question put, and agreed to.

*MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal W.) said that when introducing the Bill the Chief Secretary laid great stress on the dangers of excessive sub-division and excessive mortgaging of small holdings. The former was already sufficiently provided for, and the Chief Secretary had proposed to provide against the latter by a permanent rent-charge. That provision, however, had, very properly, for other reasons disappeared from the Bill, and in considering what should take its place regard might be had to an example afforded by America. In most of the States a provision existed by which a forced sale of a homestead was prevented, except for the non-payment of taxes or money due to the State. The Amendment he desired to move followed the American precedent very closely, in that it proposed that no such sale should be made in the case of a holding not exceeding £20 rateable value, on which the proprietor actually resided. It might be suggested that this would lead to an undue restriction of credit, but it could hardly be contended that unlimited credit was good for these small tenants. There were other means of obtaining credit than running into debt with the local shopkeeper, and he thought the better class shopkeeper

would not resent such a restriction being imposed. If the right hon. Gentleman had not been able to devise some better means of dealing with the matter he hoped he would accept this proposal.

Amendment moved—

"In page 26, line 22, at end to insert the words, '(4) No writ of *fiery facias* or other process of a Court shall be executed by seizure or sale of the estate or interest of any proprietor of a holding, not exceeding twenty pounds in rateable value, upon which he actually resides; nor shall any judgment be registered as a mortgage against same, nor shall any such writ, or judgment, or judgment mortgage be registered as a burden affecting same under the provisions of The Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891.'"—(Mr. Hugh Law.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said the hon. Member asked the Committee to accept a law which prevailed in America but not throughout America. The objects which the hon. Member had at heart were very desirable objects, but they were achieved by some other provisions in this Bill. It would be the poorer tenants who would probably be driven to borrow, not improvidently or in such a way as to risk their interest in the land, but up to 25 per cent. If they were to say that those who lent the money would have no remedy at all against the tenants, the result would be that they would not be able to borrow at all.

MR. DILLON said there appeared to be a false idea prevalent as to the powers of the small farmers to protect themselves, but he thought they would be found as competent to protect themselves as the landlords. If they wished to protect these small men from themselves the one effective way to do it was by a homestead law. When the Chief Secretary told them that this homestead law would prevent these small farmers from borrowing it was absurd, because it had been provided by a previous clause that they were prevented from borrowing more than one-third. This proposal would leave them free to borrow as far as they chose to do it. It would also put a check on what had been a real danger

to them and that was unlimited and excessive credit being given to them with the object of depriving them of their holdings. He was aware that some of his colleagues thought this would destroy the credit of the small holders; he did not think it would have that effect. He thought that a very considerable section of shopkeepers would have no objection to this proposal because they did not desire to give excessive credit, and if they did they would not sell the holding. He had known many cases of shopkeepers who preferred to lose their money rather than sell a man out of his home. He thought this Amendment would put a most wholesome check on what threatened to ruin the people and the shopkeepers themselves. He believed that the only safe path was to put a check upon undue credit being given to the small holders. In nine cases out of ten a trader would go for the goods, and if the trader was foolish enough to give credit to a man who had no goods he deserved to lose his money. He maintained that if they were going to adopt the policy of protecting people against themselves the best way to do it was to limit their credit.

*MR. O'DOHERTY said he had heard of a "no rent manifesto," but until he read the hon. Member's Amendment he never heard before of a "no debt manifesto." In the county of Donegal they had very few gombeen men, but the people largely depended upon the shopkeepers to make both ends meet. In some instances the people in six weeks had to make enough money to keep them a year. This Amendment struck at the small farmer and fisherman, and the result of its operation would be that every shopkeeper who gave credit to a farmer whose holding was less than £20 rateable value would take care that he got a duly registered mortgage, and the tenant would have to pay the costs. So far as his own constituency was concerned it would mean disaster, not only to the shopkeepers but to the very people whom the hon. and learned Member wished to protect. It would absolutely destroy credit in Donegal, and he thought Donegal was typical of Connaught and other congested districts. Therefore he hoped the

Government would not engraft this proposal upon the Land Act of 1893, for an Amendment more calculated to do harm to the shopkeepers, and more particularly to the poorer counties, was never introduced. He believed that the more opportunities they gave to the people to borrow the more they would borrow and this Amendment would mean a great loss not only to the shopkeepers but also to all those who purchased under this Act, and whose valuation was under £20.

MR. O'SHEE contended that this Amendment carried out the very objects which the hon. Member who had just sat down desired to further. He thought the shopkeepers would be glad if the Committee adopted this proposal, because then they would be in a better position to refuse credit.

MR. TULLY asked whether the protection which the tenants already had was done away with under the clause as it stood. If the effect of the Bill was to remove that protection he thought it should be amended.

*MR. HUGH LAW said he recognised the force of what the right hon. Gentleman had said when he stated that this was a very large question to engraft upon the Land Bill, and for that reason he would not press the Amendment. He did not move the Amendment of his own whim or fancy, as the hon. Member for North Donegal seemed to suppose. He moved it in accordance with a resolution of the National Convention held in Dublin.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON (Londonderry) moved—

"In Clause 49, page 26, line 25, to insert—
'This Section shall not apply to demesne or other lands re-sold or sold under Section 3 of this Act.'"

He said this clause was intended to take care of the present proprietor after he had purchased. He did not see why it should not refer also to the landlord who had sold his demesne and re-bought it. Under the clause as it stood he would not be able to sub-let his demesne without being tied to the apron strings of the Land Commission.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 25, at end, to add the words, 'this section shall not apply to demesne or other lands resold or sold under Section 3 of this Act.'"—(*The Marquess of Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DILLON said he wondered on what ground the noble Lord moved this Amendment. He thought it would set up an invidious distinction, and it was desirable to avoid any further distinctions between the different classes of men who were to use public money under the Act. The landlords who bought back their demesnes would become permanent proprietors so far as this Act was concerned. He did not see why they should be treated on a different footing from others.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said there was a difference between the two cases. In one case the State advanced the whole of the purchase money, and in the other case it advanced only one-third of the price of the holdings sold.

MR. DILLON asked whether the hon. and gallant Gentleman would agree that the State was only to advance one-third of the purchase money.

MR. WYNDHAM said his noble friend had just handed in the Amendment, and he must have an opportunity of considering it before stating what course he would take in regard to the proposal. His general view was that the permission for the landlord to sell his demesne and buy it back was a separate matter put into the Bill largely to induce the landlord to sell. The landlord must take his chances with other people. He did not think they would be effecting equality by saying that all that was proper and applicable to a peasant proprietor was proper and applicable to a home farm, or whatever it might be, which the landlord retained. The object of the Treasury was to induce the landlord to sell. He doubted the policy of restricting that inducement. He was not prepared to give a definite answer on an Amendment which he had not had an opportunity of studying.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON said that he would bring up the matter on Report. He asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. DILLON said this was a very serious question if the right hon. Gentleman proposed to introduce a provision allowing the landlords to sublet. When a landlord got money to buy the home farm it was on the assumption that he would reside on it.

MR. WYNDHAM said that what had been stated by the hon. Member for East Mayo showed that the Amendment required to be considered in connection with all the other proposals in the Bill. His idea was that the money was to be advanced to buy back the demesne as an inducement to the resident landlord to enjoy his property. He would consider whether it was possible to meet the proposal of his noble friend.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. O'SHEE called the attention of the Chief Secretary to the powers conferred by Clause 4, on trustees to acquire land for the purposes of the Labourers Act, and stated he was sure it was not intended or desired that trustees should be compelled to go to the Land Commission for permission to sublet or subdivide for labourers' allotments. That, however, was what they would have to do under this clause. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider this matter before Report.

MR. WYNDHAM said he did not think the clause would apply to that, but he would consider the matter.

Clause 49 agreed to.

Clause 50—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 26, to leave out the words 'subject to a perpetual rent-charge under this Act.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 26, line 30, to leave out the words 'and the perpetual rent-charge.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 50, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 51.

MR. HEALY said the clause contained the following sub-sections—

“(2) When any collector of poor rate becomes aware of any sub-division or letting of any such holding he shall, as soon as may be, give information thereof to the Commissioner of Valuation and Boundary Surveyor.

“(3) The district registrar of births and deaths shall, so soon as he is aware of the death of any person who was at the time of his death the proprietor of any such holding, situate in whole or in part within his district, give information to the Land Commission in the prescribed manner of such death. (4) Every district registrar and collector of poor rates who fails to comply with the requirements of this section shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds.”

It appeared to him that the duty of collecting poor rates was already, sufficiently difficult, but if he was to have this duty imposed on him, subject to a penalty of £10 for failure, he ought to be paid. The collectors were appointed for local purposes, but now they were to be constituted Imperial officers. They would be looked upon as spies and informers, and if they were to be subject to this penalty they should get some such fee as was paid under the Jurors Act.

He begged to move as a new sub-section—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 27, after Sub-section 5, to insert a new Sub-section ‘(6) The fee to be prescribed by the Lord Lieutenant shall be payable by the Land Commission, in each case, to any official who gives information as is required by Sub-sections 2 and 3.’”—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted.”

COLONEL NOLAN said that they would get a much lower class of poor rate collectors in the future than at present if the sub-section remained as it stood. At present the collector was looked upon as a commercial man of some importance, and the duty to be imposed upon him by the clause was quite extraneous to a collector's general work. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman, if he lived in the country, would like to give the information.

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MR. TULLY said that at present the poor rate collector had to give information under the Franchise Act. He had to state any changes that had taken place in the occupancy of the holding. But for that work he was paid extra; and if he had to do a new, and, to a certain extent, an invidious duty—which might be a perfectly proper duty—to prevent sub-division, he was entitled to extra payment. The fee should be the same as he got under the Franchise Act and the Jurors Act.

MR. WYNDHAM said they were all agreed that sub-division was an evil, and that it could not be prevented unless information of the sub-division was obtained through the poor rate collector. So far as he knew that official was the only person who could give the information. The hon. and learned Gentleman had raised the point that it would be unfair to impose new duties on existing officers without extra pay. He admitted the force of the contention that new duties imposed upon an official should carry with them some remuneration, and he agreed to consider this point in consultation with the Vice-President of the Local Government Board. He could not go further at present than that, and he could not accept the words of the Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he was satisfied with the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman, and would withdraw the Amendment. At the same time, he maintained that a fine of £10 was excessive for a first offence, although he could understand that fine being imposed for the third or fourth offence. Under the Franchise Act the fine was only 40s.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the penalty should have some relation to the remuneration. He was not in a position now to say what the remuneration should be, and, therefore, what the fine should be.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 51 agreed to.

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Clause 52.

MR. DILLON said he had an Amendment on the Paper to delete from Sub-section 4, the words "not more than one year's arrears of" for the purpose of ascertaining the full meaning of these words.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 27, lines 41 and 42, to leave out the words 'not more than one year's' and insert the word 'no.'—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed 'That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.'

MR. WYNDHAM said that this provision was a restriction on the powers of the Land Judge's Court.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that it was only right that he should state that the Land Judge exercised his jurisdiction in regard to arrears in the most clement manner.

MR. DILLON said that after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 52 agreed to.

Clause 53.

MR. DILLON said he had an Amendment to leave out Sub-section 2, which he had put down for the purpose of eliciting some information. He wanted to know why one Commissioner instead of two was to make the report.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 28, line 4, to leave out Sub-section 1."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 1 stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said the section was intended to amend the present practice under Section 40 of the Act of 1896. They were not now dealing with the Estates Commissioners but with the Land Commissioners. When Judge Ross asked for a report it was sent in by two

Commissioners; and unless the two Commissioners were agreed nothing happened. That was the trouble. The case was handed on to two other Commissioners, and very often a considerable time elapsed before any decisive result was achieved. It was now proposed that the report should be sent in by only one Land Commissioner; and if there was any difference of opinion between the Land Judge and the Commissioner the case was to be referred to three Commissioners; and when it was referred to three Commissioners a result must be arrived at.

MR. DILLON said that one of the reasons why he put down his Amendment was to ascertain clearly what the machinery was to be. The right hon. Gentleman had not informed the Committee on that point. He said that the Committee were not now dealing with the Estates Commissioners, but with the Land Commissioners. By a subsequent clause, however, Mr. Murrough O'Brien was to be kicked out; Mr. Lynch was to retire; and Mr. Wrench was to be appointed an Estates Commissioner. There would then only remain Mr. Fitzgerald and Judge Meredith. Were all the reports to be made by them? If so, it would be perfectly monstrous. It was perfectly plain that if the reports were not made by the Estates Commissioners they would have to be made by Judge Meredith and Mr. Fitzgerald; and that would be a very mischievous proceeding.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the whole of the clause would be either useless or mischievous. It was not the Land Commissioners who made the report; they only signed it. As far as the clause was concerned, it merely dispensed with the signatures of the Land Commissioners, and was introduced to cover the nakedness of the Land Commission, which, as soon as the Bill was passed, would consist only of the gentleman named by the hon. Member for East Mayo. It was the report of the journeyman who was sent down to the county that was signed by the Commissioners. The futility of fair rent appeals had often been commented upon; but, after all, if the Court did not see the farm it heard the evidence. But in those cases the Commissioners neither heard the evidence nor saw the farm.

The entire section was absolutely futile and of no value; and, whether it was left in or taken out, exactly the same amount of judicial acumen would be applied to the report, whether it was signed by one person or two persons. The report did not really represent the opinion of the gentlemen who signed it. The delay to which the right hon. Gentleman referred was not a judicial delay; it was an attorney's delay or a receiver's delay, and had no connection with the judicial persons concerned. It was also provided that Section 40 was not to apply to the case of a present occupier under a letting. It had been already provided in the Bill that Court-letting holdings should only be sold to the extent of £1,000 advance; and it was now proposed that the section should not apply at all in cases of demesne land, or land suitable for building sites. That looked magnificent; it looked a paternal exercise of jurisdiction by the Land Judge. But the real intention was to screw up the price in favour of the landlord as against the unfortunate tenant. The Judge might be told that there was land in the neighbourhood of Skibbereen suitable for building. How could the Judge know that? Of course, some agent or receiver, anxious to screw an additional sum out of the tenants, might tell him. Then there were to be no townparks; but with two or three exceptions every city and town in Ireland was shrinking. It was also to be provided that where the Land Commission reported that three-fourths of the tenants would not sell, the Land Judge was not to apply Section 40. Had any such case arisen? If so, he was not aware of it. The whole clause was either of no value at all, or was purely mischievous; and it would be better for the right hon. Gentleman, instead of taking the official view, to strike it out altogether.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that the clause provided that one Commissioner was to inspect the land, and make a report, and that if the Land Judge disagreed with that report, three Commissioners were to report. But after the Bill was passed there would not be three Land Commissioners left. That was the difficulty which he saw.

MR. WYNNDHAM said that perhaps the words he used were not clear enough to convey his meaning. He meant the Committee were not dealing with the Estates Commissioners as Estates Commissioners; but the Estates Commissioners would also be Land Commissioners; and no doubt Mr. Finucane and Mr. Bailey would be available under the section. It was not a very large question, as there would not be so many Section 40 sales in the future. He submitted to the Committee that it was a perfectly short and fair plan that one Commissioner should make a report, and that if the Land Judge did not agree with him, three Commissioners should report. At present a case might go through the whole roster of the Land Commission before a decision was arrived at. The hon. Member for North Louth took exception to Paragraph 2; but that introduced safeguards to prevent parks being sold. Where the landlord wanted his park it was provided that he should have it; but where he did not want it, he did not see why it should not be dealt with in order to enlarge very small holdings in the locality. It was not a matter which affected the State or the landlord; it was a matter which affected the smaller tenants.

*MR. O'SHEE said that in his opinion the new provision would make for delay. In the first place, it was based on a hypothesis which had never materialised in fact. There were very few cases during the twenty-two years in which the Land Acts were in operation in which the two Commissioners had disagreed, because they always adopted the principle of splitting the difference. How the subsection would work out would be as follows: Judge Ross had declared over and over again in public Court that it was an accepted principle in the conduct of his proceedings that he would never accept a lower price than the Commissioners reported ought to be taken, except at the request of the incumbrancers or owner or both. The result would be that where the single Commissioner, now to be substituted for the two Commissioners, was in disagreement with the Land Judge it would always be because the Land Judge considered the advance too low, and the only object of referring the matter to the three Commissioners was

to induce them to accept the view of the Land Judge that the advance first suggested was too small. The result would be to put up the price. He thought the section referred to did not refer to the Land Commissioners. It dealt with the Commissioners sent by the Land Commissioners to inspect the holding and not with the Land Commissioners who sat in Dublin. The language of the section was very vague and it ought to be made clear.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that here, as in every other case, the Government proposed to reverse the decision of the Court of Appeal, and to reverse it in a sense injurious to the tenants, as they had already reversed it in the case of Lord Owen's estates. He had been very curious to see what this Section 40 meant, and he had assumed, as anyone would assume, that there was some machinery in it which entitled Judge Ross to refer the matter back to the Land Commission, but upon looking it up he found there was no machinery whatever. This was a most mischievous proposal. It must be remembered that nobody saw these holdings at all except the inspector. The Land Commissioners did not see them. The Land Judge did not see them. The Land Commissioner signed the report. The words of the section were—

"The Land Commissioners shall at the request of the Land Judge cause the estate to be inspected."

They having caused it to be inspected and fixed the price, Judge Ross, who had not seen the property, thought he was entitled to put the price by the Land Court, which had seen it, which he had no power to do. This was an attempt to reverse the decision of a Court of equal jurisdiction with his own. This was part of the Murrough O'Brien conspiracy. Of that he was satisfied. First of all the Government provide that the Land Commission shall consist of only one man, and then, if Judge Ross is not satisfied with the price that has been arrived at, he is to get that man to raise it. This was an anti-Murrough O'Brien section and was designed to turn Mr. Murrough O'Brien out. He hoped Mr. Murrough O'Brien would sit tight and refuse to be turned out. Judge Ross had no power to refer the matter back to the Land Commissioners, who were the persons to inspect the land. All he could do was

Mr. O'Shee.

to ask the receiver for a report. The receiver was not an independent person at all as compared with the Land Commissioners. The Estate receiver had no object whatever except to enhance the value of the report. It was quite clear that the class of drafting which ran through so many sections of the Bill was personal drafting. This clause, he would venture to say, was drafted in the Land Judge's Court and sent to the right hon. Gentleman direct from that Court, and whoever drew it drew it solely with the view of humiliating Mr. Murrough O'Brien, or at any rate with the view of depriving the tenants of his fairness and independence.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the hon. and learned Gentleman's account of the origin of the clause. He believed the provisions of this clause would make Section 40 work more smoothly and would not prejudice the tenants.

MR. DILLON said he put down the Amendment for the purpose of eliciting some explanation from the right hon. Gentleman, and if he were right in believing that if Sub-section 3 came into force and Section 40 of the Act of 1896 was suspended that the Estates Commissioners could proceed under Section 6 of the present Bill, he would withdraw his Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said Sub-section 3 was drafted to deal with cases where the Land Commissioners sold without any advance at all. In those cases under Section 40 of the Act of 1896 nothing happened and the Commissioners had to deal with the case as a congested estate.

MR. TULLY said it came to this: that a single Estate Commissioner could make a report as to what should be sold and, if Judge Ross agreed with the Commissioner, they could settle the matter between them. Under this clause Wrench and Judge Ross would be able to sell an unencumbered estate, and Finucane and Bailey would have nothing to say.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked whether the hon. Member would after the word "consideration" insert "on any question except that of price." It had been

decided that Judge Ross had no power to enhance the price fixed by the Land Commissioners, and this was simply an attempt to enable him to say—"The price is not big enough; I want you to give more." Unless the provision was intended to be hostile to the tenants, some such words as had been suggested were necessary.

MR. ATKINSON said the object of the sub-section was obvious. By Section 40 of the Act of 1896 more than one Commissioner was concerned in determining the value of the holdings and the sum to be advanced. Those Commissioners might disagree, and this sub-section was intended to solve the difficulty.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that no such disagreements had ever been heard of. It was impossible for these Gentlemen to have disagreed, because if they disagreed they could not make a report; they had invariably made a report, therefore they had not disagreed. This proposal was simply an effort to enable Judge Ross to get over the decision of the Court of Appeal by which it was laid down that he had no authority to raise prices.

MR. TULLY thought some attention should be given to a point which arose when the zones did not exist in their entirety. The sub-section simply meant that Judge Ross could force prices above the maximum.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. T. M. HEALY moved the insertion of words limiting the reconsideration to "any question other than one of price." The Land Judge would still be able to obtain from the Land Commission a report on any conceivable subject except that of price over which the Court of Appeal had decided he had no jurisdiction. If such jurisdiction was to be given, it ought to be done by actual words. As it stood, the provision was an indirect means of enabling Judge Ross to subvert the law of the land; it could have no other meaning.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 28, line 87, after the word 'reconsideration', to insert the words 'on any question other than one of price.'—(Mr. T. M. Healy.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM reminded the hon. Member than on an earlier clause the Government had not seen their way to take away from Judge Ross the discretion indubitably vested in him to protect the interests of mortgagees and others in the estate. The decisions under Section 40, as he understood, were that Judge Ross must sell; he might not fix the price, but he could go on refusing prices to the end of time if he held that the prices were unjust to the persons whose interests he had to protect. This sub-section was intended to bring such a conflict to an issue as rapidly as possible.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the Chief Secretary's statement was inaccurate with regard to Section 40. The Land Judge could not go on refusing, he was compelled by statute to make a definite offer to the tenant. The meaning of that was that as soon as the report came in from the Land Commission, the encumbrancer or any outside person might offer more, but the Land Judge was bound at some figure to give the right of pre-emption to the tenant. There could not be indefinite delay. The clause proposed an entire change of procedure, for which no case whatever had been made out. The proposal was simply that where there were no higher offers, the Land Judge was to refer the report back, and, because he thought the price not high enough, to bring to his aid Mr. Justice Meredith and Mr. Justice Fitzgerald to overrule Mr. Murrugh O'Brien in a pure question of price. Such a change would be most mischievous to the interests of the tenants, and was a reflection on the draftsman of Clause 40—a clause which the right hon. Gentleman had declared to be one of the best drafted sections that had ever passed the British Parliament.

MR. ATKINSON was understood to say that the business of Judge Ross was to consider the interests of all parties, and to make to the tenants such an offer as he considered just and reasonable. He had power to fix the price; but he had no power to fix the amount of the advance. Those two things ought not to be confounded. No such substantial change of procedure as had been suggested was being made.

MR. TULLY said that unless the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Louth was accepted it would lead to a great screwing up of prices. Mr. Sexton's view was that the result of the operation of this proposal would be to induce the Land Judges to put the screw on the tenants.

MR. T. M. HEALY said it seemed to him that the answer of the Attorney-General was a mere technicality, because the price and the advance were the same thing so far as the tenant was concerned. The tenant could only offer what the Land Commission advanced and the effect of this Amendment would be that a larger sum would be granted. No delays had arisen by reason of the action of the Land Commission.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 54 agreed to.

Clause 55.

*MR. BUTCHER said that the object of his Amendment was to ensure that certain Crown reversions should be valued like any other Crown interest by the Land Commission and should be got rid of under the sale to the tenant. Some of these reversions were a most singular class of property which in the open market would not fetch one farthing. It had been decided that this particular class of reversions with which the Amendment dealt were not superior interests vested in the Crown under the Act of 1896. The value of these reversions was not estimated like all other reversions, and the result was that the Treasury, acting through the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, demanded 1 per cent. of the purchase

money as the price at which they sold these worthless reversions. The Amendment proposed that these reversions should be valued like every other superior interest was valued by the Land Commission, at whatever was considered to be a fair value. He begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 29, line 27, after the word 'Dublin,' to insert the words '(5) The expression "superior interest" in Section 31, Sub-section 8 of the Act of 1896 shall include any reversion or remainder of the Crown expectant upon the determination of any estate in the lands sold to any person, and the price or compensation to be paid in respect of the redemption of the same shall be determined in the manner provided by Section 31 of the Act of 1896 as amended by this Act in respect of superior interests vested in the Crown expectant on the determination of any lease or term.'"—
(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*THE CHAIRMAN: Has the hon. Member obtained the assent of the Crown? It seems to me that this Amendment would endanger the interest of the Crown.

*MR. T. M. HEALY said the hon. Member for York might be committed for high treason.

MR. BUTCHER said he certainly had not obtained the assent of the Crown, but he thought the Chief Secretary might do so, and thus sweep away what was undoubtedly a serious blot upon the operation of this Bill. The effect was to enable the Treasury to get 1 per cent. of the purchase money for property which was worth nothing at all. Upon this point he supposed he should have the support of hon. Members from Ireland representing both landlords and tenants, and if the assent of the Crown was necessary he asked the Chief Secretary to get that assent.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think this is an Amendment which can be moved unless the hon. Member is prepared to say that he has obtained the assent of the Crown. If he has not done so his Amendment is out of order.

MR. BUTCHER asked the Chief Secretary whether he would take steps to obtain the assent of the Crown and introduce a similar proposal on Report.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It is out of order to move this proposal without having previously obtained the assent of the Crown.

MR. BUTCHER said that Sub-section 6 of Clause 55 left it at the discretion of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to remit any case involving a question of law or other question to the proper legal authority. His Amendment made the sub-section read that the Commissioners would be bound to remit such a question which ought not to be left to their discretion.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 29, line 23, to leave out the word 'may,' and insert the word 'shall.'"—(Mr. Butcher.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'may' stand part of the Clause."

MR. O'SHEE said that any Amendment intended to stir up the Woods Commissioners was most important, for they had been the cause of numerous delays in the past.

MR. WYNDHAM said that this clause had been drafted after very long conferences between the Irish Government and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and this proviso was put in for the purpose of relieving them from those obligations. Under these circumstances he did not think it would be proper to accept this Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he thought that the action of the Government in this matter was hardly fair, because the whole of this money was taken out of Ireland and spent in England, and not one sixpence of it went to Ireland. This was only a question of procedure to compel the Commissioners to do what they really ought to do as a matter of course, and that was to remit cases to the Land Judge or the Land Commission involving questions of law.

Was that an unreasonable thing? Why should this Department, because it happened to be connected with Royal properties, have a right superior to any other Department of the State? Surely the landlord was entitled to some better protection. Considering how strongly the landlords fought the Nationalists when they got some concession from the Government, he was amazed at their patience.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the hon. and learned Member for Louth was probably aware that, as far as the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were concerned, drastic changes in connection with Crown property were not always very favourably received.

MR. BUTCHER said he could not conceive why the Commissioners of Woods should be entitled to decide questions of law. They were not a legal body, and if questions of law came before them these questions should be remitted to the Land Judge. It was the right of every subject to have his case referred to a Court of law, and he did not see why anyone should be deprived of that right when the Commissioners of Woods were concerned.

MR. WYNDHAM did not think he could make any modification of the clause. The Amendment of his hon. friend would not run with other parts of the clause. He would consider the matter, for it was not easy to see at short notice how the clause could be amended.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would have any objection to the defeat of the Government on the Amendment. Perhaps it might have some effect on the Commissioners of Woods.

MR. WYNDHAM said he would have a great objection to the defeat of the Government. Besides, this financial clause was bound up with other financial clauses to which the representatives of the tenants attached great importance.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. BUTCHER moved to substitute "Judicial Commissioner" for "Land Commission" in Sub-section (6).

Amendment proposed—

"In page 29, line 30, to leave out the words 'Land Commission' and insert the words 'Judicial Commission.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Mr. WYNDHAM said he would accept that.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. BUTCHER moved an Amendment dealing with the question of costs in cases where the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues are parties. When the Commissioners of Woods embarked in a litigation in which they were unsuccessful they should pay the costs of the successful party. The old theory that costs should not be awarded against the Crown in unsuccessful actions was antiquated and wrong. He asked the Chief Secretary to see that the Commissioners of Woods, when wrong, should pay in the same way as a private individual who was unsuccessful.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 29, line 35, at end, to add the words '(8) In all cases in which the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, are parties to any proceedings in the High Court or the Land Commission, the Court or Judge shall have power to award costs to or against said Commissioners.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there added."

Mr. ATKINSON said he agreed with his hon. and learned friend to a great extent. The whole question of costs in cases where the Crown was concerned required consideration. This was not the proper time for that, nor was this the proper clause on which to propose such a change.

Mr. T. M. HEALY suggested that words should be added so that Sub-section 7 would run in this way—"Rules for the purpose of this section shall be made by the Commissioners of Woods, with the approval of the Lord Chancellor, and such rules may include rules as to the award of costs to or against

the Commissioners of Woods." That would enable the Commissioners of Woods to make the rules. The Attorney-General said this was not the time for making such a change in the law. He had always noticed that was the reply when an inconvenient proposal was made. This would be an admirable occasion for making the change. There was no time like the present, and he thought his proposal to leave it optional to the Commissioners to make rules was a suitable compromise.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he was not in a position to deal with the matter at present. The question was entirely for the Treasury, and he would have it considered before the Report stage, but he could not hold out any great hope that a change would be made.

Mr. T. M. HEALY was amazed at the landlords of Ireland standing up for a proposal of this kind. He reminded the Committee that this was a question affecting the interests of tenants, for sales would be hung up while these matters were being determined. He remembered that Lord Ormonde's estate took at least eighteen months to litigate. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to accept some such suggestion as he had just adumbrated.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he was not in a position to accept the suggestion at present, but he would consider the matter before Report.

Mr. T. M. HEALY appealed to the Secretary to the Treasury to give favourable consideration to the Amendment. This was not a matter to be passed over in a cursory or summary manner. He was sorry they had not the advantage of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's presence, because they knew the right hon. Gentleman was in favour of free trade and concessions of that kind being made.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.

Clause 55.

Another Amendment proposed.

"In page 29, line 35, at the end, to add the words, (8) In all cases in which the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues are parties to any proceedings in the High Court or the Land Commission, the Court or Judge shall have power to award costs to or against said Commissioners."—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. T. M. HEALY said the question of whether the remainder in fact could be proved must depend on a large number of circumstances. Some of these remainders had been created by deed as far back as Edward III., and were dependent on certain individuals of clans, tribes or families. Take the family of Butler. In Ireland there were tens of thousands of Butlers. The reversion expectant on the death of a Butler would involve enquiry as to whether that Butler was the true Butler. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests, sitting in an office in Dublin, were the persons to determine the value of the reversion expectant and whether a suit should be launched in respect of it. He put it to the Chief Secretary, was it fair or reasonable that they should begin legislation of that kind, and put the parties who were owners in presentee to enormous expense, and when they were beaten, as he hoped they would be in every case, that they should escape scatheless from the burden which was imposed upon the humblest of litigants? He put this from the point of view of the dignity of the Crown itself, in whose name so much unnecessary litigation was commenced. If it had been a landlord question he should have no interest in it, but he looked at it from the tenant's point of view. Take the case of a

solicitor selling an estate. He would have to make copies of an enormous number of deeds, some of which would be written in Latin or old Norman, which would be very difficult to read, which the Commissioners of Woods would not be able to read, and which he did not believe even the Chief Secretary, with all his attainments, would be able to read. In fact, there was only one person who could read them, and that was Mr. Wale, who had just been raised to the magistracy of Dublin. And while all this was being done the tenants would be waiting to have the fee-simple vested in them. This would not occur only in one case but in tens of thousands of cases, because everyone knew that the tendency of a family in Ireland was not to perish, and the question of a family having perished would not arise, and it was not fair that the burden and the intolerable delay involved should be thrown upon the people. The right hon. Gentleman had said he would consider this matter on the Report stage, but it could not be put off till then. It was a matter of finance, and the right hon. Gentleman knew very well that if he attempted to deal with a matter of finance on Report, Mr. Speaker would rule him out of order. It was a matter that must be determined here and now. It could not be raised in the House of Lords, because it was a matter of Commons privilege. He therefore suggested that the rules should include a rule as to the awarding of costs. Up to now both the landlords and tenants had treated the Government very fairly. They had not pressed their objections unduly, and it would be deplorable that a division should be taken at this time when the Government had not their forces behind them. This would rest like the mildew of delay upon the whole process of the Irish Courts, and if these actions were started at all they ought to be started under a penalty for costs.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University) thought the hon. and learned Member attached undue importance to this question. It was an absolutely insignificant matter. It would be impossible for the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to start a number of actions as the hon. Member suggested they might. The Commissioners of Woods were not a

corporation, and had no power to pursue in their own name. They had a power to appear in the Land Judge's Court to protect the interests of the Crown, but it was always open to the Judge to order the question to be determined by action at law; and in that case the action must be entered by the Attorney-General, and in the event of its being unsuccessful there was the ordinary litigant's liability for costs. In 99 cases out of 100 the claim of the Commissioners in the Land Judge's Court was admitted, so that the whole matter was really unimportant.

*MR. BUTCHER said the explanation of the hon. and learned Gentleman had only proved that the position of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests was more untenable than he had thought, because it came to this, that if they indulged in litigation outside the Land Court they had to proceed through the medium of the Attorney-General, and were liable to costs if unsuccessful; whereas in any proceedings before the Land Court or the Land Judge they were to get off without costs at all. He asked that they should be placed on the same footing in the Land Court as they were in other Courts. He understood that the subject was under consideration, but he thought it would be unwise to allow this question to go. They had now an opportunity, as he understood, of putting the Commissioners of Woods and Forests on an intelligible basis. They could put them in a reasonable position to-night, and he hoped they would do so, and that the Chief Secretary would allow them to put an end to the peculiar and unreasonable position in which they now found these Commissioners.

MR. T. M. HEALY said to some extent the hon. and learned Gentleman had met the position. He thought the best way to deal with the matter now would be to provide at the end of the clause that no proceedings should be taken under this clause by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests except in the name of the Attorney-General. He did not see, after what had been said, that the right hon. Gentleman could object to that.

Mr. James Campbell.

MR. WYNDHAM said he was far from saying that anything the hon. and learned Gentleman had urged was unreasonable, but he would ask him to listen while he replied to the hon. Member for York who had urged that they should not allow this question to go now that they had got hold of it. It might be a possibly harassing element imported into land purchase in Ireland, but in spite of his best endeavours he had not been able to deal with Crown rights in this Bill. They would all agree on Report to recommit the Bill on this point when it could be adjusted. When the Bill had become an Act, and experience had shown the exceptional position of these reversionary interests, it would be easy to convince Parliament of the necessity of dealing with the matter in an exceptional way. To pursue the controversy now only retarded the Committee stage of the Bill.

MR. T. M. HEALY said if the right hon. Gentleman would undertake to recommit the Bill on Clause 55 he would not pursue the question. He accepted the position which the right hon. Gentleman had taken—viz., that he would, on the Report stage, agree to the recommittal of Clause 55, if it was necessary to argue this question of Crown rent.

*MR. BUTCHER said that after the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 55, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 56.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 30, line 6, at end to add the words—
(3) The trustees of any estate sold under this Act or the Public Trustee may, after liquidation of all liabilities, on the application of the landlord or his representatives, advance out of the purchase money to the landlord a sum not exceeding one year's purchase."—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*THE CHAIRMAN said he was not quite sure whether this Amendment

was really an Amendment to the clause, or whether it ought not to come as a separate clause. Perhaps the hon. Member would elucidate?

DR. THOMPSON said he was not quite sure himself whether the Amendment was relevant. The object was to further induce, if possible, the landlord to sell by enabling the trustees or the Public Trustee to give him a year's rent out of the money at their disposal.

MR. ATKINSON said that the landlord would get any balance that was left after all the charges against the estate were satisfied; but the idea of the trustees paying away one year's rent out of trust funds which did not belong to them was absurd, and it was perfectly impossible to authorise anything of the kind.

DR. THOMPSON said he might state that the Amendment had been drawn up for him by a lawyer.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 56 agreed to.

Clause 57 agreed to.

Clause 58.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 30, line 28, to leave out the words 'Land Commission,' and insert the words 'Judicial Commissioner.'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'Land Commission' stand part of the clause."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he could quite understand the Judicial Commissioner going in where there was a question of law; but this was a question of price, and what had the Judicial Commissioner to do with that?

MR. ATKINSON pointed out that the price was to be determined by the Land Commission or the Land Judge.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that the Land Judge was practically an auctioneer.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that the most ignorant man would have to yield to argument. He suggested to the hon. and learned Member to leave things as they were. In his opinion, it did not matter a button whether the price was determined by the Land Commission or the Judicial Commissioner.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. LONSDALE (*Armagh, Mid*) moved:—

"In Clause 58, page 30, line 29, at end, add 'and in no case shall the redemption price of the superior interest to which any holding is subject (including the cost of proving the title to such superior interest) exceed the amount of the purchase money advanced in respect of such holding, exclusive of any percentage payable to the vendor under Section 43 of this Act.'"

He said that when the middleman landlord and the occupying tenant came to adjust their respective interests the head landlord would in many cases get all the benefit, and the middleman landlord, without whose consent the sale could not be carried out, would get nothing. If the middleman agreed to sell, he would be subjecting himself to an immense amount of cost, and trouble and in the end would have the mortification of seeing the owner of the superior interest quietly pocketing the whole of the money given in respect of the transaction. Human nature being what it is, it was very certain that in these circumstances many middlemen landlords would decide to hold on to their land, if the clause were carried in its present form, and a very large number of tenants would be debarred from becoming the owners of their holdings. He was desirous that the same facilities should be given to occupying tenants who held under middlemen landlords as were granted to tenants who held under other tenures. But the clause as it stood practically asked the middlemen landlords, who had been very hard hit by the two reductions of rent which they had had to make to their tenants, to bear the whole of any loss resulting from the scheme of land purchase. That, in his judgment, was unfair. If the purchase advance, apart from the bonus, was insufficient to meet all the charges on the land, then the various interests concerned, including that of the head owner, should bear a proportionate share of the loss connected with the transfer of the land.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 30, line 29, at end, to add the words, 'and in no case shall the redemption price of the superior interest to which any holding is subject (including the cost of proving the title to such superior interest) exceed the amount of the purchase money advanced in respect of such holding, exclusive of any percentage, payable to the vendor under Section 43 of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Lonsdale.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not accept the Amendment, which, in his opinion, would be absolutely unworkable and wreck the whole Bill. Land tenure in Ireland was already sufficiently complicated without introducing another complication. Perhaps his hon. friend meant to take a general bird's eye view of the whole estate, but the words he proposed to introduce were unnecessary, because they could not take more out of the purchase price than there was in it.

*MR. LONSDALE said that what he wanted was that the middleman landlord should not bear the whole cost of the transfer.

MR. WYNDHAM said that the Amendment did not state that. There was a great inducement to the middlemen landlords to sell, irrespective of all matters connected with the redemption of the superior interest.

MR. T. M. HEALY confessed that he could not see how the case raised by the hon. Member for Mid Armagh was to be met. When the redemption price was more than the advance, what was to happen then? Where was the money to come from? The question would have to be grappled with when the Trinity College estates came up for review.

MR. WYNDHAM said he admitted that the Trinity College case was more unique and complicated than any other, and it would come up later on. It had been said that under the Ashbourne Act the proceedings had gone on perfectly well, that under that Act the superior interest was taken out of the purchase money, but that occurred very rarely.

MR. T. M. HEALY said it had occurred within the last three months.

MR. WYNDHAM said that under existing procedure it was clearly a case for arbitration; but under this Bill there was an appeal to the Land Judge, or Judicial Commissioner. He knew of no case of the redemption of the superior interest for more than twenty-five years. No doubt there were difficulties, and that was the main reason why he proposed to give the bonus to the vendor. The proposal in the Bill was, on the whole, a vast improvement on the existing procedure.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that the answer of the right hon. Gentleman practically amounted to this, that they could not meet the difficulty that had arisen, and that the cases were not numerous. But such cases did exist. The Chief Secretary had hinted that when the amount of funds was limited, they should cut their coat according to their cloth, but that did not solve the difficulty.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL pointed out that the number of cases in which the redemption money would be insufficient would be very few indeed.

MR. WYNDHAM suggested that the clause provided a rough-and-ready solution which would go far to meet the difficulty raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Armagh. If, after the Bill had been in operation some years, cases of exceptional difficulty arose, they could be dealt with by their successors should Parliament see fit to do so. No doubt there were difficulties, but the general plan of giving the bonus to the vendor would, in his opinion, afford the best solution—if a rough-and-ready one—in ninety-nine cases of difficulty out of every hundred.

MR. FLAVIN referred to the action of Trinity College, Dublin, in raising the rents of the middlemen by 45 per cent., whereas the rents had been reduced by 40 per cent. through the operation of the Land Act. These middlemen would not be induced by this Bill to sell, especially as Trinity College was holding out for a redemption of the head rent at twenty-seven years. Some 7,000 tenants were affected by this, and it was, therefore, a very serious matter.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could only repeat that the case of Trinity College was one of great complexity, but he did not see how the Amendment would solve the difficulty.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We had better defer this discussion till we come to the question of Trinity College.

MR. LONSDALE asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) asked how the head rents were to be dealt with. The tenants, as a rule, were prepared to give from sixteen to eighteen years purchase, while the landlords were demanding twenty-five years purchase. The result would be that sales would be blocked all over Ireland. Were the Estates Commissioners empowered to make any terms on this point? He had heard of a case in his own constituency in which the landlords were asking thirty-three years purchase! How was such a case to be dealt with?

MR. ATKINSON was understood to say that disputes as to superior interests would have to be dealt with by means of arbitration. That was provided for under existing Acts.

MR. KENNEDY (Westmeath, N.) said he had some personal experience in this matter, as he was an unfortunate middleman. He wanted to sell to his tenants, but he did not know what price his head landlord would get for his head rent. He got 40 per cent. of the whole rent. How was he to determine at what price he could sell to the tenants until he knew what he was himself to be allowed. The head landlord having a superior interest might be entitled to 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. more than the middleman, but the proportion ought to be settled in the Act itself, otherwise the middleman might be in a very unfortunate position for the tenants.

MR. ATKINSON: The value of his interest will depend on the rent.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Middlemen may make up their minds that they will be flung to the winds.

MR. BUTCHER asked as to the tithe rent-charge. It was suggested that in no case would more than twenty years purchase be allowed for that. He hoped that that would be altered, and that the question of redemption would be adjudicated upon in a proper way.

MR. DILLON said the owners of tithe rent-charge had only their own brutality to thank for the position in which they found themselves. It served them right.

MR. T. M. HEALY reminded the tithe owners that they reaped an enormous advantage under the last Local Government (Ireland) Act. Trinity College alone gained at least £1,000 a year under that Act. The middleman also reaped great advantage, and now they found themselves between the upper and nether millstones, and would be ground to powder. The sooner they made up their minds to a speedy death the better it would be for them.

Clause 58, agreed to.

Clauses 59, 60, 61, 62, and 63 agreed to

Clause 64.

* MR. HEMPHILL moved to add that the determination of any such questions should have the effect of and be subject to the same right of appeal as a final order of the High Court. His object was, he said, to secure the right of appeal from the decision of the Divisional Court to the High Court. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have no difficulty in accepting the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 32, line 7, at end, to add the words 'and any such determination shall have the effect of and be subject to the same right of appeal as a final order of the High Court.'"
—(Mr. Hemphill.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL: We accept the Amendment, although we hardly think it necessary.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 64, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 65,

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) moved to amend the proviso in the second sub-section by altering seven years to two years as the period after which sinking fund payments should be made for land not disposed of. He expressed the opinion that without compulsory powers there never would be a satisfactory settlement of Connaught; but even with the powers at present possessed by the Congested Districts Board they ought to have effected at least ten times as much as they had done in the way of getting people on to holdings of a decent size. It was a matter of supreme importance that the Committee should give serious attention to this part of the Bill, which affected at least half a million of their people. He was afraid that the congested districts clauses of the Bill were its weakest part. Had it not been for the congested districts difficulty they would never have had that Bill, and it could not be too strongly stated that if the principal object of the Bill was the peace of Ireland it ran a serious risk of failure unless these clauses were very materially altered for the better, and unless above all the Congested Districts Board could be in some way stimulated and spurred on to more rapid progress. They were now in this position. They knew what was wrong and what was the only complete remedy, and yet year after year, since 1890, the Congested Districts Board had only done for a few score of tenants what it ought to have done for thousands. In thirteen years, out of an income of something nearly approaching a million of money, they had only succeeded in migrating some sixty or seventy tenants, while, in the same period, from 80,000 to 90,000 of the cream of the young men and women of the country had gone abroad. There must be something wrong which induced such a finicking policy. He was afraid that if the present Board had compulsory powers the results would be almost

equally insignificant. It was necessary in his opinion to completely revolutionise their present methods. In his humble judgment, the moment the Congested Districts Board got possession of an estate they ought to divide it into holdings of a reasonable size, hand it over at once to the new purchasers, and make any necessary advances to them for rebuilding their homes or for fencing; but let the people do the work of improvement themselves. Let them give the people possession of the land for the same money which the Congested Districts Board paid to the landlords originally. Under the present system, a single official, no doubt very competent—Mr. Doran—was first required to inquire into every particular of every estate to be purchased. After it was purchased he was required to settle everything as to the re-arrangement of every particular holding—questions of boundaries, turbary and every little village dispute. After that, the Congested Districts Board began to undertake an elaborate series of building, fencing, draining and other works, which went on for years; the Board all the time retaining the land in their own hands and obliged to employ an enormous staff of officials in carrying out works which, without offence, he might call grandmotherly improvements. After all those years, when at last the land was re-sold to the tenants, they had to buy the improvements as well as to pay the purchase money originally paid by the Board. He did not wish to say anything harsh about the work of the Congested Districts Board; but this work of model cottage building, this benevolent despotism as to the affairs of every particular tenant, might have been advisable at the beginning of these operations by way of experiment, but he submitted to the Chief Secretary that it was intolerable that that sort of thing should go on any longer. Life was not long enough. While the Board was spoon feeding—he did not wish to put it offensively—a few score of show tenants, the population was flying and the country was losing the very cream of its young men, who would really make migratory schemes a success if they got a chance, and would regenerate the country. What the Board

was doing was re-colonising the country, just as if it were a new country. It was, however, a richer country than most of the colonies, and it was certainly not by tedious methods of experiment, such as were practised by the Board, that the colonies were made populous and prosperous.

He would give the Committee some particulars of the monstrous snails-pace at which the land purchase and re-sale operations of the Board were carried on. The Clare Island estate was purchased in 1895, and was not re-sold to the tenants until five years afterwards; and the tenants were obliged to pay £10,000 purchase money where the Board had only paid £5,000. No doubt the tenants had the benefit of the balance in improvements; but they could have done tolerably well without such expensive improvements. One of them was a sort of Great Wall of China built right across the Island from one end to the other; and during all the time that work was being carried out, the money and energy of the Board were lost to other estates in just as great need of assistance as Clare Island. The Port Royal estate was purchased in 1898, and after five years' delay has not yet been re-sold to the tenants. There again a large sum had been spent in improvements; but the tenants did not ask for them; and they would have to pay for them in addition to paying the purchase-money that the Board originally paid. In another estate there was also a delay of five years, and the tenants did not yet know how much purchase-money they would have to pay. As long ago as June, 1899, Lord Sligo announced that he was ready to sell half of his enormous estate; and the Board had been for four years nibbling at negotiations for its purchase. He believed—the right hon. Gentleman would correct him if he were wrong—that more than a year ago the bargain was practically completed; and yet from that day to this the Board had not taken one practical step which would enable the tenants to know what their fate was to be. He would give a still more glaring instance of how the system had failed to work. On Lord Lucan's estate there were eighteen families living on twenty-two acres of worn-out land, and outside the fence there was a rich grazing tract, large enough to give them comfortable farms, which was in the hands of a

broken-down grazier who might be very easily dealt with indeed. Fifteen months ago the right hon. Gentleman complimented Lord Lucan on his unselfishness in having consented to sell his estate. He need not tell the right hon. Gentleman with what delight those poor people learned, on the right hon. Gentleman's own authority, that that estate had been purchased by the Board, and that they would have a glorious chance of getting their holdings enlarged; yet not a single step had since been taken in that direction, and those poor people, even to this day, were left in miserable doubt as to whether the estate was purchased or not. There was no earthly reason, if the operations of the Board had only been carried on with proper expedition, why the bargain should not have been completed, and why the tenants should not now be raising their first crop on their enlarged holdings, instead of being obliged to cross over to England for the harvest, and instead of the poor girls being compelled in greater numbers than ever to go to America. The Dillon estate was the one considerable operation the Congested Districts Board had to show for thirteen years work, and even then they had failed to stop the exodus of labourers to England. The Board had failed to provide the people with economic holdings simply because they had failed to purchase the magnificent grass tracts that bounded the estate and extended for twenty or twenty-five miles away to Claremorris and Ballinrobe.

The cases he had mentioned were all cases taken from the one single county in Connaught where the Board had anything considerable to show for themselves. As to the other congested counties in Connaught, and still more outside Connaught, the operations of the Board had been merely a drop in the bucket; and they did not even attempt to deal with this problem. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman it was not in any mere fault-finding spirit that he had quoted those instances. He knew the difficulties, and did full justice to the good intentions of the Board, to the ability of Mr. Doran, and to the very remarkable insight that the right hon. Gentleman himself had with reference to this question. He undoubtedly knew more about it than any other English statesman had ever learned; but

the right hon. Gentleman would perhaps excuse him if he spoke with some little heat on the subject, because he lived amongst those poor people and it was heart-breaking to see year passing after year without anything substantial being done, until the people were absolutely sick with hope deferred and grasped at the opportunity of a passage ticket to take them to America. They must be cruel to be kind; but he would tell the Government that they would be living in a fool's paradise if they thought they were going to save Connaught by peddling transactions of that kind. The Amendment he proposed was only one means, and a very imperfect means, of remedying those delays—namely, by putting some sort of penalty upon the Congested Districts Board for this system of retaining land in their own hands for an unconscionably long period. The clause seemed to contemplate that seven years was not altogether an abnormal period for land to remain in the hands of the Board; and if that were the theory to be acted upon, they would simply be dragging along for another century, no doubt carrying out a certain number of interesting and well-meant experiments, but failing utterly to do what the Archbishop of Tuam once said was the sovereign scheme—namely, to give the people the land, and “Give the people meat,” he said, “and they will cook it.” This Amendment was only one means of hastening the operations of the Board; but his hon. friends would propose other Amendments. Some stimulus was wanted to put an end to a system which had really reduced the whole operations of the Board to a nullity, and to a complete fiasco and failure in the congested districts of Connaught. Section 3 proposed to further empower the Board to charge the tenant with the cost of those expensive improvements, but he believed the first thing the Board should do was to abandon those costly fiddle-faddles, if he might be excused for so describing them. He would repeat that even with the powers at present possessed by the Board, at least ten times as much land could have been bought up by this time, and distributed among the people. He begged of the right hon. Gentleman to let the people make their own improvements. Let them not be too pedantic about insisting that everything should

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be in apple-pie order; let the people be given the land without delay, and at cost price, and as fast as ever it could be bought; and they might safely trust to the good sense and enterprise of the people to make necessary improvements, which they could carry out at one-tenth of the cost that would be incurred by the Congested Districts Board. He begged the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the Amendment would not be giving a hint which was badly wanted to the Board, that they ought not to dally over this work, that they ought to hurry on what was necessary and inevitable, and let the ornamental take care of itself. He would impress on the Chief Secretary that in this matter he could do, practically speaking, what he pleased, without the slightest difficulty or controversy. There was no conflict between landlord and tenant, and he begged him to take advantage of the present opportunity.

Amendment proposed—

“In page 32, line 22, to leave out the word ‘seven,’ and insert the word ‘two.’”—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘seven’ stand part of the clause.”

MR. WYNDHAM said he agreed with the hon. Gentleman as to the great importance of the subject, but he would find it rather hard to reply without travelling outside the scope of the Amendment, and showing some of the difficulties with which the Board had to contend. He would, of course, deal with the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN: Not learned.

MR. WYNDHAM said then they started on the same basis. The great difficulty of the Board in dealing with congested districts was generally the want of money, and nothing else. The hon. Gentleman instanced the case of Lord Sligo's estate. The reason why that estate was not bought was not because the Congested Districts Board were dilatory in their operations; it was entirely a question of money. Land stock fell, and neither party would accept

the consequence of that fall, and they had been beating the air ever since. Then the hon. Gentleman instanced the case of Lord Lucan's estate; again the difficulty of the Board there was a money difficulty. The purchase of Lord Dillon's estate exhausted all the available funds of the Board for the counties of Mayo and Roscommon; and when they tried to deal with Lord Lucan's very patriotic offer, they could not do so because their funds were exhausted. The delay had been great, and the disappointment had been great. Under the Act of 1896 the Board were allowed to borrow up to the capital value of the Irish Church Surplus Fund; but that was a comparatively small sum, and when it was divided up between the different counties it only amounted to a few hundred thousands for each county, which was not sufficient to enable the Board to go in for any large scheme of migration. At last a blow was struck, and the Dillon estate was bought. It was the first big practical effort made by the Board, but it swallowed up the whole of the credit of the Board in Mayo and Roscommon, so that nothing more could be done in those counties; and it threw such a stress on the means of the Board then available for carrying out all such operations, that it was impossible for the Board to act as boldly as they otherwise would have acted. He was very largely in agreement with the hon. Gentleman when he said that it would be unnecessary in the future to act so exclusively as a paternal Government. In saying that, however, he did not criticise the action of the Board in the past. The standard which the Board had set up had been imitated elsewhere. It was necessary to have a working model; and he thought the Board were right in supplying it. The Board were right in pursuing that course, because the work that was achieved proved to be the main lever which he had in his hands to persuade the House of Commons and his colleagues that it was proper to give the Board further credit facilities and further capital. Unless he could have shown that the standard of life was being raised, that the houses were better houses, that the cattle were being taken out of the houses, and that the hopeless forms of land tenure, such as "rundale," and holdings in mixed plots, were being abolished, he could not have persuaded

his colleagues that the Congested Districts Board were a proper body for dealing with these large credits and large cash balances every year. A great part of the work of experiment had now been done. Where a model dwelling had been set up, persons on property which had not been bought by the Board were trying to imitate the standard put before them, and one such house on a hill was a beacon to all who lived within sight of it. The work of the Congested Districts Board in altering the standard of house accommodation had not been thrown away. He did not desire to press the matter too far, but he wished to show that there was great force in what could be urged on behalf of his colleagues on the Board.

The hon. Member for Cork City now proposed that if the Board failed to put an estate in proper order for re-sale within two years they were to be penalised by having to pay out of their income, sinking fund as well as interest. Nobody was more keen than he that the Board should re-sell at the earliest possible moment, but it was his duty to say that there were parts of the West of Ireland which could not be re-sold until the people on them had done something on their own behalf, aided by public funds. If it were true, as the hon. Member had said, that all that was necessary was to give the ownership to the people, there was no need for the intervention of the Board at all: the people could buy under the ordinary methods of purchase. But there existed parts which had been derelict for the best part of 200 years, without boundaries, with scarcely a road, and no fences. In such cases as he had in mind, three or four years of paternal Government—if it took the form, not of setting up the last new-fangled idea, not of trying to raise the people at one bound to a much higher standard of civilisation, but of building one model house, and giving facilities for building more, showing how land could be reclaimed, carting sand up to a certain point, and allowing the inhabitants to carry out their own improvements—was not a curse, but a blessing. The people had the assurance that they could become the owners of the soil, that their rents would never be increased, that they would never have to go into Court; and if they worked in, not so much with the officers of the

Board, but with their local leaders, the priests of the parishes who were in full sympathy with the ideals of the Board, they would become the owners of the soil—and of a soil which was worth owning—and debtors of the State in regard to whom to a large extent no loss whatever would accrue. The hon. Member asked that this penalty should be imposed if the Board failed within two years to improve these hopeless morasses to a point which would justify their being sold in perpetuity on the credit of the general taxpayer. He was convinced that the slowness of the past had been due to inadequacy of resources, not to lack of zeal. He was prepared to admit, however, that it would be necessary to drive ahead more zealously in the future, to divest the Board of much work which ought now to devolve upon the new Department, and for the Department to apply themselves more and more as an expert body to the problem of congestion in its worst forms, using all their credit and cash facilities for that object. Generous aid had been supplied by his right hon. friend by giving them the whole of the pool of the guarantee fund, by placing at their disposal a sum of nearly £1,250,000 for the purchase of untenanted land, altogether outside the ordinary transactions of purchase, and by increasing the income of the Board to £90,000 a year. Having these resources, with the firm intention of making this the chief work of the Board, he asked the Committee that they might be allowed to go on with their duties unfettered by the monetary penalty proposed by the Amendment.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said it was satisfactory to find that the Chief Secretary was not much more pleased than they were themselves with the rate of progress made by the Board. He did not desire unnecessarily to find fault with the Board, or with the gentleman who really had to bear the whole burden of this work. Mr. Doran was a most competent official, but too much had been thrown upon his shoulders; he had been a sort of Atlas, bearing the whole western world for the last ten or twelve years, and it was no disparagement to say that he had not been equal to the burden. The Board had undoubtedly carried out many works of considerable advantage in their small

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way, but nothing was more certain than the fact that unless the operations of the Board were hurried up, years and decades would pass without anything really being done; the Board as a land-purchasing department might as well be dissolved. Unless the Chief Secretary took strong measures to impress his views upon them they would go on as they had done, spending five-sixths of their income in excellent, but extremely circumscribed, philanthropic projects. The great point was not merely to get possession of the land in derelict districts, but to take the people out of the morasses, and buy for them the magnificent plains that were waiting to be colonised. That was the only real remedy for the present state of things. For this work three or four Mr. Dorans would be necessary, confining themselves to the broad lines of migration schemes, and not concerning themselves with every minute particular of the work. At least £50,000 of the present income, in addition to the £20,000 provided by the Bill, should be set apart for the special work of migration. Above all, the people concerned should have some voice in the management of the Board. With the exception of Dr. O'Donnell and Father O'Hara, there was not a single member of the Board who had any intimate knowledge of the question. It was simply indefensible that the people or the people's representatives in the County Councils should have no voice whatever in the matter. He accepted to the full the statement of the Chief Secretary's own views and intentions, but he felt bound to warn the Committee that up to the present the Board had been a complete failure in the matter of migration and the purchase of land. The work of the Board, if properly carried out, would form the greatest monument the Prime Minister could desire. He appealed to the Chief Secretary, if he could not accept the Amendment, at any rate to be as generous in this part of the Bill as he had been in others. By proportionate concessions being made here a greater work would be done towards the settlement of the land question than would be accomplished by forty Land Acts such as they had had in the past.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the intentions of the Chief Secretary were excellent: he had gone to the root of the

question, he sympathised with the people, and he desired to apply a remedy to their difficulty. But the position was this: the present Bill was imperfect, perhaps not to the same degree as previous Bills, but still imperfect, in that it would not settle the great problem in the West of Ireland. They were now dealing with a part of the country where revolutions were made. There would have been very few Land Bills had it not been for this area, and he felt convinced that in leaving this question unsettled they were leaving the Irish land question unsolved. He had never said that this Bill would settle the Irish land question. What he had said was that it would put everything in the way of settlement. He was not very sure that it would put the congested districts even in the way of settlement. There were three things essential to any settlement of this question. First the reorganisation and strengthening of the Congested Districts Board itself. For all practical purposes Mr. Doran was the Board at present. The Board was possessed of excellent intentions, but they did not know the lives of the people, and more men on the spot like Mr. Doran were wanted, not in one centre only, but in all the centres. Secondly, the Board ought to be given the right of pre-emption in all these cases. There were, say, twenty or thirty small holdings of a couple of acres each huddled together, and round them were large grazing tracts. Were they quite sure that these grazing tracts would not be grabbed by the graziers? One of the things that ought to be done was that the Congested Districts Board ought to get the right of pre-emption. Thirdly, the Congested Districts Board ought to have the right of compulsory acquisition. If these three things had been done they would have seen daylight upon this problem. How were they to get possession of these great grazing tracts? The only way to do it would be to grant what the Congested Districts Board had asked for, and that was the right of compulsory acquisition of these grazing tracts. The right hon. Gentleman meant well, but he would have to face these difficulties, and he would have to grant the right of pre-emption before he could finish his scheme. Just as Acts had had to be amended in the past, so it would be found that before many years had

expired, in order that these poor people might be redeemed, it would be necessary to get the right of pre-emption and compulsory acquisition of these grazing tracts.

MR. DILLON said that this Amendment had brought them to one of the most important parts of this Bill. In connection with this matter, vital as it was to the lives of the great mass of the poor people, but for whom no Land Bill would ever have been introduced, they were not making any claim that would cost the landlords one sixpence, and therefore the landlords had no interest in opposing these Amendments. They had just heard from the Chief Secretary for Ireland a very remarkable speech, and a most sympathetic and exceedingly well informed speech; and, whatever their differences might be with him, he thought they would all agree that upon this question of congestion in the West he applied himself to understanding and understood the gravity of this question. In regard to the Amendments which the Nationalists had put down to this clause, the British taxpayer was not concerned, and his security would be rather increased than otherwise. Everybody ought to be agreed in bringing this vital part of the Bill to a successful conclusion. A few points had been mentioned in the Chief Secretary's speech upon which he should like to say a few words. With the general tone of the right hon. Gentleman's speech he felt himself in sympathy. He agreed that the Congested Districts Board had done a very useful work notwithstanding all their failures. The Board was badly constituted in the beginning, and was composed of men who did not understand the work. Consequently for many years their operations were "cribbed, cabined, and confined," not only for want of money, but for want of the actual machinery necessary to carry on the work successfully. A great deal had been accomplished on the Dillon Estate by the little encouragement which the Board had given to the tenants. He believed that it would be greatly to the advantage of the tenants, and more expeditious, if the

Board in the future would make the tenants a grant or a loan and let them build the houses themselves according to certain specifications. By adopting this course the houses would be built for about half the cost. He gave credit to the Congested Districts Board for what they had done, and although the money had been expended somewhat extravagantly it had gone into the pockets of the people themselves.

The real difficulty in regard to this problem was that the machinery was entirely deficient. Mr. Doran had worked mostly on the Dillon Estate which had absorbed nearly all his energies for the last three years, and the settlement of that estate had been a gigantic operation. A good deal still remained to be done on the Dillon Estate although 2,500 acres had been divided amongst the tenants. That, however, was only a very small amount, and there were still some 10,000 acres of land lying derelict on the borders of the Dillon Estate, all of which ought to be bought in order to spread out these people, and this course would increase enormously the prosperity of the country. It was impossible to bring home to the people of this country the multitudinous benefits which would flow from this policy. Although the people were poor in Mayo and Roscommon, accordingly as they gave them economic holdings the towns there would thrive and expand, and he expected to see all the towns of Connaught double in population within the next ten years. While he gave the Chief Secretary for Ireland the fullest credit for good intentions, and while he admitted that some of the clauses were a substantial advance upon the present state of the law in Ireland, this portion of the Bill was still very defective. Now that they had

Mr. Dillon.

got into a non-contentious part he asked the Chief Secretary to make this a really effective clause. He wished the House to go to the root and source of all the trouble, which was the congested districts question. If they could convince these poor people that they were making an effort to elevate them it would make a great difference. If they held out some hopes to these poor people they would not be unreasonable, nor would their leaders or advisers be unreasonable so long as they were convinced that Parliament was doing the best it could to bring within their reach the means of making a living by hard work. He knew one parish in Ireland in the very centre of which there were about 1,000 acres of the richest grass land belonging to a grazier who also owned seven or eight other great ranches. He never lived upon any of them, but he used them as grass farms. What hardship would it be to say to that man "We are willing to give you all the value of your interest, but you must give up this land to enable us to carry out this great operation for the benefit of the poor people of this locality." There were numerous cases in Ireland where the grass land was right at the very door of the poor people, and the Chief Secretary ought to provide some machinery to carry out operations of the kind he had suggested. If this Bill passed into law without giving greater powers to the Congested Districts Board it might have a very bad effect upon the settlement of this problem by facilitating the passage of these grass lands into the hands of graziers. He asked the right hon. Gentleman not to close his mind against proposals to give compulsory powers, which would not inflict a single hardship upon the landlords of

Ireland. He wished to point out that under Sub-section 3 there was a most objectionable procedure which would have the effect of considerably blocking the work. In some cases the tenants were being asked to pay as much as £100 fine in addition to their instalments. He thought that was a mistaken policy, because to ask a man to start in life upon a farm after paying £100 fine was very dangerous because they stripped him absolutely clean of his capital and put him into a holding that required a fair amount of capital to start with. In his opinion they were endangering the success of the whole system which was intended to provide homes for very poor people. They were also endangering the security of the State, because it was no use giving a man land unless they gave him a chance of using it to advantage.

MR. WYNDHAM said he desired to take that opportunity of replying to the questions which had been put to him. The hon. Member for East Mayo had asked whether the Congested Districts Board would have the same financial facilities as the Estates Commissioners. His answer was that they would in all respects, and on probably a much greater scale, because, for the smaller part of Ireland with which they had to deal they had just as much credit at their disposal as the Estates Commissioners. They had a guarantee fund of £1,250,000 to buy untenanted land. What the hon. Member had said with regard to the Dillon Estate was true, but if the Board had had money to buy additional land in the neighbourhood they could have made a better and quicker job of it. He thought they would be able to work on

a larger scale now and to meet the many criticisms which had been raised. As to the imposition of money fines on tenants, this Bill had been drafted to get rid of them. The very worst preliminary in starting a man on a new career was to take a fine from him.

MR. TULLY said anyone who had considered the conditions of the congested districts could see that these districts were scamped by the Bill, or at all events not adequately dealt with. The Chief Secretary had spoken with apparent sincerity and with eloquence, but there was something more than generalities required. They must apply themselves to the actual working details in the congested districts. The Congested Districts Board said they were hampered by the restrictions under which they worked. They said they could not force people to take the lands. He knew there was something in that complaint, because he was himself connected with a Board which erected sixty houses, but they could not get the people to leave the slum districts to take these houses. That was a serious difficulty, and he thought there should be something in the nature of a dictatorship in such cases, to compel people to leave their miserable holdings and to force them to take other lands. It was a curious fact that the statistics of migration showed that it was not from the congested districts that migration went on at the greatest rate. It was from richer districts in Ireland that migration took place. When they found that condition of things they should be careful as to putting restrictions in the clause which would prevent the people in the congested districts from being adequately dealt with. If the Congested

afternoon he was stopped at the bottom of Berkeley Street, although he explained that he was a Member of Parliament. He then tried other streets, including Bond Street and Burlington Street, by direction of constables. Eventually he got out of his cab and walked to the top of St. James's Street, where he met with every assistance from the police, and eventually arrived at the House. He would be the last man in the world to attempt to add to the troubles of the police when they had special difficulties to cope with. All he asked was that it should be laid down for the information of Members how and by what means they were to be able to come down to the House to perform their duties if they left their homes at such time as they thought would not cause unnecessary inconvenience to the police.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) said he was precisely in the same predicament as his hon. friend, but reached the House by making a detour. He thought that on a special occasion like that it was hardly necessary to press this matter strictly. By taking a little extra trouble hon. Members might help the police and avoid adding to the duties which devolved upon them.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he had been stopped by the police at Hyde Park corner, but on stating he was a Member he was allowed to pass.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said the police were most anxious to carry out the Sessional Order, and Members would admit that they usually met with the greatest courtesy and assistance from the force. It was a question how far the Sessional Order extended. He had always thought it referred to the

Colonel Lockwood.

neighbourhood of the House, and it certainly could not apply all over London, or to places where Members were not known. He hoped his hon. and gallant friend would not think it necessary to press the matter further. He, when he came down to the House, was allowed to pass, and having to re-pass from the House to meet M. Loubet he was enabled to do so with very little delay. Some consideration must be shown to the police on such an occasion when men from other divisions were on duty to whom Members were not known.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) said he always received the greatest courtesy from the Metropolitan police.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD said he had no desire to press anything; he simply mentioned the difficulty he had met with, and asked how he was to get to the House of Commons on such an occasion.

*MR. SPEAKER said it was quite clear that the Sessional Order ought to be carried out by the police, and that the access of Members to the House should be secured, and he knew from previous communications with the heads of the police that they were thoroughly aware of their duty and desirous of carrying it out. Probably the difficulty had arisen from men being drafted to duty near the House from other divisions, and therefore not discharging their duty in this particular with the intelligence that characterised the police usually on duty near the House. Every care was taken that the Standing Order should be duly enforced, and the Serjeant-at-Arms would again communicate with the police on the subject. He hoped it would not be considered necessary to pursue the matter any further.

Adjourned at seventeen minutes
after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 7th July, 1903.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with: North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply [H.L.].

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Beckenham Urban District Council Bill. A witness ordered to attend the Select Committee.

Wood Green Urban District Council Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Bill; Wigan Corporation Tramways Bill; South Staffordshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Great Northern Railway Bill; Broadstairs Gas Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Midland and Belfast and Northern Counties Railways Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Wellingborough and District Tramroads Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill: Ordered that the Bill be not further proceeded with.

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill; Merthyr Tydfil Urban District Council Bill; Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill; Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

Hastings Tramways (Extensions) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Bill. Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (No. 158); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill (No. 159). Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to Order). Amendments made; Bill passed and sent to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 18th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to; Bills read 2^a accordingly.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. Committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Local

Government Provisional Order (No. 18) Bill. Committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill. House in Committee (according to Order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Hamilton Burgh Provisional Order Bill; Broughty Ferry Gas Provisional Order Bill. Read 3^a (according to Order), and passed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ANKYLOSTOMIASIS.

Reports by Mr. T. R. Mulvany, His Majesty's Consul-General at Düsseldorf, and Dr. F. Ph. Koenig, the British Vice-Consul, on the outbreak of ankylostomiasis in the Westphalian Colliery District in Germany. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

HOLYROOD PALACE.

Reports and correspondence with reference to the sanitary condition of the Palace of Holyrood House. Presented (by Command), and to be printed. (No. 157.)

GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.

Report, by the Board of Trade, as to dispensing with the consent of the Borden Parish Council in the case of the Mid-Kent Water Provisional Order. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MOTOR-CARS BILL [H.L.].

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): My Lords, I rise to introduce a Bill to amend the Locomotives on Highways Act, 1896, pursuant to the Notice which appears in my name on the Paper. I gave the Notice in this form rather than proceed in what, perhaps, is the more usual way, because I thought it would probably be convenient to your Lordships, more especially

to those Members of the House who take an interest in the subject, that you should know as soon as possible, at any rate, the general outlines of the legislation which is proposed by this Bill. Your Lordships are aware that the principal Act which regulates the use of light locomotives upon the highways of this country is an Act which was passed in 1896, and the form which that Act took was to exempt light locomotives from the restrictions which applied to other locomotives used upon highways. In that Act a limit of speed was fixed, not exceeding fourteen miles an hour or any less speed which might be prescribed by regulations of the Local Government Board. In other respects the Local Government Board was the authority to issue general regulations as to the use of light locomotives upon the highways, as to their construction, and as to the conditions under which they should be used. Shortly after the Act was passed the Local Government Board did issue general regulations, which, in the main, have remained in force up to the present time. Those regulations fixed the maximum speed at twelve miles, and at less than twelve miles if certain weights prescribed in the regulations were exceeded. Those regulations also dealt with other matters, such as the particular weight of the locomotives to be used, the form of their tyres, the width of the cars, the method of carrying lights, the kind of brakes which were to be applied, and other details which I need not specify. But those regulations did not provide either for the licensing of drivers or for the identification of cars. The reason why that has never been done is this, that both the Local Government Board in England and myself, as Secretary for Scotland, were advised by our law officers that the Act did not give power to the authorities respectively in the two countries to make regulations upon those two points.

Many representations have been received both by the Local Government Board in England and by my Office, as well as, I suppose, by the Irish Office, as to the existing law being very defective; and I am certain that I need not go at length into these points, because I think it is unanimously agreed by all who have studied the

subject that the existing position of matters is unsatisfactory in the extreme. Whether everybody will agree as to the particular methods by which the existing state of matters is to be remedied, or not, I do not know, but of this I am perfectly certain, not only from the discussions which have taken place in both Houses of Parliament, but from, as I have said, very many representations which have been presented to both Departments, that the present state of matters does urgently call for a remedy. The Act of 1896 as it stands has been admitted to be far from satisfactory, and not adequate to the improvements which have been made in the machines which it was supposed to regulate, or to the existing needs or practice. I also think that no one, whatever his opinion on the details of the measure may be, is likely to deny the importance of the question to a large proportion of the public, whether they be those who own or use motor-cars or whether they do not. I think that one of the most unsatisfactory features of the present law is that it prescribes one rigid limit of speed, utterly irrespective of the circumstances which may obtain in any particular place. The offenders against the existing law are punishable at present only by fines, which, I think, are too often—at any rate it is so represented to us in both Departments—inadequate in amount; they are too often paid with very little difficulty by those who are in affluent circumstances, and they really have no deterrent effect because the same individuals are fined over and over again. Another very common cause of complaint is that at the present time there is no proper or satisfactory means of identifying those who are the real offenders in many cases.

That being the position in which we find ourselves I will proceed at once to explain the method by which the Government propose to effect a remedy. In the first place the Bill which I lay on the Table to-day proposes to require the registration of motor cars by the councils of counties and of county boroughs. Perhaps I should pause here to say that while, in the few remarks I shall address to your Lordships, I shall

use the English phraseology, it will be understood that the Bill I am laying on the Table applies to Scotland and Ireland, as well as to England, in identical terms. It is proposed that there shall be a separate number assigned to each motor-car, and that a mark indicating the number as well as the local authority in whose district the particular car is registered, shall be fixed to the car, and the responsibility for that identifying mark being at all times visible is laid upon the driver of the car. The particular method of fixing the numbers and the details of supplying those general provisions will, it is proposed, be effected by general regulations of the Local Government Board as under the existing Act. It is also proposed that anyone who drives a motor-car for hire or for reward shall be licensed by the council of the county or the county borough; and if anyone so licensed is convicted of an offence under the Act it is proposed that his licence may be suspended, endorsed, or forfeited, as the case may be, at the discretion of the Court before whom he is convicted. It is laid as a duty upon the Court that the Court shall communicate the fact of the conviction to the County Council which has issued the licence. In this case the details of forming regulations for carrying this provision into effect will also come under the power of the Local Government Board.

Perhaps I should explain why it is proposed that the licence should be only for those who drive for hire or for reward. It is not proposed that this licence should be a test or guarantee of skill. There is no security that it is not sometimes the most skilful man who in these matters is the worst offender, because, relying upon his skill, he takes risks to a greater extent than a much less skilful man would venture to do. I think there is general concurrence in the view that it would not be possible that everyone who drives a car should pass a test in skill, any more than it would be right to fix the same sort of condition for driving horses upon the roads. Consequently it is not proposed that anybody other than those who drive for hire or for reward shall be obliged to take out a licence. The limit of weight of a motor-car, which is now 3 tons unladen, or if there are two vehicles, 4 tons, will in each case be

raised by 1 ton. The maximum in future, if this Bill passes, will be 4 tons in the first case, and 5 tons when the motor is drawing another vehicle.

Now I turn to the question of speed, and I suppose we shall all be ready enough to admit that that is, perhaps, one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult, and the most controversial point which has to be faced in regard to this legislation. I hope that I shall carry the House with me when I say that the real test of whether the speed is too great or not is, after all, very much this—whether it causes any danger to the public or extreme inconvenience to others who have a right to use the highway. The proposal in the Bill is to put, in the first place, a prohibition on all reckless or dangerous driving, and it seems to me that, as this is so important a part of the Bill, it would be better that I should read the exact words of the clause in which the new provisions are contained. The first sub-section runs in these words—

“If any person drives a motor-car on a public highway recklessly or at a speed which is dangerous to the public having regard to all the circumstances of the case, including the nature, condition, and use of the highway, and to the amount of traffic which actually is at the time or which might be expected to be on the highway, that person shall be guilty of an offence under the Act.”

By a subsequent section of the Bill, Section 4 of the principal Act, which relates to the rate of speed of motor-cars, is—

“Hereby repealed except as respects any special limits or places to which that section is applied by a regulation made by the Local Government Board with a view to the safety of the public on the application of any council of any county or county borough in which the special limits or places are situated.”

The effect of this will be that the maximum speed at present existing will remain in urban districts for places where it has been specially applied, but it does not follow that even in these places a less speed may not be prescribed on application from the County Council by the Local Government Board; and whenever any regulation of this kind is made the Bill provides that public notice is to be given of it by the council in a conspicuous place near the special limits within which this maximum speed is prescribed. But over and above that provision there will remain even in

those places the fact that actual danger to a known person is not necessary to be proved against the owner of the motor-car. The general provisions of the first clause which I read to the House will remain as the first and pre-eminent consideration as to whether an owner or driver of a motor-car has been properly cautious or not. I venture to think that this is a satisfactory method of dealing with the matter, because it will enable any local authority, for any reasons which seem good to it, to apply to the Local Government Board to have a special maximum speed fixed wherever there are corners or dangerous places, or where for any reason special conditions should be imposed.

I venture to say that the Bill will have this effect, that it will concentrate the attention of the police upon those places where they are really wanted, instead of their being scattered over places where they are not wanted in the hope of getting a conviction where, though the speed may be high, there is really no danger to the public. I have almost concluded my review of the Bill, but I may add that there is a clause which raises the present maximum of the penalties. The penalties for offences against the Act may be for a first conviction a fine of £20, or three months' imprisonment; for a second or subsequent offence a fine not exceeding £50, or six months imprisonment; but in the case of imprisonment without the option of a fine being awarded by the Court of summary jurisdiction there is a right of appeal to a higher Court. Provision is also made in the Bill to ensure the identification as far as possible of those who commit offences against the Bill, because a person who is guilty of reckless driving, and refuses to give his name and address, or gives a false name and address, is, by that act alone, guilty of an offence against the Act; and the owner of the car, whether actually driving or not, is required to give any information in his power which may lead to the identification or apprehension of the driver who has committed the offence. I have explained, clearly I hope, all the provisions of the Bill, but I refrain at this stage from argument until I hear what is said against it. I

think that would probably be more appropriate to the Second Reading stage of the Bill. In the meantime I beg to present this Bill, and to move that it be read a first time.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 1st.
—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY: It would be very difficult, my Lords, at this moment, not having the Bill in one's hands, to make any practical observations on the subject, but having taken deep interest in this matter I venture to say that it appears to me that His Majesty's Government have very fairly met, as far as one can judge from the slight sketch given by the noble Lord, the requirements of the case. There are one or two points which one will be better able to understand when the Bill is in print, but I think, on the whole, the measure will meet the main points. I therefore personally hope that we shall get on as soon as possible to the next stage.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, there is one point which was touched upon by the noble Lord who introduced this Bill which seems to me to require rather further consideration than he gave to it—the point dealing with the persons who are to require a licence for driving a motor-car. As I understand the Bill, amateurs are to be excused from taking out licences partly because of the difficulty of extending the licence system to all, and partly because it would be an infringement of the liberty of the subject, because people who drive horses along a public road are not expected to give any proof of their fitness. I do not think the cases are parallel. The horse is a controllable animal, but the motor-car has enormous possibilities of danger to the public if ill-regulated; and I cannot see any reason for the distinction which is drawn between the professional and the amateur driver with regard to the requirement of a licence. In France, if I am not misinformed, everyone who undertakes to drive a motor-car has to give proof of his efficiency and has to take out a licence; and I do not see

that the value of the lives of His Majesty's lieges in this country is less than that of the lives of French citizens. I think that no one who has had any experience—and every one must compulsorily have experience of motor-cars as affecting the roads of the country—can doubt that it is necessary to keep under the severest supervision the capacity of those who undertake to drive these cars.

I confess I should have been glad to hear from the noble Lord that he was prepared to demand from everyone who undertook to drive a motor-car—a vehicle of such pregnant possibilities—some proof of his fitness to undertake the management of that machine. We do not want a number of Phaethons careering in chariots of the Sun all over the country; if so, we shall have many more accidents than have yet occurred. What I want to point out to the noble Lord, which, of course, he has already sufficiently weighed, is that this industry is only in its infancy. What we are seeing now with regard to motor cars is not half what we shall see in a year; it is not one-tenth part of what we shall see in five years. If the figures that are supplied to me are in any way exact, and I suspect they convey a generally sound impression of the facts, they come to this—that there are at this moment about 8,000 motor-cars running over the roads of this country, but that there are under order for delivery no fewer than 10,000 at this moment, which will more than double the number of motor-cars that are on the roads. That is a formidable outlook, but it is a mere bagatelle compared with what we have to look forward to in a not remote future. I think it is one of the gravest questions with which the Government can deal. I do not say that they have not weighed very carefully all the *pros* and *cons* of the various courses open to them, and I am by no means such an expert as to be able to indicate to them what course they should adopt. But I must say honestly, however, with reference to the particular question of the licence, that as at present advised I am very strongly of opinion that they should include in their Bill a provision to the effect that everyone, whether a proprietor, chauffeur, or merely a casual

amateur, before he conducts one of these machines on the highway should be compelled to give to an expert authority some satisfactory proof of his fitness, as is the case in France.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, we must, of course, wait for the print of the Bill before we can form any opinion worth having upon it, but there is one point which, perhaps, the noble Lord can explain to us a little more fully than he did. He said that anyone who drove recklessly would commit an offence under this Bill, but he did not explain to us who was to be the judge of reckless driving. Of course, that is a very important matter. So far as I could gather from his general statement, the restriction as to speed is very much to be left, except in certain cases, to the driver himself. He must not drive recklessly. Nothing, however, was said, at all events by the noble Lord, with regard to speed. I think he stated that different local authorities might apply to the Local Government Board to have regulations made on this subject, certainly with regard to any dangerous corners or parts of the roads within their jurisdiction. I should like to ask—Will it be possible for different regulations as to speed to be made with regard to different counties, or is it intended that the Local Government Board should issue general regulations applicable to the whole kingdom? I should be much obliged if the noble Lord could give us some indication as to how the Bill stands with regard to those points.

THE EARL OF MAYO: I congratulate His Majesty's Government upon the fact that they have at last recognised the existence of motor-cars, and that some measure is being brought in to deal with this important question. I have just returned from Ireland, where I witnessed the motor race a few days ago. I know there are many who are strongly opposed to motor-cars altogether, and think that they are going to run about and kill everybody, but I should like to say that hundreds of motor-cars passed through Dublin last week and through villages, at a high rate of speed, without doing any damage whatever, and many of the streets of Dublin are extremely narrow. One point dealt with by the noble Lord who intro-

duced this Bill, and which I think is rather unsatisfactory, is that local authorities are to have power to apply to the Local Government Board to fix a maximum speed over the roads in their jurisdiction. Local authorities are not very much inclined to favour motors, and I think that if some limit of speed were put in the Bill it would be much better than leaving it entirely to the local authorities. The result of the race in Ireland is to show that a foreign nation has produced a car which is far ahead of any this country is likely to produce at the present time, and therefore I think that anything we can do to foster this important and growing industry, in the face of the competition that is now existing in foreign countries we should do. If anything were done by narrow-minded people to hamper this great industry, I think it would be lamentable, because there is no doubt that motor-cars are destined to play a most important part in the future, not only in conveying people from one place to another, but in moving the agricultural produce, which now costs such a large sum to transport by train.

On Question, Bill read 1^a.

***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** I propose to put down the order for Second Reading for Tuesday next, subject to the convenience of your Lordships.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: It is an urgent matter. The sooner the Second Reading is taken the better.

The order for Second Reading was then fixed for Tuesday next.

ALLOTMENTS (LONDON) BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

***EARL CARRINGTON:** My Lords, I need only detain the House for one moment in moving the Second Reading of this Bill, which has been before your Lordships on one or two previous occasions, but failed to secure a Second Reading. The object of the Bill is to facilitate the provision of allotments by the London

The Earl of Rosebery.

County Council and to enable that body to set out pieces of land in small allotments, which would be a great convenience and benefit to a large number of Londoners. At the present moment, under the Small Holdings Act, 1894, it is impossible to set out land except in parcels of over an acre. This Bill would enable the London County Council to let smaller portions of land than that, so as to avoid the great evil which now exists of under-letting. In London we have ninety-one acres let out in allotments, but there are over 12,000 acres in different parts of London available for cutting up and letting in small allotments. It is difficult to conceive why there should be any objection to this apparently harmless Bill, but I believe the great objection to it is that this power is not given to any County Councils in England. I venture to submit that there is a great difference between the County Councils in England and the London County Council. District and Parish Councils undertake this work and do it very well, in the country, but in London the boroughs have never moved in this direction at all. I respectfully ask the House to give us this power, which is, after all, a very small one, for it is only extending to the London County Council, which is responsible for the welfare of 5,000,000 of people, privileges which are given to every District and Parish Council in England.

Moved that the Bill be now read 2^d.—
(*Earl Carrington*.)

LORD KENYON: My Lords, I regret that the Local Government Board do not see their way to accept this Bill. The noble Earl was perfectly correct in stating that he had presented the Bill to the House on two previous occasions and on both of those occasions it was rejected—on the first by eighty-seven votes to twenty-five, and on the second by fifty-six votes to sixteen, from which I think it will be seen that the House has not agreed to the principle of the Bill. The Local Government Board conceive it to be more the duty of the Borough Councils to deal with this question, and I cannot follow the noble Earl in his argument that the London County

Council would be more fitted to deal with it than other County Councils. The London County Council has to deal with an urban population, and the other County Councils with more rural populations, and if there was anything in his argument it would be in favour of giving to the more rural County Councils the powers which this Bill proposes to confer on the London County Council. Outside London the powers as regards the provision of allotments devolve on the Urban and Rural District Councils, except in cases where the Council may default in their duty. There is no doubt that at present the Metropolitan Borough Councils are not empowered to purchase land for allotments, but looking to the circumstances of London it may be assumed that if allotments are required they can be more properly secured by hiring than by purchase of land for the purpose, and if power for purchase is necessary it should be conferred on the Borough Councils. I hope, therefore your Lordships will not consent to read the Bill a second time.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I deeply regret that the noble Lord should have been instructed by the Local Government Board to offer opposition to this Bill, especially because it seems to me there is no opposition to be offered to the measure on the ground of principle. The principle of the Bill has really been accepted. Even the noble Lord in his speech raised no objection to the principle of the Bill. It was merely a question of machinery that he raised. The most he could say was that this Bill did so far cause a certain difference between the London County Council and other County Councils in proposing to give to the London County Council a power which was not held by other County Councils. He did not at all argue that there was any principle violated by giving to an authority in London power to deal with land by means of allotments. I venture to say that there is this difference—which the noble Lord has entirely forgotten—that the London County Council itself is a very special body, and that it differs in a great many ways from an ordinary County Council. The argument that he used

that an ordinary County Council dealt with rural districts and a rural population, and therefore was better fitted to deal with allotments, does not apply in London. The London County Council has to meet the wants of an urban population, and may therefore presumably be supposed to be acquainted with the wants of that population and to know how best to deal with them. What is the history of this question? The London County Council has been given power to acquire land for small holdings, it can at this moment acquire and let out or sell land for small holdings, varying from one acre to fifty acres. It can let out portions of land of a comparatively large area, and yet it is not to be entrusted with the power to let out smaller areas. The people of London do not require allotments of ten or twenty or fifty acres; what they want are small garden plots, and these the County Council cannot supply except by what I may call a subterfuge. I dare say the noble Lord is not aware that by a roundabout method the London County Council does manage to supply to the people of London these small allotments, and does so, as I think, in a very unsatisfactory manner; but the demand was so great that we were obliged to find that way, which is always to be found, of driving a coach-and-four through an Act of Parliament.

Even now the London County Council in seven different districts of London supplies no less than eighty-four and a half acres of land to no fewer than 734 cultivators, or an average of nine per acre. That does not involve any charge on the rates; on the contrary, the County Council, by this method, has managed to some extent to meet the wants of the people without placing any burden whatever on the ratepayers. I find from last year's report that the receipts from these small holdings amounted to no less than £357, while the expenditure on them was £308. Let me just give an instance or two of the rents which the London County Council pays for these lands, and the sums that are paid by the small cultivators. In the Catford district the Council pays £2 15s. an acre for the land and receives from the tenants £5 10s. an acre; in the Plumstead district the Council pays £2 10s. an acre and receives £5 an acre; in the hooters' Hill district the Council

pays £2 10s. an acre and receives £2 14s.; and in the Norwood district the Council pays £4 and receives £7 15s. It will be seen from these figures that, though the London County Council is obliged to pay very much more than the agricultural value for the land, the people who are desirous of having these allotments are willing to pay six or seven times the agricultural value for it. All that this Bill asks your Lordships to do is to legalise the system which is now in force, because after all it is only by an evasion of the present Act that the London County Council has been able to do this very valuable work. If the London County Council is to do this work and provide these allotments, it is far better that they should do it in an open and authorised manner than in a roundabout way. The noble Lord said he thinks it better that the Borough Councils should do this, but they have not got power to do it, and have not shown the least desire of wanting power. On the other hand, the London County Council has been doing it, has received the thanks of the people whom it serves for doing it, and has shown that it can do it even with all the present difficulties, without putting a single sixpence on the rates and without embarrassing anybody at all. I think that a body which is capable of undertaking all the work which the present Government has thrown upon it in the last three years is certainly fit to be entrusted with the duty of performing in a direct and legal way a service it has already rendered for some years to the people of London in an indirect way. For that reason I hope, in spite of the speech of my noble friend Lord Kenyon, your Lordships will consent to read the Bill a second time.

***LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH:** My Lords, I cannot understand why at this period of the session this Bill, which has been more than once rejected by the House, should be brought in and should be pressed when it is obvious, owing to the attitude of the noble Lord who represents the Local Government Board, that it has not much chance of passing. I do not think any reason has been shown why the London County Council should be put in this matter in a position different from other County

Councils, and it is also perfectly obvious that the London County Council would have to go outside its own district to purchase this land. One reason why the Local Government Board think that if there is any real demand for these allotments the Borough Councils would be the best bodies to provide them is this, that in that case the transaction would be directly under the purview of those whose responsibility would be

pledged for it, because if there was to be any loss by the purchase of the land the loss would fall upon the ratepayers of the district that had embarked in this enterprise. In all the circumstances I do not think a case has been made out for the House reversing the decision it has come to on two previous occasions.

On Question, their Lordships divided: Contents, 11; Not-Contents, 50.

CONTENTS.

Ripon, M.	Crewe, E.	Rosebery, L. (<i>E. Rosebery.</i>)
Carrington, E. [<i>Teller.</i>]	Northbrook, E.	Sandhurst, L.
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	Reay, L.	Tweedmouth, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Halsbury, E. (<i>L. Chancellor.</i>)	Waldegrave, E. [<i>Teller.</i>]	Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Devonshire, D. (<i>L. President.</i>)	Yarborough, E.	Congleton, L.
Portland, D.	Churchill, V. [<i>Teller.</i>]	De Mauley, L.
Ailesbury, M.	Hutchinson, V. (<i>E. Donoughmore.</i>)	Dunboyne, L.
Bath, M.	Portman, V.	Glenesk, L.
Camperdown, E.	Allerton, L.	Grey de Ruthyn, L.
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Egerton, E.	Avebury, L.	Kinnaird, L.
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Mayo, E.	Belhaven and Stenton, L.	Norton, L.
Morton, E.	Belper, L.	Oranmore and Browne, L.
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Powis, E.	Carysfort, L. (<i>E. Carysfort.</i>)	Robertson, L.
Rose, E.	Clanwilliam, L. (<i>E. Clanwilliam.</i>)	Windsor, L.
Vane, E. (<i>M. Londonderry-</i>)		Wolverton, L.

LUNACY ACTS (AMENDMENT) LONDON BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, this is another small Bill, the object of which is to authorise the London County Council to provide receiving houses for the detention of persons mentally affected, or alleged to be of unsound mind, pending their examination and removal, if necessary, to asylums. This initial procedure is at present carried out, for the most part, in workhouses, and is found to be inconvenient and sometimes harmful. It is believed that the proper treatment of mental disease in its earlier stages, or of symptoms of incipient mental disease, would often obviate the

necessity for sending to a county lunatic asylum persons who, under the present arrangements, cannot be otherwise dealt with. The proposed system of receiving houses will thus be not only beneficial but economical in its operation. The receiving houses will be available for the treatment of out-patients, and will be under the supervision of the Commissioners in Lunacy and be conducted in accordance with the law regulating county asylums. In the first instance there will probably be two receiving houses, one for the north and one for the south of London. Each house will accommodate thirty patients and the necessary staff. I understand that the Lord Chancellor told a deputation which waited upon him on this subject that he approved the proposals in principle. The Commissioners in Lunacy have also expressed their approval, the Local

Government Board give a general approval to the scheme, and it is approved by more than 50 per cent. of the boards of guardians in London. I hope the Bill will therefore not meet the fate of the one I have just submitted to your Lordships.

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—
(*Earl Carrington*.)

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR (the Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, I join in the hope expressed by the noble Earl that this Bill will not meet the same fate as the Bill on which your Lordships have just divided. What I told the deputation was that I would be happy to consider the proposals, and assist in passing them if I could, when I had seen what the Bill was. I can redeem that pledge now by saying that I think what is proposed is an improvement which I should be glad to see made law. The present system is undoubtedly unsatisfactory, and I have received a great number of complaints with reference to the mingling of lunatics, or alleged lunatics, and paupers in the workhouses. One or two observations which have been sent to me will, I have no doubt, receive the consideration of the noble Earl and the London County Council. One is to the effect that the Council is rather behind-hand in the work they have already undertaken with regard to the provision to be made for lunatics. I do not think that a conclusive objection to the Bill, because the passing of the measure will relieve the pressure now complained of. It is also urged that enormous expense will be incurred. That may or may not be an objection on the part of the rate-payers, but they can urge it on the County Council, who rule their own finance. It does not concern me in respect of the jurisdiction of the Lunacy Commissioners. On the whole, I think the Bill, if properly amended in one or two directions, which can be indicated in Committee, will be an advantageous addition to the Statute-book, and I will support the Second Reading.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Earl Carrington.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AMENDMENT BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I assume that as this Bill only amends an English Act it will not apply to Scotland. The Bill has been drafted privately and not by a public Department, and, therefore, probably that point has been overlooked. I do not wish to raise any difficulty about it now, but if the point is not clear—and I have had one or two letters from Scotland asking whether the Bill is intended to apply to Scotland—I think it would be as well to put in a clause to the effect that it does not so apply.

LORD REAY: It is not intended that the Bill should apply to Scotland, but I am quite willing, if the noble Lord wishes it, to insert a clause to that effect.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The point can be considered before the Standing Committee.

Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.]

Read 3^a (according to Order) and passed, and sent to the Commons.

GUINEA POSTAL ORDERS BILL.

Read 3 (according to Order), and passed.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 7th July, 1903.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of

Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz. :—Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Hampton Court Gas Bill, Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway (Extension of Time) Bill, read the third time, and passed.

Frinton-on-Sea Sea Defences Bill [Lords]; Pontypridd Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Aston Manor Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order). As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill. Ordered, That, in the case of the Castleblaney, Keady, and Armagh Railway (Extension of Time) Bill, Standing Orders 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee of Selection have leave to appoint the Committee on the Bill to sit and proceed forthwith.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill. Ordered, That, in the case of the Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill, Standing Order 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee.

1. "That, in the case of the North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill

[Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

2. "That, in the case of the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords], the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill."

3. "That, in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Bill [Lords], Petition for dispensing with Standing Order 129 in the case of the Petition of the Urban District Council of Mountain Ash against the Bill, the said Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with."

First two Resolutions agreed to

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—

Military Lands Provisional Orders Bill, without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill, with an Amendment.

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill.

Merthyr Tydvil Urban District Council Bill.

Grindleford, Baslow, and Bakewell Railway Bill.

Highland and Invergarry and Fort Augustus Railway Companies Bill, with Amendments.

Amendment to Education Board Provisional Orders Confirmation (East Ham, etc.) Bill [Lords].

Amendments to British Gas Light Company (Norwich) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Second Reading deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting).

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Carmarthenshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Fife Electric Power Bill [Lords].

Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15) Bill. Reported [Provisional Order not confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Petition from Henfield, against; to lie upon the Table.

LICENCES RENEWAL AND TRANSFER BILL AND LICENSING LAW (COMPENSATION FOR NON-RENEWAL) BILL.

Petition against: from Heywood; Swinton; and Eccles; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Petition from Dalkeith, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ANKYLOSTOMIASIS.

Copy presented, of Reports by Mr. J. R. Mulvany, His Majesty's Consul-General at Düsseldorf, and Dr. F. Ph. Koenig, the British Vice-Consul, on the outbreak of Ankylostomiasis in the Westphalian Colliery District in Germany [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade as to dispensing with the consent of the Borden Parish Council in the case of the Mid Kent Water Provisional Order [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 241.]

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 593 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3016 to 3019 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Re-adjustment of Ecclesiastical Endowments.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the hon. Member for West Salford, as Church Estates Commissioner, what is approximately the present annual value (as defined in the fifth section of the Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment Act, 1887), of the benefice of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London; what communications (if any) have passed between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Bishop of London, as patron of the living, with regard to the surrender by the next presentee of a portion of the income of the benefice, and to what purpose or purposes it is proposed that the amount so surrendered should be applied; and whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will consider the question of applying to Parliament for further powers to enable them to enforce a re-adjustment of endowments in such cases for the benefit of poor benefices.

(Answered by Mr. Lees Knowles.) In a Return (No. 78, of 1902), made by the Bishop of London pursuant to an Order of the House of Lords, the annual value of this benefice is stated as £2,300. There has been no communication between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Bishop of London as to the surrender by the next incumbent of any portion of the income. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have already power, with consent of the patron and Bishop, to frame schemes for ratification by His Majesty in Council for apportioning the income of a benefice between it and other benefices in the same patronage.

House of Commons—Ventilation Committee—Publication of Report.

MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the hon. Member for West Derbyshire, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, when the Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the ventilation and sanitary arrangements of the House of Commons will be presented.

(Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.) The date of the presentation of the Report is rather a matter for the Committee than the First Commissioner of Works. But the First Commissioner understands that the Committee is now considering its Report.

Wheat Exports from Canada and the United States.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state what proportion of the wheat imported last year ostensibly from the United States was in reality of Canadian growth, owing to the railway facilities offered by the American companies and the shipping advantages from American ports; and, further, if the Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade is in possession of information as to the relative area of the land suitable for wheat awaiting development in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada respectively.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) I regret that it is not possible to state what proportion of the wheat recorded in the Trade Accounts of the United Kingdom, as having been imported from the United States last year was of Canadian growth or *vice versa*. The answer to the second portion of the Question is in the negative.

Railway Facilities in Anglesey.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the railway arrangements for the county of Anglesey; is he aware that the first ordinary train does not leave Holyhead until 8 a.m., making it impossible for business men to reach the nearest English towns until afternoon; that the last stopping train leaves at 6 p.m., causing inconvenience to country people who wish to do business at Holyhead on market and other days; that owing to the distances between stations a large part of the county is not accorded convenient railway facilities; and that, although their attention has been called to these and other facts, and the grievances have been admitted by them, the London and North Western Railway Company have

not taken any steps to meet the wants of the district; and, if so, whether he will bring pressure to bear on the company to cause them to establish a more satisfactory train service, and to erect new stations in the county.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) The Board have brought the hon. Member's Question to the notice of the railway company referred to. They cannot further intervene in questions of passenger traffic arrangements, which must be left to the discretion of the several railway companies.

Wheat Imports into Germany.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he can state what is the duty per quarter upon wheat charged upon entry into Germany; and what is the present price of wheat in Germany as compared with the price of the same quality in Great Britain.

(Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.) If my hon. friend will be good enough to refer to the printed answers to Questions given yesterday† (page 1252) he will see that I have already answered this Question.

Law of Valuation—Introduction of Fresh Legislation.

MR. LUKE WHITE (Yorkshire, E.R., Buckrose): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state when it is intended to introduce the measure for improving the Law of Valuation and Assessment.

(Answered by Mr. Walter Long.) I cannot at present state when I shall be in a position to introduce the Bill referred to.

Performing Bears in Public Streets.

MR. BROOKE ROBINSON (Dudley): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the attention of the police has been drawn to one, if not two, performing bears that have for several weeks past been in the streets of the Metropolis; and whether, in view of what occurred upon a previous occasion,

† See page 1375.

the police will now, before a fatal accident happens, require these bears to be taken away from the Metropolis.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The police have been paying due attention to this matter, and since the 1st May have taken action in six cases in different parts of the Metropolis. In two cases convictions were obtained, in the other cases the defendants were discharged. The police have no power to require that these bears shall be removed, and can only intervene when they are the cause of obstruction or are exhibited to the annoyance of inhabitants or passers by.

Disorderly Houses in Southwark.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called by the Council of the Borough of Southwark to the difficulty experienced in dealing with disorderly houses in their district, in view of refusals of magistrates presiding at police Courts in the borough to convict, and of the penalties imposed in the case of persons prosecuted for keeping disorderly houses, and whether he can take any steps in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) A complaint was made to me last year by the Council of the Borough of Southwark to the effect indicated, but I cannot say that the facts of the particular case to which reference was made were such as to satisfy me that the complaint was well-founded. The magistrates dealing with these cases exercise a discretion with which I have no power to interfere.

Irish Agricultural Department—Clerical Staff.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in regard to the clerical staff of the Agricultural Department, he will endeavour to obtain precise particulars respecting the nature and result of the representations to the Treasury, in the case of the gentlemen whose services range from nine to eleven years and whose salaries are still considerably under £100 a year, made at the time it was proposed to promote a tem-

porary clerk with approximately two years service to a staff post with salary rising to £250 per annum.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Department recommended that the salaries of two of the five clerks who had from nine to eleven years service, and whose remuneration at the time was under £100 a year, should be increased to £120, and that the increment of salary in the cases of the other three clerks should be increased to £5 a year. The first of these proposals was agreed to by the Treasury.

Petrol—Suggested Extraction from Irish Beet and Potatoes.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the petrol used for motor-cars is a purely foreign product, experiments will be made by the Department of Agriculture with a view to supplanting its use by alcohol extracted from Irish-grown beetroot and potatoes.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The matter is engaging the attention of the Department.

Irish Land Commission—Entailed Estates.

COLONEL WYNDHAM-QUIN (Gloucestershire): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how, upon the sale to the Land Commission of an entailed family mansion-house and demesne land by a tenant for life, the purchase money will be dealt with and how the rights of the remaindermen will be preserved; and whether, upon such mansion-house and demesne land being resold to the tenant for life in consideration of a rent-charge, they will, subject to the rent-charge, be subject to the original entail and the rights of the remaindermen secured to them, and how this will be accomplished.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The purchase money will be paid over to the trustees of the settlement, to be held by them on the trust of that settlement. The intention of the Bill is that the demesne or lands re-purchased shall be held free and discharged from the trusts of the settlement, but the question is, with others affecting the matter, under consideration.

Extra Police at Bruree, County Limerick.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why extra police have been drafted into the village of Bruree, in the county of Limerick, on whom will the cost fall, and will he now direct that they be removed as the place is peaceable.

(Answered by Mr. Wyndham.) Three constables were sent to Bruree in consequence of a strike in the neighbourhood; two of them have since been withdrawn. The third constable will return to his station when his services are no longer required. The cost of the extra constables will be defrayed from the Constabulary Vote.

Accommodation for Members of Parliament at Aldershot Review.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any enclosure or accommodation will be provided for Members of the House of Commons at Aldershot on Wednesday.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.) Owing to the short notice of the changed date of the Review, in view of the visit of President Loubet, it was not possible to erect stands to see the Review. Arrangements were made to make any accommodation which was possible available, and an announcement was inserted in the newspapers requesting that those desiring tickets for the Review at Aldershot should apply to the General Officer Commanding there, and I understand that the available space has been allotted to the very utmost extent possible.

London University—Positions of Profit for Members of Senate.

MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, as members of the Senate of the University of London have now been appointed to paid offices under the Senate as professors and examiners, although under the former charter no member of the Senate was eligible as an examiner, he will propose an Amendment of the University of London Act, making members of the Senate ineligible for such positions of emolument.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.) The University of London as constituted under charter was merely an examining commission awarding diplomas and degrees to students trained in institutions having no organic connection with the University or to students trained by private study. It was therefore very desirable that the commission that awarded the honours and settled the schemes of examination should not appoint themselves to the office of examiner in receipt of a salary. The present University, on the other hand, as reconstituted by the Act of 1898, is a teaching University, created with the purpose of giving the teachers a share in the work of the University, whether by examination, by teaching, or by research. The receipt of a salary from the University chest does not preclude a professor or internal examiner at Oxford or Cambridge from a share in the government of those Universities, and from a seat on a Syndicate or Delegacy or Council of the Senate, and any such restriction would cripple the power of the University to call to its aid its most distinguished teachers and examiners.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.**Religious Instruction in Public Elementary Schools.**

MR. MANSFIELD (Lincolnshire, Spalding): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if he will alter the by-law respecting the hours of attendance of children in public elementary schools, so that only those children shall be compelled to attend the schools during the time devoted to religious instruction whose parents have sent a written request to the managers, expressing the wish that their children shall be present during such instruction.

*THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The proposal contained in the Question does not appear to the Board to be in accordance with the requirements of Section 7 (1) of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and is not, therefore, such as the Board could properly adopt. I may draw the hon. Member's

attention to the new model by-laws recently issued by the Board, which, they are advised, follow exactly Section 7 (1) of the Act of 1870; in districts where these are adopted by the local authority, parents will be able to withdraw their children in all cases from the school premises during the time set apart for instruction in religious subjects.

Education Rate—Passive Resistance.

MR. MANSFIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been drawn to the seizure of goods for the non-payment of education rates, and to the fact that the value of the goods seized has been in most cases in excess of the amount of the rate demanded; will he state whether the authorities have his sanction in seizing goods in excess of the amount required; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter to ensure a more equitable administration of the law.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I have seen newspaper reports of cases where goods have been taken on account of the non-payment of rates, but I do not know what was the value of the goods taken. It is a general rule of law that an excessive distress is an illegal proceeding for which the person aggrieved would have his remedy by action. Whether in any particular instance the distress is excessive is a legal question to be determined according to all the circumstances of the case. The matter is not one with respect to which I have any jurisdiction, and I do not propose to take any action with regard to it.

Newry Sessions—Jurors.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that jurors are summoned to the Newry Sessions from the whole of the barony of Iveagh, Lower Half, although two-thirds of that barony is situate in the Downpatrick Sessions District; and whether, in view of the inconvenience caused to the jurors thus summoned, he will take steps to have the practice discontinued.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): The Jurors' Book is prepared by the Clerk of the Crown and Peace from lists made by the clerks of unions. Complaints have been made to the effect mentioned in the Question; but the mistakes originate, I understand, in the lists supplied by clerks of unions. The Clerk of the Crown and Peace will personally look into the matter and endeavour to have the defects remedied at the next Revision Sessions in September.

MR. MACVEAGH: I think the Jury List is prepared by the Sub-Sheriff and not the Clerk of the Crown and Peace.

Dublin Detectives and the Camera.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that detectives of the Dublin police are giving annoyance to some citizens of Dublin by photographing them; and, if so, will he state who is responsible for this conduct of the police; and whether he will order it to be discontinued.

MR. WYNDHAM: I understand that one or two constables in plain clothes took "snapshots" of individuals in the streets. Complaint having been made, the police will not act in this manner in future.

Irish Local Government.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to state whether he proposes in the next session of Parliament to introduce any further amending Local Government (Ireland) Act.

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot give any undertaking with respect to legislation next session.

Crime in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, at the June quarter sessions for County Longford, County Court Judge Curran complimented the Grand Jury on the peaceful state of the county; that at the summer

assizes there was not one custody case for trial and practically no criminal business to be done ; and, if so, whether, in these circumstances, he proposes to continue the application to the county of the clauses of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, now in force there.

MR. WYNDHAM : The matter is engaging the consideration of the Government.

MR. J. P. FARRELL : When may we have the fruit of the consideration ?

MR. WYNDHAM : When we reach the gap between the Committee and Report stages of the Irish Land Bill I will give personal attention to the matter.

Irish County Council Accounts.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have approved of the form of the new ledger required by the secretaries of County Councils in view of recent legislation ; and whether, owing to the public inconvenience that has been created by the fact that the copyright ledgers now in use are out of print and new copies are not available, the Local Government Board will themselves issue a form of ledger suitable for the altered requirements of the County Councils.

MR. WYNDHAM : The accounts which must be kept in the county ledger have been prescribed by the Local Government Board, but it has not prescribed a particular form of ledger, nor is it considered desirable to do so.

Ballymote Fair-Rent Appeals.

MR. TULLY : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Land Commission have made any investigation into the complaint from Mr. Thomas M. Killoran, Ballymote, that an appeal was heard by them against the fair rent fixed by the sub-Commissioners on the 19th June, 1900, on a holding on the estate of Colonel French, which he purchased from Mrs. Kate Shaw, formerly Roddy, although no notice of appeal was served on Mr. Killoran or Mr. Shaw ; and, if so, will he say with what result.

MR. WYNDHAM : Mr. Killoran was present at the inspection of the holding by the Assistant Commissioners in March last, and also gave evidence on the re-hearing of the case at Sligo in April.

MR. TULLY : Has inquiry been made as to why the notice has not been served on the tenant ?

MR. WYNDHAM : I cannot say.

Irish Land Bill—Definition of "Occupiers of Land."

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the words "occupiers of land," in Clause 19, page 11, line 27, include labourers who are tenants of a Rural District Council.

MR. WYNDHAM : Technically, I think, labourers in occupation of labourers' cottages as tenants to the District Council would come within the description, but of course, the Land Commission should make proper provisions to safeguard the interests of the District Council, so that the right would be appurtenant to the cottage and not a personal right of the labourer.

Head Rent.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he would insert a clause in the Irish Land Bill giving tenants who purchased their holdings under the 24th Section of the Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881, subject to a head rent, the right to purchase this head rent at a price to be fixed by the Land Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM : The financial scheme of the Act of 1881 was essentially different from that of the present Bill. The cases of the nature mentioned are few in number and it would be quite impossible to open up past transactions.

Cork Model Schools.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he has received information that the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland have refused admission to the officials of

the Cork Technical Instruction Committee; that on Saturday the head and assistant masters of the Technical School were refused admission, and will he take any steps to prevent the work of technical education in Cork being brought to a standstill.

MR. WYNDHAM: I cannot say more than that as soon as the Committee stage of the Irish Land Bill is completed—which I assume will be at an early hour to-morrow—I will give this and other matters attention. At present I find it impossible to do so.

Japan and Russia.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I desire to ask a Question of which I have given private notice. Have the Government any information to the effect that Japan is mobilising her forces and that an outbreak of hostilities in the far East between that country and Russia is impending? Have the Government taken, or do they propose to take any steps to induce these two countries to resort for the settlement of the differences between them to the tribunal of The Hague, or do they propose in any other way to use their good offices to prevent hostilities? Can I, in the absence of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, have an answer from my hon. and gallant friend, or from the Home Secretary?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): As no notice has been given of the Question I cannot answer it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg your pardon, I gave notice to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

*MR. AKERS DOUGLAS: But you did not give me any notice.

The Review at Aldershot.

Referring to an unstarred Question which appeared on the Paper in the name of Major Rasch.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeen-shire, W.): As time is pressing, I desire to ask whoever happens to be leading

the House at this moment whether he can give any information as to Question No. 38, whether any accommodation will be provided for Members at Aldershot on Wednesday.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member should have starred his Question.

DR. FARQUHARSON: The Question is not mine.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is an additional reason why the hon. Member should not ask it.

DR. FARQUHARSON: May I ask it on my own account?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is not in order when an hon. Member has an unstarred Question on the Paper for another hon. Member to get up and ask it.

DR. FARQUHARSON: Perhaps some Member of the Government would like to volunteer an answer to the Question?

[No reply was returned.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now give any indication as to when the Vote for the salary of the Secretary of State for War will be taken; and if, in view of the important subjects to be discussed and the fact that there has been no opportunity for the discussion of many recent military events and developments, he will allow two days for the remaining Military Votes.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington) said: My right hon. friend has authorised me to say that the Vote for the salary of the Secretary of State for War will be taken either on Thursday week or Thursday fortnight. As regards the second part of the Question, I have been desired to say that the Government can hold out no hope of giving two full Supply days to the Army Estimates, in view of the

claims of other important services which have not yet been before the House.

MR. PIRIE: As there was an understanding that the debate should not be delayed until too late in the session, I hope it will be fixed for Thursday week.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: I will mention that to the First Lord.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Will any time be allowed for the Militia Vote to be discussed? It has not been debated for years.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: I cannot say, but I should hope some of the time set apart for the Army Estimates will be given to it.

* SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Is it still intended to take the Naval Works Bill first on Friday? May it be assumed that if the Irish Land Bill is not finished this evening it will be taken as the first order to-morrow, and that the business which has been put first to-morrow will come after it?

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: The right hon. Gentleman is correct as to the course which will be adopted to-morrow. Should the Education Vote be passed in reasonable time on Thursday, it is proposed to take Class 2 of the Scotch Vote immediately afterwards. On Friday it is proposed to take the Report stage of the Scotch Licensing Bill, and on Monday it is intended to take the Second Reading of the Naval Works Bill.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): What about the London Education Bill?

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: The London Education Bill will probably be taken on Tuesday.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence and an Appendix, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 242.]

LICENSING ACTS (SCOTLAND) CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT BILL, consolidated from LICENSING (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL AND LICENSING ACTS CONSOLIDATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee on Trade etc., with Amendments.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 243.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 243.]

Bill, as amended (in the Standing Committee), to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 267.]

STANDING COMMITTEES (CHAIRMAN'S PANEL).

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON reported from the Chairman's Panel; That they had appointed Mr. John Edward Ellis to act as Chairman of the Standing Committee for the consideration of Bills relating to Law and Courts of Justice and Legal Procedure, at the conclusion of the consideration of the Prevention of Corruption Bill [Lords], in the place of Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

MR. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures; Mr. Black, Colonel Denny, Mr. Charles Douglas, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Charles Cayzer, Mr. Round, Mr. Eugene Wason, Earl of Dalkeith, and Mr. Young; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Burt, Mr. Dillon, Colonel Long, Sir William Mather, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Channing, Mr. Garfit, and Mr. O'Malley.

Report to lie upon the Table.

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 268.]

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the chair.]

Clause 65.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 32, line 22, to leave out the word 'seven,' and insert the word 'two.'"—(Mr. William O'Brien.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'seven' stand part of the clause."

*MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.) said this particular stage of the Bill was of the most supreme importance to the people of the congested districts in Ireland. This and some subsequent Amendments dealt with the question of congestion in the West of Ireland, and in his opinion, if the subject was not satisfactorily and courageously grappled with by the Government, the Bill would prove a disappointment and not a boon to the inhabitants of the western provinces. These people were agreed on one thing, and that was that unless some principle of popular representation was introduced into the constitution of the Congested Districts Board, and unless additional and compulsory powers were given to that body to acquire land, it would be impossible to enlarge the existing small holdings, the tide of emigration would not be stemmed, land could not be procured for landless people, and the land problem would remain unsolved. As to his own county of Sligo, that knew not the Congested Districts Board, it was divided into four unions, all of them being partly congested. In Boyle No. 2 Union there were thirteen electoral divisions, nine of which were unscheduled. The valuation of the unscheduled portion was £22,507, while that of the grazing farms was £4,560. The holdings under £8 in the unscheduled portion numbered 1,381. In two of the unscheduled divisions the gross valuation was £7,414, while the valuation of the grazing farms in the same division was £2,523 or over one-third of the whole. In the scheduled divisions the valuation was £8,557, and the number of the holdings under £8 was 1,059. These figures were characteristic

of the state of the whole county, and clearly showed that it ought to be scheduled as a congested district. In the whole county of Sligo there were 9,117 holdings under £10 valuation, or nearly 70 per cent. of the whole, and it was safe to say that nearly 60 per cent. of these holdings were under £7 valuation. They had in Sligo county a population endeavouring to eke out a miserable existence on tracts of the reclaimed morass, while on the other hand they had deserts of the grazing lands in the hands of land jobbers and absentee landlords. Here was ample work for the Congested Districts Board, and unless some such scheme as that suggested by the hon. Member for Cork was accepted by the Government, how could the problem of the West be settled? He believed the right hon. Gentleman was sincerely desirous of securing a speedy settlement of the land question. They thanked him for his efforts, and for meeting them in the conciliatory spirit he had done. They thanked him also for the sympathy he had shown in the case of the evicted tenants and of the large farmers, and they now appealed to him to tackle this problem of the West boldly and courageously by granting the concessions asked for—concessions which could injure neither the Government, the landlord, nor the British taxpayer, but which would bring peace and happiness to the people of the congested districts.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) agreed that in the opinion of those who represented the congested districts this was the most important part of the Land Bill. On the preceding evening they heard a good deal about the slow rate of progress made by the Congested Districts Board in Connaught. He thought there was still greater cause of complaint to be found in the South and South-west, where there had been an absolute and total neglect of large congested districts. What had the Board done in the county of Kerry during the last twelve years? With the best and most philanthropic intentions, it had done practically nothing. True, it had built piers around the sea coast which had been a help to fishermen in plying their dangerous calling, but

beyond that, there had been no really useful reproductive work initiated or carried out by the Board in that county. It had been suggested that the Board had purposely confined its operations to one particular district because it was really experimenting, but, so far as he could gather, the people of that district even had not been satisfied with the work done. The inhabitants of Kerry, however, could not accept that explanation as a satisfactory reply to their demand. It had been said the condition of Kerry was not so bad as that of Connaught, but he ventured to say that the condition of Kerry was something which ought not to be tolerated in these days when science was progressing and when the state of the people in every civilised country was improving. It was a hopeless condition, which was driving the people out of the country. The population of Kerry was returned at 165,000; yet in the last fifty years no fewer than 211,000 had emigrated from that county alone. How were the people housed? According to a recent Return, no fewer than 333 families of five persons were living in one-roomed hovels; 271 families of six were similarly housed, and the same observation applied to 180 families of seven. And this state of things existed notwithstanding the fact that no fewer than 1,000 cottages had been erected under the Labourers Act. This was a deplorable state of things which the Congested Districts Board had power to deal with, and yet they had done absolutely nothing in Kerry to remedy it. What did the Poor Law Returns disclose? In Donegal one person in every 151 was supported out of the poor rate; in Mayo one in fifty-eight, and in Kerry one in thirty-five! Was it not time that something was done for Kerry? He might be asked what remedy he had to propose. His reply was that in many parts of the county there was land now going to waste. He knew of one particular tract of marsh land which forty or fifty years ago was growing wheat, but which, for want of an embankment, could not now be used for that purpose. All along the verge of that land were poor people huddled in small holdings, and among these this land might well be divided with great

advantage. But Lord Ventry refused to sell it, although an offer was made with a view to having it embanked and divided up. He had heard that day that the Board had made a start in Kerry by purchasing an estate of 100 acres; but what a poor show was that for eleven years labours! If the clause were passed in its present form, enabling the Board to hold farms for seven years, the inhabitants of the congested districts would have little to hope for from the Bill, and the tide of emigration would flow on uninterruptedly. They could not hope for good results until the people were represented on the Congested Districts Board. He held that the work could be more effectively performed by the County Councils, the members of which were drawn from the people and knew the needs of the people, and surely the House of Commons, which prided itself on its representative character, should be prepared to give to Ireland that slight extension of the representative principle.

*MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.) said that according to the Returns recently issued there were only three counties in Ireland in which there were electoral divisions, in which the valuation was below 10s. per head of the population, and Galway was one of them. The average valuation of that country was only £1 0s. 4d. per head, and it was the third lowest county in Ireland in that respect. In the district in which he lived there were four electoral divisions scheduled under the Congested Districts Board, and yet so far nothing has been done to relieve the poverty of these districts. Within the four divisions there was not one solitary acre of grazing farm, whereas in the division which he represented there were at least 100,000 acres of the best land in Ireland occupied by graziers. As the Bill now stood there was no hope for the people of the poverty-stricken district to which he had referred. Generation after generation the manhood of the county had been driven to America and other countries in order to get a market for their labour which was refused them at home, and he told the Government that they were living in a fool's paradise if they thought the Bill as it stood would

remedy the present terrible condition of things. The grazing system was in his opinion a greater curse to their country than landlordism, and he would never cease agitating until the rich grazing lands now practically lying idle were made available for dealing with the difficulty of the congestion. A curious anomaly in connection with this question was that unless the valuation of a division was below 30s. per head of population the inhabitants could get no benefit under the Congested Districts Act. There was the parish of Fahy and Queensborough in the Portumna Union, which had 20,000 acres of land. The population consisted of about 150 families, and the Committee might well imagine that they were provided for as far as land was concerned. They were not, and why? Between 7,000 and 8,000 acres were, however, in the possession of seven or eight graziers, scarcely one of whom resided in the parish. In consequence of these large grazing tracts the valuation was assessed above 30s. per head; and the families he had mentioned, who lived in the bogs and morasses, were deprived of any benefit whatever under the Congested Districts Acts. Was there any provision to be made for bettering such a district as that? If not, how in the name of goodness could the Government expect those families to remain squatted in their miserable plots, while 7,000 or 8,000 acres were in the possession of graziers. The Committee might wonder how it was possible that there were such vast tracts of grazing land in that parish. He would inform them. Forty or fifty years ago, a Scotch gentleman named Pollock bought a large tract in Galway which extended along the Shannon and Suck from Banagher to the lower end of East Galway. Pollock alone evicted over 1,000 families who did not owe a penny of rent, and their comfortable farms and happy homes were turned into sheep walks and bullock pastures, the people being driven into the bogs and morasses. The attention of the right hon. Gentleman was called to the condition of the district by priests and people before he introduced this Bill. The same condition of affairs obtained in the parish of Eyrecourt. Forty years ago Eyrecourt was one of the most prosperous and thriving towns in the West of Ireland,

Mr. Roche.

with a population of about 1,000 inhabitants. To-day sixty or seventy houses were roofless—a standing monument to the work of the evicter—and the population had decreased to a fourth of what it was. They had heard a great deal about the little that was being done for the towns. He admitted that very little had been done; but the best and most beneficial work that could be done for the towns was to plant the people around them; and not until then would the towns be either prosperous or thriving. He spoke with great heat on this matter, because he lived amongst the people and saw their condition. He trusted that for the sake of the peace of the country and the preservation of the remnant of their race, the Chief Secretary would be equal to the occasion, and would hold out some hope for the future. Otherwise the right hon. Gentleman might rest assured that he would have to face in the future the same state of things that he had had to face in the past.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN (Cork) said he was as anxious to expedite the discussion as he was to expedite the operations of the Congested Districts Board. He thought, however, that he two hours had been better spent in not whole course of the debates on the Bill than the two hours that had been spent on the discussion of the Amendment, if only for the declaration that the discussion had elicited from the Chief Secretary last night. If they could only embody in the Bill a report of the right hon. Gentleman's speech they really need not trouble themselves very much more about endeavouring to amend the clause. It was a very remarkable and important declaration. The right hon. Gentleman recognised as fully as they could desire that up to the present the operations of the Congested Districts Board had been disappointing, and worse than disappointing. The right hon. Gentleman said, as well as he could remember, that the Board would have to drive ahead in the future under different conditions, and he recognised that the time for experiment and for elaborate improvement work had passed. He therefore presumed that the work of restoring the land to the people would now proceed rapidly and practically. That was a matter of the deepest satisfaction to all his hon. friends, and to the people in the

West of Ireland; and undoubtedly it marked an epoch in the history of this great question. Unfortunately, the life of a speech in Parliament was very short; whereas the life of an Act of Parliament was very long. The Chief Secretary, as far as he understood him, did not indicate by what particular method he proposed to enforce his own very vigorous views as to the action of the Congested Districts Board. Now, while this Bill was under discussion, was his golden opportunity, and also their golden opportunity, for some practical action. He still felt very strongly that two years was a reasonable limit for the distribution of purchased land. The mere mention of seven years in the section was a sort of legal recognition that that period was not excessive. The Chief Secretary knew very well that if the Congested Districts Board could, so to speak, turn over their capital every year or two, progress would be very rapid; but if that were to be spread over seven years the result would be disappointing and the work would be kept going for another half century. The right hon. Gentleman himself named five years as the extreme limit that he thought necessary, even in the case of the poorest land. He himself thought that was an entirely excessive period; but if the right hon. Gentleman would even substitute five for seven in the clause, it would probably dispense with any further discussion on this particular Amendment, and would be accepted as an intimation that the right hon. Gentleman meant to have the views expressed in his speech last night translated into action by the Congested Districts Board. He hoped the Chief Secretary would see his way to accept that suggestion.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover) said he agreed that the time spent in this discussion had not been wasted. It was only a narrow question, but it was a very important one. It was difficult to deal with any single matter in this Bill without some reference being made to a great many other matters interwoven with it, and on this subject they had had something resembling a Second Reading debate. He had a good deal more to say upon this question which, however, could be

more appropriately said upon an Amendment which appeared on the Paper lower down, when other speakers had taken part in the debate. He was not eager to accept this Amendment, even in its modified shape. He certainly hoped they would not take so long as five years, even in the most difficult cases, but the purport of this Amendment was that if they failed to carry through a transaction in five years they must expend their working capital which was now being engaged in other ways. They would have to sacrifice their working capital to the sinking fund of the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman thought it would have a stimulating effect on the Congested Districts Board, but it might have another effect altogether. They had a budget for their small circle just as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had for the Empire, and they could not take any risks. If the Congested Districts Board should submit a balance to the Treasury, and they were £15,000 or £20,000 out, what would happen? The credit of the Congested Districts Board and the work they wished to put forward would both suffer. If they restricted this financial elbow-room they risked the advantage they would have in buying large estates. With this seven years elbow-room they would go boldly in and buy almost all there was in the market forthwith; but if they had to consider that if they bought an estate they might not be able to complete their purchase in time, they would have to be more cautious. He thought they would be able to go forward in a better manner if they had not always to consider what the financial position would be in three or four years time. He hoped to see these things done within the five years, but if they could not be done in that time he would like the two years freedom to be given to the Board. He deprecated putting this unnecessary restriction upon the Congested Districts Board, but if the hon. Member thought it was necessary he would not take up time in contesting it.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said he should not care to press strongly his view in opposition to the right hon. Gentleman's own expression of opinion upon this subject. At the same time one of his chief objects in proposing

the Amendment was to give the people of Ireland an assurance that the present slowcoach rate was going to be changed. He was satisfied the change in the time limit would have a very wholesome effect, and, as the right hon. gentleman was himself of opinion that five years would be the limit within which all reasonable negotiations would be brought to a conclusion, he would be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment.

MR. WYNDHAM said he had often appealed to hon. Members not to persist in Amendments which would affect his Report. This affected his Report, but if it was desired that he should lead his colleagues on more rapidly he would agree to it.

*MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway)—who rose amid cries of “Agreed”—said he rose because he had pledged himself to his constituents to bring this particular subject before the Committee, and when he made a pledge he did his best to carry it out. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take into consideration the condition of the district which extended for five miles right round the city of Galway. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman knew that district, but he questioned whether in the whole world there were spots where there was greater misery, poverty, or distress owing to the congestion that existed there than at Barna, Castlegar, and other points. They had been told that if the Government bought up the magnificent grazing lands there the people would not migrate to them, but the one outlet for these people was emigration, and if they would emigrate surely they would migrate. His constituents had wondered why the Congested Districts Board, which had done so much good for other parts, did nothing for them. But the answer was quite simple. This particular district was outside the scope of that body. He asked the Chief Secretary to take this district into special consideration and have it scheduled as a congested district.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) also appealed to the Chief Secretary before leaving this question to consider

Mr. William O'Brien.

the advisability of scheduling the whole of Clare as a congested district.

MR. WYNDHAM said these questions could be more appropriately discussed at a later stage.

Question put, and negatived.

Amendment agreed to.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.) said the Amendment he now proposed to move sought to allow the County Councils of the congested districts to come together and elect two members to sit on the Congested Districts Board. They had done so in the past two or three years and had done good work. There was a great consensus of opinion in favour of such a change as was proposed by this Amendment and that of the hon. Member for North Louth which followed it, and he saw no reason why both Amendments should not be accepted. The Congested Districts Board would be greatly strengthened, and its proceedings would be more appreciated by the public. The Chief Secretary had steered this Bill almost into safe waters, and if he would adopt this Amendment, or something like it, it would add to the importance of the Congested Districts Board. He trusted most earnestly that the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Amendment, amended by the alteration of the word “and” for “who.”

Amendment proposed—

“In page 32, line 33, at end, to add the words ‘(4) The County Councils of the congested districts shall have the power to nominate two representatives to sit on the Congested Districts Board for three years, who shall possess the same rights and privileges as the other members of the Board.’”—(*Dr. Thompson.*)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he desired to bear independent testimony that the scope of the operations of the Congested Districts Board had been beneficial. When that Board was first established they did not pay very much heed to its

composition. At that time the name of Mr. Horace Plunkett was a strange one to them, but surely now the time had come for some reconsideration of this question. The hon. Member for Cork had spoken of the sluggish character of the operations of this Board. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the congested districts to speak with authority, but the assertion made by the hon. Member for Cork in regard to the small number of persons who had been migrated by the Board was a very remarkable statement. The Government had no answer to this question. The Board consisted of a number of very admirable gentlemen, and if they desired a non-elected Board he did not think they could obtain better men. The criticisms which had been made upon this clause showed that there was a demand that an element of popular representation should be added to the Board. At the present time they could not detect whether the action of a particular gentleman had led to unjust discrimination in the allocation of these funds or not, but if the county Members of Parliament or the County Councillors were sitting on that Board they would act as a counter check, and it would be some assurance that undue expenditure in regard to one district or too little in regard to another would be prevented. It was inevitable that complaints and jealousy would arise where they had only the nominated element. He would like to see some of the ecclesiastics of all denominations sitting on this Board, for they had been shut out from the County Councils and the District Councils by unjust legislation and they had also been excluded from the boards of guardians. If there was any Board on which these gentlemen were entitled to sit it was some such Board as the Congested Districts Board. He did not allude merely to Catholics but to Protestant representatives as well. He thought the Government had now arrived at a time when a change could very well be made. There was a precedent for this in the year 1900 when the scheme forming the Education Board came up for discussion. Upon that occasion he moved an extension of the numbers on the Board, and that was

agreed to by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was now the President of the Board of Trade.

*MR. O'KELLY (Mayo, N.) said he could not understand why the Chief Secretary objected to this Amendment. It had been frequently acknowledged by Mr. Horace Plunkett that his Board had received the greatest assistance from elected colleagues, and surely the Congested Board was in as great need of such assistance as the Department of Agriculture. He did not care what powers they gave to the Congested Districts Board, because they would not prove beneficial if the constitution of the Board was not altered, for without an alteration no real progress would be made. Not long ago he asked the Attorney-General for a Return in connection with these congested districts, and he was informed that they did not possess the information he desired. The various District Councils prepared those Returns, and if the Chief Secretary had read them he would get from them a better idea of the nature and extent of the congested problem than he would get from any Returns in possession of the Congested Districts Board. What had the Board done if they left out of consideration the Dillon Estate? Unless the *personnel* of the Board was either altered or strengthened it would never get out of its old ruts. Month after month large grazing lands were passing into the hands of private individuals through the neglect of the Congested Districts Board. ["No, no!"] Oh, but I say "Yes." Take, for example, the estates sold in Claremorris, which contained 700 acres of the finest grazing land in the country. The Congested Districts Board were asked to buy this land.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member is leaving out of consideration the fact that the Board had no credit and no cash.

*MR. O'KELLY said that was not the excuse which had been made to him. The Board were now going to have increased cash and credit, but that would be of no avail until the

Congested Districts Board was made stronger. If the Chief Secretary wished to popularise the Congested Districts Board in the West and secure public confidence in it—something it wanted rather badly—he could not do better than ask the hon. Member for Cork and the hon. Member for East Mayo to come to his assistance and join the Board.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.) said that upon one occasion the Congested Districts Board sent a large staff down to Achil Island to teach the people how to grow oats. They told the fishermen that it was very foolish of them not to grow oats. They found a bit of ground and planted oats and he was told that they waited to see the crop growing up. When these officials got back to Dublin and inquiries were made about these experiments, the Congested Districts Board issued a circular stating that they did not approve of any communications being made to the Press upon this subject, as it would be contrary to the general regulations of the Board. If they had had on the Congested Districts Board representatives of the County Councils did anybody imagine that such an act of lunacy would have been tolerated. Unless they improved the constitution of the Congested Districts Board all its work would be of no avail.

*MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) said he must disagree with the hon. Member for North Mayo when he stated that the Congested Districts Board had practically done nothing in Ireland. There never was a public Board established in Ireland by Parliament that had done more to justify its existence than the Congested Districts Board of Ireland. The greatest amount of credit should be given to the Leader of this House for having established that Board. A good deal had been said about the operations of the Board in Connaught and the way the Board had neglected its duty in carrying out the various schemes which had engaged its attention from time to time. He wished to point out to hon. Members who made those complaints that migration was not the sole duty of the Congested Districts Board. He represented a constituency which was scheduled as a congested district under the Act, and in his constituency the question of

migration did not occur at all. There were such questions as the development of the fisheries, the draining of the land, the making of roads, and other matters which were just as important to the people of his constituency as the migratory schemes were to the people of the West. There were congested districts in Ireland outside Connaught, and there were other problems which affected the people just as much, and which had to be grappled with by the Congested Districts Board. He did not complain of the composition of the Congested Districts Board except to the extent that he agreed with the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Louth that they should have an Advisory Board, composed if not of a number of County Councillors of each congested district, at any rate of Members of Parliament representing the congested districts. In Donegal it had been said that they got more than their fair share of the loaves and fishes distributed by the Board, but hon. Members should remember the results that had accrued, not only to the people of Donegal, but to the Irish nation at large, from the operations of the Congested Districts Board. No less than £30,000 or £40,000 per annum was earned by the fishermen through the herring and mackerel fisheries established by the Board. This good work had not cost the Board one halfpenny, because they had been recouped by the money earned and that money had been taken away to Mayo to experiment upon the mackerel fishing there. A good deal had been said about the popular element being represented to a certain extent upon this Board. Reference had been made to the men who should be upon this Board in whom the Irish people had confidence. So far as he was concerned he believed his people had the fullest confidence in the Board as at present constituted. The most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell Ford, Bishop of Raphoe, had rendered yeoman service for the people of the congested districts of Ireland and his services never would be forgotten. [MR. WYNDHAM: "Hear, hear!"] There was also a man who enjoyed the confidence of the people of his constituency and he was a young nobleman belonging to neither political Party. He was a philanthropist who had come over to Ireland to devote his ability (which was of no mean order) and his services to the Congested Districts Board, and he assured his hon. friends from

Mr. O'Kelly.

Connaught, from what he knew of Lord Shaftesbury, that there was not a member of the Congested Districts Board who had grappled more thoroughly and successfully with this question of congestion. He had known Lord Shaftesbury for some years, and he only wished that the other Boards in Ireland were as well manned. He had no fault to find, nor had the people whom he represented any fault to find, with the present constitution of the Board. If the Chief Secretary would adopt the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Louth and have an Advisory Board like that which existed in the case of the Board of Agriculture or the Technical Instruction Board, then they could bring before the permanent members of the Board their views, and he thought that would go a good distance towards making the Board more popular still. He appealed to the Chief Secretary when he replied to give them some assurance that this suggestion should be given effect to.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said he thought that all classes in Ireland desired to see the work of the Congested Districts Board extended. The principal objection was not in regard to the *personnel* of the Board but to the slowness of its work. The reason the work had not gone on faster was that the Board had never had enough money. Now £1,500,000 had been added to its funds, and they might expect the work undertaken would be done with much more celerity. One argument used was that there was nothing of a political or sectarian character in the conduct of the work of the Congested Districts Board. He could not, however, conceive anything more likely to bring that political element in than a proposal to introduce the knights of the shire. He did not wish to say a word against the congested Members of Parliament.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Where are the congested Members of Parliament?

MR. T. M. HEALY: When this Bill is passed the landlords will be congested with money.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON said what they wanted on the Congested Districts

Board were people who were likely to carry on the business with success. He could conceive no reason why a Member of Parliament, if on the Congested Districts Board, should not be endowed with the mental faculties which would qualify him to be a successful member of that Board. He would ask the Committee what would be the position of a Member of Parliament on that Board when dealing with congested districts largely populated with his own constituents. He should not envy him his life. The hon. Member for Louth said that the Board wanted driving power. He ventured to say that any Member of Parliament who sat on that Board and who had a congested district in his constituency would have plenty of driving power. He did not say that the Board might not be reinforced, yet he could conceive no worse way of strengthening the Board, or trying to improve it, than by placing among its members gentlemen who must of necessity be more or less actuated by political motives. Therefore, whatever solution might be found for this subject, he earnestly hoped it would not be the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Louth.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said he thought this debate was an exceedingly important one and represented the great difficulty they had in carrying out any department of administrative work in Ireland. Unless something was done to alter and improve the constitution of the Congested Districts Board and to bring it more in touch with popular feeling, the Bill in that respect would miscarry, and the work would not be done satisfactorily. He would like to say at the very outset that for once in his life he found himself in hearty agreement with the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh. Although he could understand that the adoption of the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for North Louth would bring the people of those districts more closely into touch with the Congested Districts Board, and bring the real sentiment of the poor people more effectively under the notice of the Board than could be done by County Council representation, he thought for his own part—and he spoke

as a "congested" Member—it would be intolerable that any member of the Board, which had the distribution of large sums of money, should be at the same time a Member of Parliament. How could a Member of Parliament feel himself free from the suspicion of favouring his own constituency when sitting on the Board which had for its function the distribution of large benefits to the people who sent him to this House? It was for that reason that he objected to Members of Parliament being on the Congested Districts Board. He thought the Board ought to be held apart from Members of Parliament, and therefore, so far as he was concerned, nothing would induce him to sit upon it, although he felt intense interest in its operations. It was essential to take some step to bring the popular wants to the knowledge of the Board. This Board, with all its sins upon its head and all its faults of omission, had undoubtedly done some excellent work for Ireland. Why had it done such good work? Because it was the only Board ever set up in Ireland that was cut adrift from the Castle, and from the constant interference and dictation of the Castle. That at least gave the Board a chance, and although the criticisms levelled against it were fully justified, still he must say that looking over the dreary waste of misgovernment in Ireland, when every Department was engaged in destroying the country, he could not help feeling a sneaking regard for any Department that had done any good at all.

This Board with all its faults had done an enormous work for the fisheries of Ireland. Formerly there were people living in absolute starvation with the sea full of fish all around them. The Board had done a great work for the unfortunate fishermen, and deserved credit for that. He quite agreed that the work of migration was enormously larger and more important. What they had now to address themselves to in connection with this particular Amendment was—What is the organisation of the Board that gives us the best hope of two things which are equally important and absolutely necessary? First of all, they should have a Board in touch with popular feeling, with some machinery

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by which it could be kept informed of what were the real wants of the people, and which would have applied to it the pressure of popular representation. Secondly, they wanted a Board which would be an efficient administrative instrument. He thought a Board dominated altogether by popular representatives was not one to carry forward continuous administrative work successfully unless they had some paid members who were efficient administrators on the Board. In order to make the Board an efficient instrument they wanted certainly popular representation of the various districts requiring its care. The only way of getting that was by representatives of the County Councils—representatives, not of the congested districts, but of the counties in which the congested districts were. Consequently they wanted some nominated members. Thirdly, they wanted one or two men, efficient administrators, who were paid for their work. He assured the Committee that one of the difficulties at present was that they had no continuous administration. The main work which would in future have to be done by the Board was an enormous work, and it would require more administrative machinery than was at present possessed. The only man who understood anything about it was Mr. Doran, and he had been engaged almost entirely in the County Mayo for the last two years. There was nobody at headquarters who gave any continuous attention to the work. There was nobody paid to do it. The secretary of the Board was a good man, but he had no power to act on his own initiative. There was absolutely nobody at headquarters who was capable of superintending, or looking after continuously, the work of migration and the re-settlement of the land. What was the result? The Board worked by fits and starts. The Board met once a month, and, as anybody who knew the complicated nature of the work was aware, a purely unpaid body, meeting only once a month, must go slowly. One of the great obstacles of the work of the Board was removed by Clause 65. That was a most valuable clause. The credit and money necessary to carry on the work had been provided, but if they had not got effective machinery the machine

would not go. Therefore, he would press upon the Chief Secretary that the time had come to overhaul the machinery and put it in order, so that it might effectively carry on the work which was now to be vastly larger than it had been. If that was not done the Irish representatives would come to the House next year or the year after, pointing out that while Parliament had provided the money, it had not provided the necessary machinery.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said they had gone away from the Amendment into a general discussion of the administration of the Congested Districts Board. He would ask the hon. Member who moved the Amendment whether he had not succeeded in his purpose in having this discussion. The hon. Member had proposed the election of two members of the County Council, but he did not say how they were to be elected. He suggested that they should now pass on to the discussion of more practical matters.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) said he did not think they had got hold of the right end of the stick when they were confining their criticism to the composition of the Board. The real fault was that the Board had not compulsory powers, and until it had such powers, though composed of a choir of archangels, it could not do the work it was expected to perform. He supposed the hon. Member had advocated Members of Parliament being on the Board for the purpose of silencing criticism. If they wished to get rid of a critic they should always put him on a Committee, and that would shut him up. He urged the Chief Secretary to boldly face the question and go in for compulsion. He would like to see the Board consisting of only three members, namely, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Doran, and the Bishop of Raphoe. He thought that in two years that would go a long way to settle the difficulty with which they were dealing. He did not think the suggestion of his hon. friend the Member for North Monaghan, that two representatives of the County Councils should be placed on the Board, would meet the difficulty.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was only natural that hon. Members should wish to express their views on the Con-

gested Districts Board and its work in all its bearings. He felt it was impossible to absolutely focus all the Amendments referring to the congested districts problem because the questions of the constitution of the Board, of finance, and of the work which the Board ought to do, were all so closely interlaced that it was impossible to touch on one without trenching on the other. As to the constitution of the Board, he should like to say what he thought, and how much he thought, of all his colleagues on that Board. He could not, however, single out any of these men, but he would mention the fact that during the years he had had the privilege of working with them they had never once had a division. He might point out that entrusted as they had been with what, to Ireland, were comparatively large sums of money to administer for twelve years, it was to the credit of this Board that no one had accused them of having used these funds for any political or personal purpose. Whatever criticism might be passed on their particular efforts, it was generally recognised that they had worked hard and had done much good. There were inherent difficulties in reconstituting such a Board in a Land Purchase Bill. One speaker suggested that Members of Parliament should be added to the Board, and another representatives of the County Councils; but if they were to bring in an electoral element, which he was not prepared to do, he would be inevitably driven to redefine the scheduled districts, and the scheduled districts had no relation to any division represented by either members of the County Councils or Members of this House. He hoped the Committee would not think he was making a small point in saying that. It went to the root of the matter. If they were going to make this Board elective, then they must alter the areas over which it was to exercise its influence and on which it spent the money with which it was charged. Some hon. Members might reply that they had Amendments on the Paper advocating a new scheduling of the congested districts. Again, he hoped they would not think he was making a small point when he said that to re-schedule the congested districts would necessitate the recasting of all the

finances not only of this Bill, but of all preceding Land Bills, and that there was a physical limit to what was possible in the matter of negotiations and arrangements on these questions of finance and local government. A year ago he did proceed upon the basis of attempting to re-schedule the congested districts, but after months of effort along that route he found that the present scheduling of the districts and the financial arrangements that had been built up in these districts, were so rooted and embedded in Acts of Parliament that it would take years before any advance could be made. The financial difficulties of re-scheduling were overwhelming, and would make the Board of quite another character from that which it now bore.

Then some hon. Members in the speeches which they had made, while they preferred no criticism on the Board of having acted in an unfair way, said that this or that county had not received such attention from the Board as this or that other county. If that were looked at a little more closely it would be found that some Members had been thinking more of land purchase than of relief of congestion or of works. But he could show that in the early years of the Board a great deal of money had been spent on works, say in the county of Kerry. As to works he thought a great deal more might be urged in favour of a representative element on the Board than in respect of land purchase. There was sometimes almost insuperable difficulty in handing out money for a bridge here or a pier there without being responsible to public opinion; and he himself thought that if they were to make the Congested Districts Board truly effective for the purpose of dealing with land purchase in that part of Ireland, which it was most difficult to deal with, then less time and money should be devoted to works. When he was told that the Board had failed in dealing with land purchase, he had two replies. First, that the Board had done nothing because it had exhausted all the credit it had for the particular county in question. And second, when the Board was first constituted under the Act of 1891, its duties were not solely or mainly connected with land purchase. They were dealing with the

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problem of congestion, which could only be dealt with on the basis of population. The Board very properly took up the question of fishing; and all those who had visited the fishing grounds of Donegal, for instance, would admit that something had been accomplished which was of great, and he hoped and believed, of lasting value. There was another branch of work to which the Board had devoted a great deal of attention—he meant the introduction of artistic hand industries into the West of Ireland, such as the making of carpets and curtains. They knew that in Bavaria and other peasant countries on the Continent, under some paternal encouragement, large trades had been built up which gave, during the winter months, work which commanded a price in the market. The demand for hand-made goods was a growing demand which could only be satisfied from districts in which there was a peasant proprietary who had the artistic instincts which the Irish people possessed in a high degree. He should be sorry to see the Congested Districts Board, acting as they did in co-operation with Messrs. Morris, who were not only leaders of industry but great artists, abandon their efforts to develop these industries in the West of Ireland. But if the fishing, and the development of these hand-made artistic industries, were kept on at too great a cost to the funds of the Congested Districts Board, then the ordinary work of road-making, or building a bridge or pier here or there, or providing a bull for a certain locality, might be all transferred in the near future to the Agricultural Department, and the balance of the funds of the Congested Districts Board might be devoted to coping with this problem of congestion. But an arrangement of this sort between Departments could not be effected except as the result of long and thoughtful consideration; and although he would have wished to carry this matter further he had not been able to do so.

They had been considering a great measure of land purchase in Ireland. That had put a great tax on his Department, and if he had concentrated his efforts on the congested problem they would not have got so good a Bill drafted as they had

now got. He admitted that the congested portions of the Bill had suffered at the expense of the main provisions of the Bill, and it was physically impossible, in the month of July, to co-relate the different finance and staff arrangements of the Congested Districts Board in the direction he had indicated. But when this Bill became an Act, and when they had the greater facilities and the greater working capital which had been so long needed, their interest in the work of land purchase, to deal with congestion, would be so great that they would only be too glad to put on the shoulders of others work which they were better able to deal with than they themselves were. The point of all he had said was that it was not possible for a Minister in charge of a Bill of this magnitude to elaborate every part of it in order to meet the wishes of hon. Members, however reasonable they might be; and having achieved what all his colleagues on the Board had long desired—viz., the power of buying land when it came into the market, and of applying working capital to that land in order to cure congestion, all he asked was that they should be allowed during the autumn and winter to take up those facilities and turn them to the best account. After all, the members of the Board were the repositories of some experience; and he thought it would be unwise on the part of the Committee to advocate a great constitutional change at this moment, and to bring in persons with whom the Board had not previously worked. He put it to the Committee that the Board, as at present constituted, had better be left alone until it could be seen what they could do with their new resources. He thought the Board would be very much strengthened in respect of land purchase, and that its operations would fit in more harmoniously with the whole of the land purchase scheme, if he were allowed to make the Under Secretary a permanent member of the Board. He would explain why. Their plan for dealing with the problem of congestion was scattered all through this Bill. He had given some reasons which guided them in not defining particular areas to be treated as congested. One was that it would need the recasting of all the financial proposals of this Bill; the other was that congestion was scattered, on a much smaller

scale, but still scattered sporadically over the whole of Ireland. They might deal with it by scheduling all those districts; but if they did that it would mean postponing the Bill for two or three years until a roaming Commission had discovered where congestion existed and needed special legislative treatment. Or they might say that the Congested Districts Board should deal with it wherever it arose; but they felt that the officers of the Board, although they might be able to work well in congested districts in the West, might, if sent further afield, not be able to work as effectually. Therefore, they had given the Estates Commissioners similar powers to the powers enjoyed by the Board for dealing with congestion; and the Commissioners would be allowed to exercise those powers all over Ireland. The Congested Districts Board would still retain those powers and exercise the larger facilities which had been given to the Board in congested districts.

Several hon. Members had stated that just outside the limit of a scheduled district there was untenanted land which might be bought for the relief of the congestion in the scheduled district. That was provided for in this Bill. Nearly £1,250,000 could be used for buying land anywhere in order to meet congestion in a scheduled district. In this Bill he had also extended a useful provision, as he had known it to be, contained in the Congested Districts Act of 1901, namely, that where untenanted land was bought outside a congested district for the benefit of that congested district, they should be able to use some part of that land to assist the neighbouring fringe of persons, who, perhaps, would be as miserably situated as the inhabitants of the congested district itself. That was the principle which governed the whole of Clause 2, which was received with general assent. Both the Estates Commissioners and the Board would be able to buy untenanted land to relieve congestion, and, at the same time, to relieve congestion of a mitigated character in the immediate neighbourhood of a congested district. That was a necessary provision. If it were not introduced jealousy would be created; but, apart from that, they would be forced to

undertake expensive works in the way of accommodation roads for the benefit of the new occupiers. If, however, they could make the whole transaction one, it would be for the general enjoyment and advantage of all. If that were so, and it was so under the Bill, why, in prosecuting their work in the matter of land purchase and the improvement of estates, should the Congested Districts Board be of a different character from that of the Estates Commissioners? No one had suggested during the whole of these debates that the Estates Commissioners ought to have the aid of representative members. Even if it were suggested it was a suggestion which no Government could entertain. The use of public credit and the expenditure of public funds was a matter which must be left to a public body in which the Exchequer had confidence, not political or personal confidence, but in the administration of public funds. This House criticised expenditure; but even in this Assembly, the freest in the world, no Member was allowed to put down a Motion involving the expenditure of one shilling of public money. Of course, the House of Commons might criticise public expenditure; but he did not think that the proposal to add to the Board representatives who would be urging the Board to spend money here or there, and on this or that project, could be incorporated in the Bill. The Congested Districts Board was like the Estates Commissioners, an administrative body which was to spend public money to cure the evil of congestion and to press on land purchase in the West of Ireland. Let them be called to account in this House if they neglected to show sufficient expedition; or if they were guilty of wasting public money. He did not know whether he need elaborate the matter further. The question of the constitution of the Board could not, he submitted, be profitably discussed at greater length; nor could any change be introduced into the Bill with reference to it at that period of the session. Having got the facilities they needed, let the Board use them, and let not the Committee ask an administrative body to work with a number of elected representatives, when that body were responsible to this House and the

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Treasury for the proper administration of the funds placed at their disposal.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork Co., W.) said he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the neglect of the fishing industry in his constituency by the Congested Districts Board.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must speak to the particular Amendment before the Committee.

MR. GILHOOLY said that was his intention. When Lord Shaftesbury was appointed a member of the Congested Districts Board, some of the representatives of Cork and Kerry pointed out that the South of Ireland was entitled to representation on the Board. Since the death of the late lamented Father Davis, who represented Munster on the Board, very little had been done for the fishing industry, and they considered that as there was now a vacancy on the Board the right hon. Gentleman ought to consider the appointment of a representative for Munster. He had sent the right hon. Gentleman a few days ago some communications with reference to the neglect of the fishing industry at Castletown, Berehaven, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take them into his consideration. So much had been done for Donegal and the Arran Islands that the South of Ireland now wanted a representative to develop the fishing industry in the most important districts of Castletown, Berehaven, Schull, and Baltimore. It was very unfair that the South of Ireland was not represented on the Board, whereas Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster had representatives. They, in the South of Ireland, did not grudge what had been done in the West and North; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would, in future, pay some attention to the important fishing industry in the South.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he would suggest that the debate should not be carried further owing to the limited time at their disposal, although the occasion was worthy of a longer discussion than they could have, owing to other interests

concerned. He desired to associate himself with what had been said by the hon. Member for West Cork as to the necessity of Munster being represented on the Congested Districts Board. There was now a vacancy on the Board, and he did not see why a representative of Munster should not be appointed to fill it.

DR. THOMPSON said although he was not convinced by the arguments of the Chief Secretary that this was not a very advantageous proposal, still he did not wish to delay the progress of the Bill; and he would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 65 agreed to.

Clause 66 agreed to.

Clause 67 :—

DR. AMBROSE said if the present Chief Secretary were allowed to remain in Ireland there would be scarcely any necessity to propose the Amendment he now moved, but, unfortunately, no sooner had a Chief Secretary taken up his residence in Ireland than some apple of discord was thrown across his path, and he bade adieu to Erin and they had to teach his successor the first principles of the Irish question. In the county of Mayo, half the occupiers were rated at under £4 valuation. It was not because there was no land in the county. There was plenty of land if it were only purchased. In the Westport and Castlebar Unions there were many thousands of acres let to graziers, on eleven months tenancies, who only kept a herd and a dog upon them, and if that land were split up in tidy-sized farms and added to the holdings of the inhabitants of the congested districts, some use would be made of it. The only avenue of hope to those people was emigration, but if this Amendment were adopted it would go far to remedy the evils of the congested districts of Ireland. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 5, at end, to add the words, 'All untenanted lands which become vested in the Board shall be offered by them for sale

within two years after they shall have become so vested in parcels to tenants or proprietors of holdings not exceeding ten acres in area and £5 in rateable value each, on estates adjacent to, or in the neighbourhood of the said land, or in case there shall be no such tenants or proprietors, then to any persons to whom the Board may lawfully sell land under the provisions of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts.'"—(*Dr. Ambrose.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. T. M. HEALY pointed out that there was a precedent for this Amendment under the Land Clauses Act by which, where a railway acquired land and could not use the whole, they were bound to put the balance up for sale at auction within twelve months.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) said the objection to this Amendment was that it was hardly relevant to the clause it proposed to amend. Clause 67 put a limit on the untenanted land which the Congested Districts Board might have in its possession at any particular time. The object was to prevent it having more land than it could pay the purchase money on at one time. He did not think if the hon. Member considered the matter fully he would find that the interests of all parties concerned were bettered by the Amendment. They would be better dealt with by leaving a certain elasticity in this clause.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 67 agreed to.

Clause 68 :—

MR. TULLY said he would formally move in Clause 68, page 33, line 8, after "thereof," insert "and any buildings thereon," to elicit some explanation as to what was included in the "parcels of land." If the buildings on the land were included in the "parcel" and the levy of fines on tenants were to be done away with he would not move it.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 8, after the word 'thereof' to insert the words 'and any buildings thereon.'"—(*Mr. Tully.*)

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Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said the buildings on the land would be included and the fines were already done away with.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. TULLY said the intention of the Amendment he now proposed to move was to get rid of the restrictions placed on the Congested Districts Board. His idea was that they should be done away with because he found from the eleventh Report of the Congested Districts Board the migration was hindered by them in a way that never could have been anticipated. He thought there should be some compulsory powers to migrate the holders of large farms so that their holdings could be divided up amongst the small holders. His proposal was to leave out all these restrictions as to the number of acres and area, and that £20 should be the limit. A man whose rateable value was £20 might be migrated to another district. He noticed that since last night the right hon. Gentleman had put a new clause down. Did the clause mean that the right hon. Gentleman was going to take powers to migrate the class to which he referred.

He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 10, to leave out the word 'ten,' and insert the word 'twenty.'—(Mr. Tully.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the clause."

MR. DILLON said perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to move his Amendment before he replied so that he might deal with both at the same time. He proposed to leave out acres and area altogether and raise the £5 limit to £10. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 10, to leave out the words 'acres in area and five.'—(Mr. Dillon.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM, replying to both Amendments, said the hon. Gentleman

who moved the first Amendment misconceived the purport of the section. The section did not deal with the migrants but the persons who lived in the neighbourhood of the persons who had migrated. The proper course in respect to both Amendments would be not to go the whole length, but in line 10 to leave out the words ten acres in area and leave in the monetary limit.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N) asked whether the word propriators in this clause and, in fact, all through the Bill, meant proprietors under the former Purchase Acts.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he had no objection to the Amendments, but he wished to know what these poor people had done to suffer expropriation from the county in which they were born.

Amendments, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 10, to leave out the words 'ten acres in area.'—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. DILLON moved to insert "or to any sons of such tenants." He said there were many cases in which the Board, if it had this discretion, would be glad to avail themselves of it. He had in mind cases of men who came over to England for nine months in the year, leaving their families at home, and who would undoubtedly have to emigrate altogether if they had no chance of getting holdings in the neighbourhood. Many of these men were of just that enterprising class which it was desirable to retain in the country. All he desired was that if the land was there and to spare the Board should be able to let the son of a tenant have it.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 12, after the word 'land' to insert the words or to any sons of such tenants."—(Mr. Dillon.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY said he would be sorry to oppose any proposal of the hon. Member, and he did not oppose this on—

its merits, but he wished to point out its bearing on the remarkable Amendment of the Chief Secretary. The proposal was that a farm, for which, perhaps, the man had paid a high price, should be taken away and given to the son of another tenant in the district. The insertion of these words would enable that to be done. He had never heard of such a proposition, and he failed to see why one man should be injured for the benefit of another unless good reason were shown for it.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara) said he had intended severely to criticise the action of the Congested Districts Board in his constituency during the last ten or twelve years, but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had disarmed criticism, and his apology rendered further remarks on that point unnecessary. Moreover, as the right hon. Gentleman had promised to do away with the system of imposing fines on migratory tenants to extend the operation of the migratory scheme under the Bill, it was unnecessary to do more than formally move the Amendment on the Paper—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 15, at end, to add the words '(3) When the Congested Districts Board, in exercise of any power vested in them under Section 44 of the Act of 1896, or otherwise, sell any parcels of land to tenants of small holdings or others, the cost of any improvements other than the cost of the building or rebuilding of houses carried out by the Board upon any such parcel of land previous to such sale shall not be included in the estimate of the price to be paid for the same, and shall not be payable by the purchaser thereof, nor shall any money be payable by way of fine by any such purchaser to the Board upon such sale. (4) The Congested Districts Board shall each year, out of the income provided for them by the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts, set apart the sum of £40,000 for the purposes of migration and settlement, as mentioned in Section 37 and Section 39, Sub-section 1 (a), of the Act of 1891, and for the enlargement of small holdings under the powers conferred upon them by Section 44 of the Act of 1896 and this section in such proportions as they may determine. And in case the sum of £20,000 a year referred to in Section 35 of this Act is paid to the Board such sum shall be applied by them to the like purposes only.'"—(Mr. O'Malley.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM said the Amendment would place too rigid a restraint on the action of the Board. Until the scheme of discrimination between the Congested Districts Board and the new Department had been arrived at, he could not agree to an Amendment laying down the amount that was to be expended on any given purpose.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN suggested that, as the two points covered by the Amendment had been substantially met by promises of the right hon. Gentleman the Amendment should be withdrawn.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.) said he desired to move the Amendment he had placed on the Paper, because he felt that the Bill was unsatisfactory in the respect there referred to. The only remedy for the existing state of things was to provide land for those who had an insufficient quantity on which to bring up their families. Congestion and its consequences constituted a serious social problem, which could not be overlooked or lightly passed over, as it affected the well-being of all classes of the community. Members representing all shades of political thought had expressed a desire to support the Bill, with the hope that it would put an end to the agrarian trouble in Ireland, but he would like to see practical effect given to that sympathy by sufficient land being provided for the people in the western counties on which they could live without the necessity of migrating or emigrating. The Chief Secretary was cognisant of the evil caused by the consolidation of farms during the last fifty years, and he would do well to take the advice of the representatives of the people on this point, as he had an opportunity which should not lightly be thrown away. Let the finishing touch be given to the policy of conciliation by giving the people the right to live on the land and putting an end to the system of grazing. Concessions had been made affecting the well-being of classes infinitely better off than the people for whom he was pleading, and he appealed to the right

hon. Gentleman to deal with this matter once for all by enabling the people of the West to live in their own country. Unless the holdings were extended there could be no comfort or prosperity for the people, and a good deal of good, which would otherwise come by the passing of this Bill, would be lost. In various parts of the country there was more than sufficient land. His hon. friend the Member for West Mayo had given an illustration of the condition of things in the Westport Union, and the same might be said of other unions. There was one union where 44,000 people were living upon holdings at a less valuation than 18s. 4d. each, and 7,000 were under £8. It was little wonder that these should be described as slum holdings by the right hon. Gentleman. He was afraid that a number of graziers would come in for the benefits of this Act.

His hon. friend the Member for North Mayo had told the Committee that on one estate there were twenty-five small holders huddled together on the bog land which they had tilled and reclaimed, whilst on the other side of the road was the good land from which they had been driven, and which was held by three graziers, one of whom had thirteen large grazing farms, whilst his brother had six. The Land Commission advanced £2,739 to one of these graziers, to the second £2,241, and to the third £1,952, making a total of £6,922 which was given to these graziers. The poor tenants he had alluded to got considerably less than £4,000 between twenty-five of them. The conduct of the Land Commission in advancing so much money to these graziers was monstrous, and a continuation of that policy would not produce either peace or goodwill in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman meant to settle this question, let him give an assurance that the poor cottier farmers of the west of Ireland would not be forgotten, and that the graziers, who had been a curse to the land, would be rooted out once and for all. If advances were made to these graziers what would become of the poor people who had been living on the fringes of those ranches? These poor people had been looking over the walls around these ranches with longing eyes, hoping for the day to come when they might inherit the land from which their fathers had been driven. Immediately

Mr. John O'Donnell.

the rumours of this Land Bill reached Ireland, these graziers, who never before either built a house or made a drain upon their land, began to do so. He hoped the Chief Secretary would give them some assurance that these gentlemen would not be able to get large advances from the Estates Commission, for by that course a good many poor tenants would be kept from obtaining possession of those lands. Within the past seven or eight years he had found it his duty to speak very strongly in regard to the action of these gentlemen. He had frequently spoken very hardly about graziers for taking these ranches; about landlords for letting them, and about the Government for allowing such a scandalous state of things to exist, and, if the occasion should arise again, he might have to repeat those utterances, no matter what the consequences might be. He did not say this to hold out any threats, but simply to convey to the Committee the earnest desire of the people to have the land and to show that there could be neither peace, nor contentment, nor prosperity in Ireland until these grazing lands were divided up into small holdings. He wanted an assurance from the Chief Secretary that no advance would be given to any man on an agricultural holding who held fifty acres outside that holding, or where the tenant did not reside upon the holding or within one mile thereof.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 33, line 15, at end, to insert the words—'(5) No advance shall be made under any of the Land Purchase Acts for the purchase of a holding situated within a congested districts county in any of the following cases—(a) Where the tenant does not reside upon the holding or within one mile thereof; (b) Where the holding comprises pasture land more than 50 acres in extent, which in the opinion of the Congested Districts Board is suitable for the enlargement of existing holdings or for any of the purposes mentioned in Sub-section 1 (a) of Section 39 of the Act of 1891.'"—(*Mr. John O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WYNDHAM said the administration of the Act in Ireland would not be successful unless it carried with it

the assent of all classes of public opinion in Ireland. He was convinced that they would not only prejudice the chances of this Bill now, but the chances of its fair operation in Ireland if they took away absolutely from certain persons privileges which they now enjoyed. It might be held by some that they had already limited the rights to which persons in Ireland might legitimately aspire. But it would, in his opinion, be a fundamental mistake, and would militate against the object which the hon. Member had at heart, if they were to place in the Bill an invidious and exclusive enactment against a particular set of men in Ireland, and a set of men who were necessary to the prosperity of Ireland. He thought those who had listened to his speeches upon this question would admit that he had shown that he was fully sensible of the evil of congestion, and most desirous to mitigate that evil; but to legislate against graziers as a class would be an act of economic insanity. To whom were the small holders to sell their calves if they did away with the graziers?

*Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): To the exporters who supply the English market.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he was surprised if the hon. Member was in favour of withdrawing from a whole class of farmers any advantages under this Bill—(NATIONALIST cries of, "In congested districts only")—which they now enjoyed under earlier legislation. It took all sorts to make a world; and graziers would have just cause of complaint if these privileges were withdrawn, and many would take up cudgels on their behalf. It would be altogether a departure from the spirit which had animated the authors of the Bill, and from the spirit of the Land Conference, to say that a certain class should get none of the advantages. Moreover, under the Bill a grazier could only obtain one advance for the purchase of a grazing tract. Many of those persons were not so much farmers as men of business buying and selling cattle. To say that a man who might now pay up to £5,000 was by this Act to be deprived of the right of doing it would

be, he was convinced, a great error of judgment, and he must resist any such proposal. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman had considered the way in which the various provisions of this Bill hung together. There were now the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners. But the Congested Districts Board would not go out of its way to buy a property for the mere purpose of reselling it to large graziers or farmers. That was not their province under the Bill. Their duty under the Bill was to deal with parts of the West of Ireland which required improvement. He would ask the Committee to consider the bearing of Clause 85 on the whole of this question. The Estates Commissioners would not consider a mere fringe of congestion and sanction the sale of that unless they did what the Bill put it in their power to do, namely, acquire other land in order to remedy that state of congestion. Nor would they sell a single large farm without regard to circumstances of congestion in its neighbourhood. There would be a good deal of elasticity and administrative resource under this Bill taken as a whole, and as the object of the Government was not, and never had been, to give large additional grants on public credit in order to enable people to buy property which they could buy for themselves, the hon. Member need have no alarm that the action of the Commissioners and of the Congested Districts Board would be to give large advances to those described as graziers. The graziers would enjoy their existing rights under the Bill. These were rights which ought not to be taken away by the Bill. If property was bought by the Congested Districts Board it was bought for the purpose of curing the evils of congestion. He thought that under this Bill the Congested Districts Board should have all the powers of landlords to deal with that property for certain objects. What were those objects? To cure on that property the evils of congestion, and turn those who were the debtors of the State into persons who had property which would support them for the next sixty-eight and a half years and enable them to pay the instalments. The Congested Districts Board would be abusing a public trust if they were to sell off the worst holdings without regard to being able to enlarge them, or if they were indiscriminately to sell

all the untenanted land in the neighbourhood without regard to the fact that there was an amount of congestion there to be relieved. He thought the hon. Member would see that his fears were somewhat visionary. To introduce an arbitrary code against one class, and one class only, in Ireland would be altogether out of harmony with their proceedings, and the champions of that class would have something to say on the subject which would imperil the passing of the Bill. At any rate, it was a policy which he could not accept.

*MR. KILBRIDE said he acknowledged the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman when he extended the limit from £5,000 to £7,000. In doing so, he undoubtedly met his hon. friend the Member for North Kildare in a most generous way. He begged to assure the right hon. Gentleman that the farmers of County Kildare, who were mostly interested in this particular matter, would be mindful of him for what he had done. He wished to point out that the case brought forward by his hon. friend the Member for South Mayo did not come within the purview of this Act at all. The hon. Member was afraid, and he thought he was legitimately entitled to be afraid, that where there was congestion in the immediate proximity of a large farm, the tenant would not make use of this Bill at all, but that under the law which at present existed he would make a direct bargain with the landlord under the Land Purchase Acts, even in a congested district. If he was wrong, he hoped the Attorney-General would correct him. Under the law as it existed a bargain could be taken completely away from the purview of the Estates Commissioners, and the Congested Districts Board. The land could be bought direct from the landlord for a great number of years purchase, and the landlord would get a bonus.

MR. ATKINSON: No.

*MR. KILBRIDE said he was very glad to hear that. In such a case the landlord would get no bonus. This was not an attack upon the graziers of County Meath, or of the provinces of

Mr. Wyndham.

Leinster or Connaught; it was simply a proposal to safeguard in the interest of the congested districts all available land which was not necessary to the present occupying tenant for the purpose of making a living. He knew a case in the constituency of his hon. friend the Member for East Galway where a man who had made his money out of the halfpence and pence of the people living in a congested area, by keeping a wayside shop, and who, though originally he did not occupy ten acres of land himself, was now a grazier holding 5,000 acres of land. [An HON. MEMBER: His name is Rattray.] He was sure the Chief Secretary must be acquainted with this case. He assured the right hon. Gentleman that he had qualifications to deal with this question which no other man occupying the position of Chief Secretary ever had. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman in the frankest way that he would be met by the people not only of the West of Ireland, but of Kildare, in a way that no other man in the position of Chief Secretary ever was met before. They talked about sentimental reasons. Sentiment went a long way in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had the advantage of having the sentiment of the Irish people with him in a way in which no other man ever had before. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman would take advantage of his opportunities and that he would do everything in his power as a member of the Congested Districts Board to see that the land which remained available for the enlargement of holdings and for the accommodation of people migrating would be used for those purposes.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL said that in view of the assurance he had received on the question from the right hon. Gentleman he did not desire to press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 68, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 69, 70 and 71 agreed to.

Clause 72.

*MR. O'KELLY moved an Amendment dealing with the question of

providing land for the people in the congested districts. He hoped the Chief Secretary would accept the Amendment as it did not go so far as the Congested Districts Board suggested in their fourth Annual Report. The Report had often been quoted before in the House, but he would quote it again in connection with this Amendment as he believed it was fairly apt. The hon. Member read the passage in the Report which stated that the Board were in possession of information from their inspectors that there were large tracts of grazing land which could be used to enlarge the holdings of small occupiers, but that the Board were of opinion it would be impossible for them to give effect to this important part of the work unless more funds were placed at their disposal and compulsory powers conferred upon them to acquire the land. He thought it was only reasonable that the powers of the Board to acquire land should be increased now that their credit was to be increased. Sooner or later compulsion must be recognised, so far as the congested districts were concerned, if the work of the Board was to be really satisfactory. He was content at the present time to ask Parliament to sanction pre-emption, which would not hurt the landlord because it would not compel him to sell if he did not want to sell, and would secure that whenever land was available in a congested district, the Congested Districts Board would have the opportunity of purchasing that land in order to carry out the object of the Board—viz., the relief of congestion. It would also prevent speculative transactions in land to the detriment of the poor people, because many graziers purchased land in the hope of re-selling it to the Board at an enhanced price. Take the case of the estate of Bone, situated in the very heart of the congested district of his own county. There were no fewer than 173 holdings there under £8 valuation; and everyone admitted that any holding under £8 was below the subsistence point for a family. On that estate there were 700 acres of grazing land which had fallen into the hands of three individual graziers, while the Congested Districts Board had to stand by without power to prevent it. Had the Congested Districts Board had the power of pre-emption, that would not have occurred. He would remind the right

hon. Gentleman that when the Congested Districts Board was first formed, ten and a half years ago, there were 429 electoral divisions defined as congested divisions, and of these only 118 had been affected by the operations of the Board. He had in his mind several large grazing farms in Mayo which might be availed of by the Congested Districts Board for relieving congestion by settling the people on the land, but which, for want of the right of pre-emption, would pass into the hands of individual graziers. If the right hon. Gentleman did not accept his Amendment now, it was certain that, in a very short time, he would have himself to come down to the House and ask Parliament to consent either to pre-emption or compulsion. He begged to move—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 34, line 11, at end, to insert the words, ‘(2) Where any agricultural or pastoral land is for sale in a congested districts county, and the vendor is a person who may be dealt with as the owner of the land in accordance with the provisions of Part I of this Act or otherwise, the Congested Districts Board shall be entitled to a right of pre-emption of said land. No person shall sell any such land to any person or persons other than the said Board, or enter into any agreement for the sale thereof without first serving within the prescribed time, and in the manner prescribed upon the said Board notice of his intention to do so. On receiving such notice the said Board shall, in case they determine to purchase the said lands for all or any of the purposes of the Congested Districts Board (Ireland) Acts, serve upon the vendor thereof within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner a notice of their intention to purchase the same. The said Board thereupon shall be entitled to purchase the said land for such sum as may be agreed upon, or, in the event of disagreement, may be ascertained by the Land Commission Court to be the true value thereof, and the sale shall, thereupon, be completed in the same manner in all respects as if it were a purchase by agreement by the said Board within the provisions of Section 72 of this Act. For the purposes of this sub-section, the true value of said land shall be ascertained by the Land Commission in the same manner as if it were a tenancy being sold to the landlord under the provisions of the Act of 1881, subject to such variations as the Land Commission may by rules direct. If the vendor fails to give the said Board the aforesaid notice of his intention to sell and proceed with the sale of the land to any other person or persons, the Land Commission may, if they think fit, upon application made to them within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner, by the said Board, or by the County Council of the county in which the land is situate, declare the sale to be void

In case the said Board, having received the notice of the vendor's intention to sell, shall fail to serve the said notice of their intention to buy, then they shall be deemed to have waived all right of pre-emption under this section, and the vendor shall thereupon be entitled to sell the land as if this section had not passed."—(*Mr. O'Kelly.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DILLON said that he had an Amendment on the Paper practically on the same question as that raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for North Mayo, but if the right hon. Gentleman saw his way to accept the latter, he would not find it necessary to move his. Their object was to secure that the grass lands necessary for the relief of congestion in the West of Ireland should not pass into the hands of proprietors who would hold them against the people for ever. Since the Congested Districts Board was founded in 1891 there had been seven amending Acts, and they had not yet reached the possession of perfect machinery; and he warned the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that if he allowed this portion of the Bill to pass without accepting any of the Amendments of the Irish Party, he would require another amending Act in the immediate future, and that further agitation would arise in the West of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman in his speech did not attempt to deal with the ordinary way in which the landlord sold these grazing lands directly to the tenants. He knew of cases where the graziers, being afraid of any interference by the Congested Districts Board with the estate on which their farms were situated, induced other graziers to join with them in buying directly from the landlord; but even supposing the other smaller grazing tenants refused to join, there was nothing to prevent the larger tenants buying direct. The only punishment which the Estates Commissioners or the Congested Districts Board could give in such circumstances would be to punish the poorer men for what the richer men had done in buying up the estate. He maintained that the discretion in the clause as it stood was no protection to the smaller tenants at all. He had listened to the right hon. Gentleman

during the afternoon with ever-increasing admiration; he had never heard the Chief Secretary in such form; each succeeding speech was more eloquent than the preceding, and it was a perfect treat to listen to him. But the right hon. Gentleman was never more eloquent than when he did not mean to give the Irish Members any concession; and now, at the end of a not too long prolonged debate on this most important subject, there was nothing to show for their work except the modest Amendment accepted in regard to the sons of tenants. This was a very serious state of affairs; and he would read the unanimous resolution of the Bishops of Connaught on this subject, passed immediately after the Bill was introduced, in order to impress on the Government the importance of this Amendment. He might say that the Bishops of Connaught were an extremely moderate body of men; and he did not think that anybody could complain that these Bishops had ever been inciters of violent agitation or of violence in any way, or that they had shown themselves to be unreasonable or extreme politicians. The Bishops, who were all present, said that whilst recognising the immense value of the Land Bill now before Parliament, and earnestly hoping that it would soon become law, that they desired to record their fears that the proposals dealing with congestion were quite inadequate. Larger and more extensive powers should be conferred on the Congested Districts Board similar to the powers granted in Scotland, and above all no landlord should be able to purchase land except with the view of making it residential, and even under that condition not to a greater extent than £1,000. They were of opinion that the land question would not be settled in Western Ireland, nor would peace and contentment be restored until the grazing land taken from the people in the past was given back to those who were able and willing to work upon it for the support of themselves and their families. As the outcome of this discussion they had been able to obtain only the smallest modification in the provisions of this Act which were unanimously condemned by the Bishops.

What was the difficulty which prevented the right hon. Gentleman from making some concession on his part? Previously

there were great landlord interests of stake, but they had not heard the voice at a single landlord raised against these proposals. The British taxpayer had also disappeared. He had no interest in the discussion. On the contrary, he would be in a much more secure position if their proposals were accepted, because these poor tenants must become the debtors of the British taxpayer, and it was enormously to the latter's interest that the tenants should have such holdings as would make them solvent. These proposals would not add one penny to the burden which would be placed on the British taxpayer. What was the trouble in this matter? It seemed to him deplorable that in a great settlement of the land question, to a large extent they were going to leave out the most acute part of the question and the main source of agitation in the past. The right hon. Gentleman had made an appeal to them, and had said that the complications were so great that he could not be expected to deal with the reconstruction of the Congested Districts Board. That, however, ought to have been the first question to receive attention, and from the points of view both of urgency and merit that was really a question which ought to have occupied his attention before any other. He had admitted that in his negotiations with the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer he had obtained the promise for the Bill to be agreed to on the ground of pressing urgency because of the desperate condition of the people in the West of Ireland. That being so, why should these people be left out? and why should not this Bill be drawn so as to give reasonable ground for hoping that the case of the Western peasants would receive proper attention? Throughout this long debate they had had no solitary reason, from beginning to end, why their proposals should be rejected. This principle of compulsion had been sanctioned by the Prime Minister with regard to the West of Ireland. That right hon. Gentleman signed a report as a member of the Congested Districts Board by which report, compulsion, as a principle, was applied in Ireland freely and most urgently in connection with these land sales. The owners of head-rents, which property was more valuable than Government

stock, and as valuable as any gilt-edged security, had to accept twenty-four years purchase, and yet they were told there was no kind of compulsion. It appeared to him that the Government had acted most arbitrarily. They had, in the present land legislation, given a most unjust right of pre-emption to the landlord, who could compel the tenant to sell his holding at two-thirds, or even one-half, of its value, and yet when they asked that a man should be compelled to sell his land at its full market value the Government refused to discuss the matter. That was an unreasonable attitude to assume, and no amount of eloquence on the part of the Chief Secretary would reconcile them to it. He warned the right hon. Gentleman that without this compulsion the Bill would not prove a success. He was perfectly aware that these clauses would do a great deal, and were an improvement on the law as it now stood. But more was the pity that the right hon. Gentleman would not complete the work. He could not blame them if they were obliged to go to their own districts and point out to the people that having got so much, and only so much, by agitation, they must continue to agitate in order to get the rest.

MR. WYNDHAM thought the Bill would prove adequate if it had a fair trial, but he was afraid that this part, or any other part of it, would not get a fair trial in Ireland if they introduced the principle of compulsion. He desired to act by means of inducement and goodwill, and by appealing to all classes in Ireland to try and make a lasting job of the Bill. They had not had the money to buy those estates, and that was why they were not bought. Now they had the money they were told they would be beaten in the open market, but he could not see how that could be when they had a double bonus. He did not think they could be beaten in the open market, nor by isolated purchasers, in whose case there was no bonus against the double bonus. When the State was conferring fresh rights and creating credit facilities it meant to have a say in the conduct of a policy intended to level up the bad part of the country

and to cure congestion. His opinion was that the policy would meet with success. He did not see how compulsion applied to the landlords would help at all. It would rather have the effect of spoiling the reception of the Bill in Ireland, and he could not give way on the point which had been urged.

MR. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe) explained that his intervention in the debate was due to the deep interest he had taken in this question. It seemed to him that anyone who had studied Irish questions must see that round the congested districts circled the whole question of the well-being of the Irish people. In spite of the fact that the population of Ireland was quite inadequate to the resources of the country, in the West there was a large mass of population in the direst poverty, and for that state of things a remedy must be found. If that remedy could not be found without compulsion then he felt very strongly that individual interests must give way to public interests. It would be unfortunate if it should not be possible to effect what they had in view without expropriation, but when one considered the enormous benefits that could be conferred upon a great number by a possible hardship inflicted on a few, then the public interest demanded that no individual interest should stand in the way. He knew how deeply sympathetic the right hon. Gentleman was in this matter, and how much he had the success of this measure at heart. If the right hon. Gentleman believed that without the principle of compulsion he could arrive at the result they all desired, then there was no reason to impress upon him the many considerations that had been urged in favour of compulsion. But he could not help feeling that compulsion would be a good weapon to fall back upon if the right hon. Gentleman did not succeed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said the question of the congested districts was really the Irish land question in its most intense form. He had learned with astonishment from the Chief Secretary's speech that to create the right of pre-emption was the same thing as compulsion. Compulsion was applied to

Mr. Wyndham.

an unwilling seller; the right of pre-emption involved the willingness of a man to sell with the State stepping in to say that in order to carry out a great national policy it should have the first right to buy. The Chief Secretary in dealing with the grazing lands said that the landlord would not sell to the graziers because he got no bonus. But the grazier could give more money for his land than the poor tenantry, and the landlord would drive a bargain with the grazier. It was a moderate request to say that the Congested Districts Board, acting in the name of the State, should at least have the right of pre-emption in order to carry out the policy which it was founded to promote. He believed this was a vital question. Recognising the battles the Chief Secretary had fought to secure the provisions already in the Bill, he would not impede him with his work, but the right hon. Gentleman, if he remained in Ireland, would find that he would have to give either pre-emption or compulsion before this cancer could be removed.

COLONEL NOLAN said the Chief Secretary was in sympathy with the object Irish Members had in view, and no doubt, if he had to administer the Act would succeed in enlarging most of the holdings. But the right hon. Gentleman might not remain in Ireland, and if his successor proved to be of a frugal or easy-going disposition the claims of the small men might not be pressed on the Treasury. The Bill was very elastic, and a great deal would depend upon the manner in which it was administered. There were two classes of graziers in Ireland. In the case of those who took the land on the eleven months system the owner had to be dealt with. But there were also those who took the land altogether, and he hoped the Chief Secretary would be able in some way to see that a good deal of their land passed into the hands of the small people. If the hon. Member for East Mayo went to a division he would support him, as he thought the provision ought to be extended, not only to the congested districts, but also, through the Estates Commissioners, to other districts that were not congested. He hoped the Chief Secretary on the Report stage would be

able to explain the bonus, and show that the Bill was calculated to achieve one of the two objects they had at heart—viz., to make the great bulk of the tenants owners of the soil, and to extend small holdings.

MR. ATKINSON said the hon. Member for South Tyrone had referred to pre-emption and compulsion in the abstract. The pre-emption referred to in the Amendment was to buy, not at the price at which the vendor desired to sell, but at the price fixed by the Commissioners.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that that was what took place in ordinary cases of pre-emption in Ulster now.

MR. FLYNN (Cork Co., N.) said that eight years ago the Congested Districts Board passed a Resolution stating that without compulsion it would be impossible to carry on the work of the Board, and he could not understand the obstinacy of the Front Bench on this matter.

*MR. O'KELLY said that, as he had no desire to disturb the millennium, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said that Clause 48 provided a certain remedy in the case of fraudulent tenancies created since 1st March last, whereas, by the Amendment he was about to move he proposed to extend the inquiry to all cases of bogus tenancies created since the passing of the Congested Districts Act for the purpose of defeating it. The power in Clause 48 would be really nugatory, because landlords and graziers knew the date fixed in the Bill. But if no mercy was to be shown in such cases, why should fraudulent transactions be condoned if they dated from a year, or two years, before, when they had the same object, viz., that of forestalling the Bill by tying up land which would be the salvation of the people? As the Chief Secretary was aware, this class of fraud had been one of the chief obstructions to the work of the Congested Districts Board. One farm had been the means of keeping half the county of Mayo in disturbance for two years. In that case an impudent attempt was made by a broken-down

grazier to get possession of a large farm which he knew the Congested Districts Board intended to buy, and he succeeded in getting possession, not for any genuine agricultural purpose, but simply to levy blackmail by afterwards selling or surrendering the farm to the Board. He could give many cases of the most shameless fraud of that description, practised at the expense of the people, solely for the purpose of anticipating and defeating the Bill. Why should any mercy be shown to the people who committed these frauds? Why should public money be used absolutely to reward the perpetrators of these frauds, and enable them to filch away for ever this land from the people? The Amendment would involve no hardship on either landlord or grazier, as neither the Board nor the County Council would be in the least likely to make any appeal except in the case of some notorious scandal, while if they did raise a merely vexatious question the Court would give costs against them. The Bill confessed that some inquiry was necessary to defeat frauds of this kind, but the power ought to be made a reality by enabling the inquiry to go back at least five years.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 34, line 17, at end, to add the words
'(3) In any case in which the Congested Districts Board, or the County Council having jurisdiction in a county comprising a congested districts county, shall be satisfied that a letting of land for the purpose of pasture or an agreement for the agistment or temporary depasturage of land within said congested districts county has been made since the passing of the Act of 1891 with a view to defeating the purposes of Part II. of that Act, it shall be lawful for said Board or said County Council to apply to the Land Commission Court to have said letting or agreement set aside, and for this purpose notice of such application shall be served within the prescribed time and in the prescribed manner upon the parties to said letting or agreement, and the said Land Commission Court, after giving all the foregoing parties an opportunity of being heard and having considered all the circumstances of the case, may, if satisfied that said letting or agreement as aforesaid has been so made, make an order declaring same to be void as from the date of such order upon such terms as to costs or otherwise as to said Court shall seem just, and thereupon the Congested Districts Board shall have all such powers of purchasing the lands comprised in such order, freed and discharged from said letting or agreement, as are conferred upon them by the Congested Districts Board

(Ireland) Acts, as amended by this Act for the purchase of lands whether compulsorily or by agreement.—(*Mr. William O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said the Chief Secretary had admitted on another Amendment that this safeguard would have to go farther back than was proposed in the Bill, because he had said it must go back so as to deal with cases of tenancies created in view of the Bill of last year. But March of last year was when that Bill was introduced, and the right hon. Gentleman was publicly pledged for a year before to bring in such a Bill. Therefore, the safeguard would need to extend to at least a year prior to the introduction of the Bill of last year.

MR. WYNDHAM, who said the phrase "fraudulent tenancies" must not be attributed to him, explained that the position taken up by the Government was that tenancies created in anticipation of the Act should not be entitled to more than a certain advance. It was quite out of the question to go back five years, but he was prepared to go back to the date of the Queen's Speech of 1901, which he took to be the first official announcement with which he was connected pledging the Government to bring in a Land Bill. It would not be necessary to go even so far as that had not a certain discretion been admitted earlier in the Bill where some relaxation appeared to be necessary.

MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN said that, as the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have said the last word on the point he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 72 agreed to.

Clauses 73, 74, and 75 agreed to.

Clause 76.

MR. DILLON, in moving to omit Sub-section 1, said that this part of the Bill had really no right to appear in the measure at all. Nearly every sub-section was open to criticism and objection. The particular proposal with which he was now dealing was that the Lord

Chancellor should have power to add another Judge for the purpose of deciding fair rents. Their experience of Judges dealing with fair rents was that they were a public nuisance. The Bessborough Commission had laid down that if, and so far as, public opinion would allow, the proper men to fix fair rents were laymen, and not lawyers. While everybody would be compelled to admit that questions of law ought to be referred to a judicial tribunal, he had always held that on questions of value a tribunal composed mainly of lawyers was most inequitable. At present the Court of Appeal in these cases consisted of two lawyers and two laymen, but it was now proposed to get rid of both laymen and import a Judge, nominated by the Lord Chancellor, in their place. Such a proposal was outrageous. Lawyers had no special knowledge of land, and yet they were to adjudicate on business nineteen-twentieths of which was concerned with nothing but the value of land. The absurdity of the whole proceeding was shown with regard to the position of Mr. Murrough O'Brien. Mr. O'Brien had been one of the head Commissioners for a number of years, and was really the only member fitted by knowledge to adjudicate on these questions, and yet he was to be driven out and a Judge put in his place. A more monstrous proposition was never submitted to the House of Commons, and he could not allow it to pass without protest.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 3, to leave out Sub-section 1."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. ATKINSON said the hon. Member was under a misapprehension as to the scope and object of this clause. At the present time there was a vast number of arrears. It should be remembered that under this Bill they had imposed very serious and important duties on the present Judicial Commissioner. He would have to decide on questions of law arising under the operation of the Land Purchase Acts, and it was perfectly

impossible without repealing a section of the Act of 1881, and setting up a different procedure, to dispose of the vast arrears of fair rent appeals unless they found a Judge somewhere to act in conjunction with the two lay Commissioners. One of the greatest grievances was that there were still thousands of appeals undisposed of. The hon. Member had said that they should appoint a new Judicial Commissioner. It was obvious that a Judicial Commissioner would not be required as soon as the present appeals in arrear had been dealt with. It was for that reason that it was proposed to give the Lord Chancellor power to avail himself of the services of a Judge from the Superior Courts. That Judge would contribute the legal element to the tribunal. The hon. Member seemed to have no conception of the questions which would arise under this Act if it was to be a success.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said there must be a Judicial Commissioner to hear appeals in fair rent cases. Mr. Justice Meredith was to decide cases under the new Act, and therefore if the Court was to sit, there must be a new Judicial Commissioner. He thought it was a most unfortunate thing that they should import a Judge to decide appeals on the value of land which he knew absolutely nothing about. He had an idea how the cases would be decided.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that what happened was this. These gentlemen sent down a Court valuer, and though a party to a case might argue and give evidence for ever, the Court would stick to the value put on the land by the Court valuer. The Judge of the High Court would confirm the value given by the Court valuer, who would probably be a gentleman paid 30s. a week.

MR. DILLON asked where the two lay Commissioners were to come from, and what was to become of Mr. Fitzgerald? Under Sub-section (4) it was proposed to turn that gentleman into a Judicial Commissioner. What was he going to do? His reading of a subsequent clause in the Bill was that appeals were to be heard in future by a single

Judicial Commissioner. If that was correct, what was the meaning of the Attorney-General saying that it was necessary to bring in a Judge to constitute a Court with two lay Commissioners? He wished a frank statement from the right hon. and learned Gentleman as to what was the necessity for the Judge, and what was the procedure in respect of appeals which it was proposed to set up under this most unfortunate part of the Act.

MR. WYNDHAM said Part III. of the Bill was necessary, unless he was to be endowed with the gifts of some god, and have unlimited time and money always at his disposal. The Exchequer of this kingdom would not allow the Chief Secretary to have as many Judicial Commissioners as he might consider needful. Something in the nature of Part III. was a necessary corollary of the rest of the Bill. He thought it was part of the scheme of the Bill as a whole that they should not create more and more Judicial Commissioners to deal with rent fixing, unless it should appear that this Act was a failure. If it should appear, as he hoped, that a great many people would abandon their appeals which had been going on for two years on questions involving 5s. on a £4 rent, he believed the provisions of Part III. would help to wind up some of the litigation, and help them to deal with matters arising out of the distribution of the purchase money. All who knew Mr. Justice Meredith would admit that they would be very foolish if they did not take advantage of his assistance in the distribution of the purchase money. Unless they got competent assistance on that matter, this Act would be a most profound disappointment in Ireland. The position would be improved if he were to appoint another Judicial Commissioner, but he had not the resources at his command.

MR. T. M. HEALY suggested to the hon. Member for East Mayo that his purpose would be completely served by leaving out the words, "before the first day of January one thousand nine hundred and two," in the second sub-section, because then no Judge could be appointed without his own consent, and, of course, no Judge would consent to take

this work on. As far as he could make out, Mr. Justice Barton and Mr. Justice Wright might be nominated by their own consent. Were these men, who had been accustomed to large fees, to go down to Killarney and Donegal and pay their expenses out of their own pockets? And therefore the Treasury would be just as badly off as before. It was a most natural thing that no man wanted to go down and live in a country hotel in Ireland and sleep in damp sheets if he could possibly avoid it. And did any one imagine that these gentlemen would go down there at their own expense, without some compensation, to save the Treasury? But suppose these two gentlemen refused to go, an Address would be required to be carried in both Houses of Parliament for their removal from the Bench on account of their refusal to obey the directions of the Lord Chancellor. That was absurd. He did not know what really to do about it, and he shared the objection of the hon. Member for East Mayo.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said that according to all the information he could obtain the great bulk of the landlords of Ireland were against Part III. of the Bill. But when the Chief Secretary told the Committee positively that he could not give way on this matter, that the Treasury would not give way, and that the Government would not give way, he was compelled to withdraw his Amendments, although he was bound to say it was with great regret.

MR. DILLON said that this was a most unfortunate end to the discussion. He did not want to have an even worse man brought into the court to take the place of Judge Meredith. The proposal of the Chief Secretary would revolutionise the whole system, and in his opinion would render the condition of the tenants desperate, because it would put this gentleman in absolute control of the whole machine. There was much talk about economy, but he maintained that to ram down their throats the proposal to make another Judge was not economy, but waste. The Judge would say, "If you are going to give me something more

to do, you must give me an addition to my salary, seeing that Mr. Wrench gets an additional £500 a year for crossing the street." He warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would be called upon very shortly to grant an additional £500 or £1,000 a year to this Judge. He held that the sub-section was extravagant and unnecessary.

MR. TULLY said that this was a most critical and most crucial point in the Bill, and he respectfully asked the Committee to go to a division.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he really thought that a Judge should be appointed who had no interest in land. A Judge who was a shareholder in a railway company would not sit in a case affecting that company. Whatever else might be said against Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald he was not a landlord, although he had always objected to Mr. Fitzgerald as a member of the Kildare Street Club. The Government would not appoint a Member of the Irish Land League, or of a Land League club to do work of this kind. It would modify his views if the Government were to insert the words "not possessing any interest in land." In the Act of 1889, Mr. Gladstone was most careful to provide that the two gentlemen on the Commission to represent the tenants, and one agent to represent the landlords, should have no interest in land. When it came to this absolutely new proposal it was rather strong to appoint one of these gentlemen, who knew nothing about land, and another who knew too much about land. It seemed to him that it would be better to have a Judge who knew nothing about land than one who knew too much about land. The effect of Clause 78 would be rather to diminish the number of land appeals, and it was difficult to see what extra work these gentlemen would have to do.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

Mr. T. M. Healy.

EVENING SITTING.

IRISH LAND BILL.

Considered in Committee:—

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 76:—

Amendment proposed—

“In page 35, line 3, to leave out Sub-section (1).”—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause.”

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL asked for some information with regard to these sub-sections. He noticed that by them it was intended to have three Judicial Commissioners and that when either of these Judicial Commissioners as to hear appeals from the Sub-commissioners he was to be assisted by a properly qualified lay assessor. The hon. Member for North Louth in the beginning of the debate had said that all this would not matter because the Judicial Commissioner on the question of value would be guided by the report of the Court valuer, but that was exactly what would not happen. It would also be interesting to know where this specially qualified assessor was to come from, because he knew of nobody in Ireland who had any pretence to be called a land valuer who had not taken sides either with one party or the other. An impartial assessor of Irish land did not exist. If, however, he was assured that this specially qualified assessor would have the supreme voice in the question of value then his opinion on this matter might be somewhat modified.

MR. ATKINSON said there was no Judge who would come within the first clause at present. It was anticipated that under the Land Purchase Acts under this Bill there would be a great deal of business to be eventually carried out. If this Bill was to be a success it was absolutely necessary that they should have one or two Judicial Commissioners to deal with it. Nothing could be more unfortunate for landlords and tenants than that there should be any block in

the Land Courts, either with regard to land purchase or with regard to the administration of the funds, and it was possible, if this Bill was to be a success, that a great many difficult questions might arise. At present there were 13,000 appeals pending. It would be quite impossible to spare a regular Commissioner to sit with the Judge of the Land Court and in case of an appeal on the question of fair rent, it was felt it would be a great deal better that they should have a land valuer to sit as an assessor. The hon. Member for South Tyrone was rather difficult to please. He said the assessor or Judge must be a man acquainted with Irish land, and then he said there was no man in Ireland acquainted with Irish land who was not a partisan. How on earth then, were they to create a tribunal at all? If they went outside to choose, it would be said the man was not acquainted with Irish land; on the other hand, an inside man was said to be a partisan. He believed in case of an appeal a Judge and assessor would be a perfect tribunal, resembling what happened in the Court of Admiralty. The most difficult questions that any human being could be called upon to decide were the questions of patents; no Judge could have a personal knowledge of any particular patent but a Judge had to deal with evidence, and there was no difficulty in dealing with evidence, always provided that for the technicalities he could rely on the assessor. The assessor would be selected from among the most competent land valuers.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said he had no objection to this first sub-section, but it was quite another question when they came to deal with the other sub-sections. It was most desirable, in order to prevent any block, that there should be a Judicial Commissioner in reserve to act when required, because if from any cause, in the case of one Judicial Commissioner, he was incapacitated for any length of time, unless they had someone to fall back upon, the business might come to a standstill. He pointed out that this matter involved no extra expense to the country, as it only applied to future appointed Judges. It afforded, if there was to be any Judicial Commissioner at all, an opportunity of having a Judge, and it was most desirable

that there should be a reserve. He did not, in supporting this, pledge himself to support the other sub-sections. The only question here, as it seemed to him, was whether they should depend upon one man or have a reserve to fall back upon.

MR. DILLON said this sub-section had been sought to be justified on the ground of economy; but instead of economy it was nothing but extravagance. They had had a declaration from the landlords that they did not care for this clause, and in fact nobody wanted it except the Government. Why would they need two Commissioners? The Land Court got on with one Commissioner.

MR. ATKINSON: Thirteen thousand appeals accumulated.

[MR. DILLON said they accumulated owing to the conduct of the landlords and the Government. That was not a sufficient answer for introducing two Commissioners but, even if it were, was this the way to promote economy? This third part of the Bill was simply outrageous. The Attorney-General for Ireland got up to defend it, and informed the Committee that if this were passed there was no present Judge available for the position. Then who was to be the Judge? Was it to be the hon. and learned Solicitor-General for Ireland, because he was old enough to remember the Bright Commission, when the Solicitor-General was counsel for the landlords and made the most ferociously eloquent speeches denouncing the tenants and the Land Court for cutting down the rents of the landlords? Was that the gentleman who was to be the Judge? The fact of the matter was, that this portion of the Bill was part of a system devised by the Government to stop all reductions of rent in Ireland in order to pave the way for purchase at a high price. If the Government would agree to omit Sub-section 4 of Clause 76, and to drop out Section 78, he would not detain the Committee further.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) said he must support the Amendment. The Attorney-General was not quite candid when he said no Judge now on the Irish Bench could be appointed. The hon.

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and learned Gentleman was called to the Bar in 1865, and had had a long experience. Did he ever know a Judge who had been asked by the Lord Chancellor to take an appointment to refuse it? He would not instance cases, but he knew of cases in which men, now dead and gone, not only accepted such appointments, but based claims for future promotion upon the fact that they had done so. In his opinion the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was a member of the Cabinet, was not the proper person to appoint a Judge for the discharge of such peculiarly delicate work as this. The appointment should be made by a person not in the Cabinet. The present Lord Chancellor was the chief antagonist of Mr. Gladstone on the question of the Land Act of 1881, and therefore could scarcely have any great regard for this Bill. He objected to this clause, because it brought most improperly the Irish Judges into connection with the Executive Government. An Irish Judge appointed under this Bill would be bound to be more or less influenced to do his best for his employers, with a view to honours and titles afterwards. Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald had as much experience as any other Judge on the Bench, and was certainly an expert on the land question. He was an old friend of his own, and he did not choose to say anything against him; but would it be denied that his environment led him towards the landlord party? Surely the landlord party ought to be content with Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald without further assistance from the Irish judiciary. Of course, the Irish Judges would be only too delighted to take on this work, even without salary, because it would bring them into contact with the Government and give them something to do. The whole scheme of the finance of the Bill had been extremely clever; but this particular clause was merely a pretext for providing appointments for legal favourites of the Government. As soon as a Judge was appointed a Judicial Commissioner, so surely would there be an additional salary paid to him.

MR. WYNDHAM said it was more than doubtful whether he could contribute anything to the debate which would assist the Committee in arriving at a decision on this point; but perhaps it might be his good fortune to assist the

Committee if he illustrated this particular section and also showed the relation of this part of the Bill to the Bill as a whole. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken said that the Judges of Ireland would all jump at the opportunity of helping Mr. Justice Meredith in discharging duties which were not very attractive, but no Judge would be bound to take up this work except with his own consent. All the section provided for was that among the many friends of Mr. Justice Meredith on the Bench, there might be some who would be prepared to give him assistance in the leisure moments which he understood some Irish Judges enjoyed. That was the whole of the section. They were bringing up the *personnel* of the Land Commission to a total of seven Commissioners. The Bill was described by some of its hostile critics in this country, as far as it had any hostile critics, as a leap in the dark. He hoped it was a leap into the light out of the darkness of the past. They were having seven salaried officials, and it was unreasonable to ask the public to hedge against all possibility of failure, and to appoint a number of persons to discharge rent fixing and judicial work in the event of land purchase failing. He believed that land purchase would succeed, and if it did succeed it would not be in the interests of a tenant who paid £4 rent to carry on a suit for two years on a question of 5s. a year, nor would it be to the interest of the landlord or his agent to appeal indiscriminately. A great deal of litigation would happily disappear. The hon. Member for South Tyrone was doing his best to expedite the progress of the Bill. The hon. Member intervened in Part III, which was his special problem, but he had not intervened again. He would ask the hon. Member if it was practical politics that they should have a judicial staff to carry on litigation on the scale on which it had unfortunately existed in the past. As to the question of *personnel*, Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald would take up new duties. Some might think that another distinguished gentleman might discharge them with greater satisfaction. That might be so, but Mr. Fitzgerald had legal qualifications, and he could not go to his colleagues and the Exchequer and say that because certain people were not quite satisfied with Mr. Fitzgerald another Judicial Commissioner should be appointed. It came to that,

because by hypothesis Mr. Justice Meredith, and Mr. Fitzgerald for that matter, would have to give assistance in carrying out the Act unless there was to be great disappointment. In the distribution of the purchase money the assistance of Mr. Justice Meredith would be invaluable. He did not think he was stating anything that was not known when he said that Mr. Justice Meredith was heart and soul in favour of land purchase, and in making this Bill a workable measure; nor did he think that a Judge of the high character of Mr. Justice Meredith should be asked to spend one week out of every two in deciding questions involving 2s. or 5s. a year. Further, it would be cruel to both landlords and tenants that they should be asked to go on with this litigation. The Bill gave them an opportunity of escape, and in his opinion there would be very few who would not take it. If Mr. Justice Meredith was to give assistance in the distribution of the purchase money there must be some provision for dealing with accumulated appeals. Mr. Fitzgerald was there, and was, in his opinion, quite competent to perform that duty; and it would not be reasonable for him to ask the Treasury for another man. Mr. Fitzgerald had a salary of £3,000 a year; and it was proposed, because of the new work which was to be thrown upon him, to give him a pension calculated on £2,500 a year.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the right hon. Gentleman should remember that Mr. Fitzgerald, in 1892, commuted his pension. He got the choice of a salary of £3,000 a year without a pension or £2,500 a year with a pension, and he took the £3,000.

MR. WYNDHAM said that all those points had been raised again and again, and the hon. Gentleman must forgive him for not opening them up now. As a rule, those matters were decided upon a hard and fast scale, and personal considerations were not allowed to influence in the slightest degree the salaries or pensions that were given. As regarded Mr. Murrough O'Brien, there was no precedent in any Act for giving him a pension. He thought it would be a pity, however, if any cause had been given to think that a slight was intended on Mr. Murrough O'Brien; and, therefore,

although there was no precedent in the whole Statute-book for giving him a pension, and although the Treasury were perfectly entitled to say to himself that the matter did not enter into the Bill in any shape or form, his right hon. friend had acceded to his request, and Mr. Murrough O'Brien would have a pension. Mr. Murrough O'Brien had a longer record of continuous service than Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, and he would receive a substantial pension. With reference to Mr. Bailey and Mr. Finucane their salary was £2,000 a year, and he thought that hon. Members from Ireland would agree with him that when they were making new appointments, even if there might be some semblance of injustice as compared with old appointments, they should arrange the salaries on a scale having relation to the wealth of Ireland. The pension of the new Commissioners would be on the scale which obtained at the Treasury. Mr. Bailey had been a public officer of the State for years; and Mr. Finucane had entered the Civil Service years and years ago, and his past services as a public servant would accrue for a pension. He was a man who he was sure would do excellent work in his native land in connection with the Bill; and when his time for pension came it would be a substantial one. Mr. Wrench had a salary of £3,000 a year on the Consolidated Fund. He, like Mr. Justice Meredith, was heart and soul in favour of the policy of land purchase; and he had great experience in these matters. If the Bill were to succeed it would be folly on his part not to secure the services of such a man; but he could not ask Mr. Wrench to serve without giving him additional emolument. He thought Mr. Wrench had met him handsomely in the matter. Mr. Wrench was to have no pension. He assured the Committee that he had done his level best to solve the problem of getting for this great national object the men who, in his opinion, could best carry out this Bill, and who would be ready to work with each other; and he thought that was more important than any question of the exact proportion of their salaries and pensions. But the Government held that there must be some simplification in the rent-fixing

Mr. Wyndham.

procedure in the future; and that that simplification was not only good in itself, but was almost a necessary concession to the financial position, when they were putting such great financial resources upon the purchase side of the transaction. Was it reasonable that fifty, sixty, or seventy temporary Sub-commissioners should be employed, that two laymen and a man with judicial experience should, in the first instance, be sent down to look at a plot of land of very little value; that a valuer should be sent down; that there should be an appeal before three highly-salaried officers of State; and that a period of two years should be taken to decide whether a particular rent should be £4 10s. or £4 15s.? It would be a scandal if, after this Bill became an Act, such wholesale litigation took place as had taken place in the past. Therefore, when he had been asking his colleagues and the guardian of the national purse to give greater facilities, he felt it his duty to show that there would be savings, and that the great army of officials would not be kept on. If he were asked for an act of faith to show that he was not leading everyone into a fool's paradise, he would say that one legal Sub-commissioner and one lay Sub-commissioner would be a sufficient tribunal if the Bill passed, and that one Judicial Commissioner and a qualified assessor would be a sufficient appellat tribunal. If they had faith in this Bill as a purchase Bill, then they could economise on the rent-fixing side. He had felt himself compelled to give some evidence to his colleagues that such economies were possible, and those economies were embodied in the third part of the Bill.

MR. DILLON complained that the right hon. Gentleman had embarked on a Second Reading speech, and protested against the assumption underlying it that the Nationalist Members were objecting to the proposed economies in the third part of the Bill. When the right hon. Gentleman, in impassioned language, talked about the necessity for limiting the enormous number of appeals, he was confounded by his audacity, because in the year 1894, in the Morley Committee's Report, the Nationalist Party proposed a paragraph recommending the abolition of appeals in all cases below £20. Yet

now the right hon. Gentleman, whose Party were bitterly opposed to that recommendation and voted against it, leaving the room at the end of the proceedings headed by the present Minister for War, and who thereby made themselves responsible for at least three-fourths of these appeals, was now appealing to the Nationalist Party not to encourage the multiplication of appeals! It was rather too much of a good thing to speak as if it were the Nationalist Party which had been in the habit of insisting on the right to carry innumerable appeals to the Courts above. They had always been more than willing to provide for the abolition of appeals except in cases above £20, and personally he would be prepared to accept the risk offered by the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Louth to stop appeals altogether. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken as if the object of Part III of the Bill was to stop appeals on questions of valuation. He did not think that that accurately described it. The point was a very technical one, and he might be mistaken.

MR. WYNDHAM said the object of the sub-section was to put obstructions in the way of appeals by giving the Commissioners power to refuse to entertain certain evidence. The whole tendency of the section was to penalise those who brought frivolous appeals.

MR. DILLON said he did not, of course, object to that. But the proof that the section did not stop appeals altogether on the question of valuation was to be found in the provision that the appeals were to be heard by one Judicial Commissioner with the assistance of a specially qualified assessor. What could the assessor do except advise on questions of valuation? Thus the whole system of appeals would still stand, and it was preposterous for the right hon. Gentleman to get up and lecture them.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am sure I attempted nothing in the nature of a lecture.

MR. DILLON said he wished to repudiate the idea that the Nationalist Party ever favoured the right of appeal. Still, so far as the sub-section would obstruct frivolous appeals, he was heartily in

favour of it, especially as some of its provisions were advocated by them years ago.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that, whilst opposing the right hon. Gentleman on this clause, he did so without any sense of satisfaction, as he felt that he was arguing with a man who more or less agreed with Members on that side, but who had been to some extent defeated in his struggles with the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman was engaged in the task of looping the loop; he had had tremendous difficulties to face in arguing with the Treasury, and he naturally came to that House in an exhausted frame of mind after those arguments. They fully appreciated the struggles he had made, however, and in any arguments they brought forward they had no desire to in any degree disparage his efforts. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the proposal made in the Report of the Morley Committee. What were the figures to preserve which he was now making a tremendous struggle on the landlord side?

MR. WYNDHAM: The landlords always opposed it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Well, I can stand a lot, but I cannot admit that. The Report stated that the system of rehearing questions on appeal was one of the causes which deterred tenants from making applications to have fair rents fixed. The effect of 21,847 rehearings and appeals had been to add about £2,383 to £466,871 of rental. That was what the landlords were fighting about. The addition represented about one-half of the Judge's salary, and putting the cost of each appeal, say £5, to the tenant and £6 to the landlord, the parties must have spent a quarter of a million sterling in order to get the rents increased by £2,383. The recommendation of the Committee was that where the value of the holding did not exceed £20, there should be no rehearing on the question of value. In a matter, therefore, in which the loss to the landlords would be so trifling and the gain to the tenants so material, surely the way to cut the Gordian knot was not to bring in any Judge of the High Court at all for the purpose of hearing appeals. They would thus please the Treasury, which he

believed was the determining factor in these matters, by saving the addition of £500 a year to the Judge's salary and by saving the proposed addition of £500 annually to Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald's salary. Further than that, they would save litigants a quarter of a million of money by abolishing the system of trivial appeals. Let them take an example from the English County Court system where the litigant was entirely at the mercy of one individual. Let them apply a like principle to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had said he was endeavouring to adjust matters by giving Mr. Wrench an additional £500 a year. Now, by reason of the position he had taken up, he was bound not to attack Mr. Wrench; he did not think it would be well to antagonise the man in view of the duties he was about to undertake. He would be in office whether they liked it or not. But what he did object to was the disparity of treatment between the Land Commissioners which occurred in the Reports of the Land Commission. Why should Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald always sign first, Mr. Lynch second, and Mr. Wrench third? Why should Mr. Lynch be in a position of inferiority to Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald? Why should the last-named be given £3,000 a year with a pension when he promised to take £3,000 without a pension? The right hon. Gentleman need not resent criticism from that side of the House. They were criticising the Treasury and not him. The right hon. Gentleman had said that land purchase in the future would be the rod that would swallow up all other rods. Well, the true test of it would be the abolition of the system of appeals. What difficulty need the landlords have in regard to that? If they were going to sell their estates they would have no interest whatever in the appeals. Let them show, then, a little more consideration for tenants.

In reply to a question by Mr. CLANCY,

MR. ATKINSON said the object was to abolish rehearing, and therefore it was provided that no evidence not given below should be given on appeal except by special leave, and that no question should be raised above which was not raised below. That would ensure their being appeals proper as distinct from rehearings.

Mr. T. M. Healy

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 13, to leave out Sub-section 3."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Amendment agreed to.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL, in moving the omission of Sub-section (4), said he could not allow this proposal to pass without a most resolute protest. Of Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald he knew nothing personally; the only time he had seen him was when he appeared as a witness before the Morley Committee; but it was necessary, in connection with such an Amendment, to sketch Mr. Fitzgerald's history in connection with the land question. In 1881 or 1882 this gentleman was appointed a legal Assistant commissioner under the Act of 1881, but he did not serve long in that capacity. In the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, the district to which he was sent, the indignation against his proceedings was so great that he was almost at once removed from the district. He was then made a County Court Judge, in which office he served for several years. An event then occurred which he believed had materially affected the administration of the Land Acts. Mr. Gladstone, when appointing the Land Commission, took great pains to see that it was fairly constituted, Mr. Justice O'Hagan being appointed as Judicial Commissioner; Mr. Vernon, a land agent, as the representative of the landlords; and Mr. Litton, a representative of the tenant farmers, as the representative of the tenants. Several years elapsed. Mr. Justice O'Hagan's health gave way, and there were rumours that he was about to retire. One morning, without a word of warning, the announcement appeared in the papers that Mr. Justice O'Hagan had retired, that Mr. Litton had been appointed Judicial Commissioner, and that Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald had taken Mr. Litton's place as the representative of the tenants. Afterwards, when Mr. Vernon died, Mr. Wrench took Mr. Vernon's place as the representative of the landlords. Thus the tenants were deprived of any representative on the Commission whatever, for Mr. Fitzgerald was regarded as a man simply steeped in landlord prejudice.

It was one of the jobs which had been the disgrace of Dublin Castle from time immemorial. Such was Mr. Fitzgerald's career in the Land Commission; he had never had any position at the Bar, and if he had not been Lord Fitzgerald's son he would never have had a position anywhere. He was now to be made a Judicial Commissioner, an office for which he had no legal qualifications, and in which he would not be regarded with the least confidence by the tenants. In fact, the tenants blamed Mr. Fitzgerald for nearly all the injustices they considered they had suffered at the hands of the Land Commission, and yet this was the man who was to be placed in a position to review the decisions of other men. What could be said in defence of such a position? There was also another point. Under the Act of 1892 the members of the Land Commission had the option of a salary of £3,000 without a pension, or a salary of £2,500 with a pension, and Mr. Fitzgerald elected to take the former. What was that but commuting his right to a pension? But it was now proposed not only to improve Mr. Fitzgerald's position, but to give him a pension as well. To put in such a position as was here proposed, a man who was hated by the people whose cases he would have to hear, and who believed him to be the bitterest partisan on the landlords' side, was nothing short of a public scandal, and to give him a pension in addition was a thing not to be dreamt of. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 20, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(Mr. T. W. Russell.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said that in moving this Amendment the hon. Member for South Tyrone represented the opinion of every representative of the tenants in Ireland. He was surprised that the Chief Secretary should have selected this man to carry out the Act, because it had always been recognised as a fundamental principle that when a great and revolutionary Act was passed, its administration should be placed in the hands of persons who

were in sympathy with its spirit and objects. The right hon. Gentleman had given an admirable exposition of the views which inspired him in the selection of these officials and in justification of their salaries and pensions, but he had not dealt with the real underlying objection—viz., that he had gone out of his way to exclude from the administration of the Act the one man in whom the tenantry of Ireland had special confidence, and that he had equally gone out of his way to force into the administration the man in whom they had no confidence whatever. If this Bill was to have the beneficial results which all hoped for from its operation, surely the best way to begin its administration was not to place in every circumstance of advantage a man regarded as an enemy of its spirit and principle, and to drive from its administration the one man who had shown a keen and ardent sympathy, not with the rights of the tenant as against the landlord, but with the principle that the property of the tenant should be regarded as being as sacred as the property of the landlord. The right hon. Gentleman had often declared that this measure would depend for its effectiveness upon the spirit with which it was received by the Irish people. That being so, it was to be deeply deplored that the Chief Secretary had taken a step so prejudicial to the efficient working of the Bill, but which all would join in hoping would not prove to be as disastrous as many of them feared.

As no other Member rose to speak,

*THE CHAIRMAN was about to put the Question, when—

MR. T. M. HEALY asked: Has not the right hon. Gentleman one word to say in defence?

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University) said that ever since the Act of 1881 was passed he had had considerable experience of its working, and perhaps he might be permitted to say a few words in reply to the speech made by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Under this Bill they proposed

to institute a new department called the Estates Commissioners, and three gentlemen had been nominated. One of these was Mr. Wrench, and the other two were new appointments. If this Bill were attended with the success that his right hon. friend the Chief Secretary, in conjunction with all Irish representatives, hoped for, the outstanding appeals on the subject matter of fair rent were likely to be largely diminished. It was expected that a great many litigants who elected to take advantage of the benefits conferred by this Purchase Act would not pursue their appeals, which would be withdrawn. If that result came off of course there would be no necessity to maintain the machinery of the existing Courts of Appeal in connection with the Land Commission in fair rent cases. At the present time the practice was that three Commissioners should sit together for hearing these appeals and other fair rent matters, two of them being lay Commissioners and the third the Judicial Commissioner. Under this Bill Mr. Wrench had been transferred to the Estates Commission. Mr. Lynch had earned by long service a right to retire, and he believed that he intended to retire. In that case Mr. Murrough O'Brien would be the only one left as a lay Commissioner except Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Murrough O'Brien now got for the first time a pension. Assuming that he exercised his right to retire it was provided for in this Bill that the vacancy would not be filled up. Mr. Wrench had been transferred, and of the old body of Land Commissioners they had only got Mr. Justice Meredith and Mr. Fitzgerald left. There were at present 13,000 appeals, and it was not to be assumed that all of them would disappear; but assuming that a large number of them would be discontinued some provision had to be made for the trial of the balance. Consequently, they had to provide for every contingency under this Act, and the Treasury were anxious to effect an equivalent saving in the department which they were trying to supersede, namely, the rent-fixing department. Machinery was provided by which these appeals would be disposed of by the Judicial Commissioner, and in the event of that machinery not being sufficient, power was given in this

Mr. James Campbell.

Bill to call upon any Judge appointed since 1902 to act as a Judicial Commissioner in order to deal with any block in the business of the Court. The hon. Member for South Tyrone had made a rather bitter attack on Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald. As an advocate for both tenants and landlords he had had many opportunities of observing Mr. Fitzgerald in the discharge of his duties, and he had no hesitation in saying that Mr. Fitzgerald, whether as a Sub-commissioner or a County Court Judge, or finally as a Land Commissioner, had invariably acted ably, conscientiously, and fearlessly. It was very difficult for a man in Mr. Fitzgerald's position in Ireland to escape the charge of being a partisan. Mr. Fitzgerald had been denounced that night as a landlords' man. He had over and over again heard Mr. Fitzgerald charged with being a partisan of the tenants. Mr. Fitzgerald was to be retained as a Judicial Commissioner to decide appeals in fair-rent cases, with the assistance of a lay colleague, but it was hoped that these appeals would be very few in number. As for Mr. Justice Meredith, he never was a politician and he did not believe that he ever attended a political meeting.

MR. HEALY: Yes, he did.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL said that Mr. Justice Meredith devoted his time and energies to his profession, and he could safely say that he never was an aggressive or active politician. There never had been a Judge who had brought to the discharge of his duty more energy or industry or a higher idea of what was due from him than Mr. Justice Meredith. The question was, what was to be done with Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald? Was he to retire or were his services to be availed of under this Act? His right hon. friend the Chief Secretary had gone through as severe an ordeal as any Minister ever had gone through in regard to the financial proposals of this Bill. Was he to suggest to the Treasury that Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald's services should not be utilised? No one could suggest that Mr. Fitzgerald

was not competent to discharge his duties, physically, at least. For the last twenty-five years he had had daily experience in the administration of the Land Acts, and no man placed in that position could fail to acquire the character of a partisan. He had heard it repeatedly alleged by the hon. Member for South Tyrone that Mr. Fitzgerald was a landlords' man, but undoubtedly he was a gentleman who had discharged duties for nearly a quarter of a century in a way which commended itself to the profession of which he was a member. Mr. Fitzgerald had been retained, and he would be entitled to administer the law in the matter of any of these appeals which were still reserved. He doubted if English hon. Members knew the nature and extent of the matters which might be dealt with in one sitting of these Courts. So long as they had this system of fair rents they must have these appeals, and therefore they must have competent judicial persons to preside over the hearing of them. In electing Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald for this function regard had been had to the fact that for twenty-five years he had had every opportunity of making himself acquainted with this particular work, in which he had given every satisfaction both to landlords and tenants.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the hon. and learned Member had not touched the real point at issue, and had argued the matter purely on financial grounds. He wondered whether the Solicitor-General had the authority of Mr. Commissioner Lynch or Mr. Commissioner O'Brien for stating that they were about to retire. Mr. Lynch had been dismissed by the Solicitor-General without the

dropping of a tear. He had endeavoured to find out the reason why the hon. and learned Gentleman had delivered this masterly speech in regard to these three great personalities. If they were dealing with a House of Commons which did not contain any Irishmen he could have understood that speech, but there was hardly an Englishman in the House, and therefore they could not be fooled. The speech of the Solicitor-General was rather a bad compliment to his own countrymen. Was there any reason under Heaven why different treatment should be meted out to one of these gentlemen above or below another? Unless some non-performance of duty or absence of intellect could be shown as a reason why A should be treated differently to B, the conclusion must be arrived at that gross injustice was being done. Who was responsible for this injustice? He knew the Chief Secretary had absolutely nothing to do with it, and he did not believe the Attorney General was capable of treating any man with injustice, and the Solicitor-General was not a law officer with a seat in the House when the Bill was drafted. They were fighting shadows, because there was not one man in that trinity who was responsible. Where, then, were they to look for the responsible parent of this extraordinary arrangement? He really thought it must have arisen from some official spontaneous generation. It was the outgrowth of the Castle system. The Irish Secretary had gained the sympathy of the Committee by his heroic performance in reference to the other clauses, and no one wished to say a harsh thing about him. No one wished to go to a division upon this Amendment for fear that they would beat the Government upon this clause, and so the gentleman who

would be placed in this position could boast that he received his appointment as Judicial Commissioner by the unanimous consent of the House of Commons. It was to be hoped he would not deserve further censure. He trusted the Government would see that the one solution of this difficulty was to provide that his colleagues, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Murrough O'Brien, having deserved well of the country, should be on the same footing of equality with regard to finance as their more lucky colleagues.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. DILLON moved to add the name of Mr. Murrough O'Brien as an additional Judicial Commissioner. The Solicitor-General in the speech which he delivered a few minutes ago explained what was to be the future constitution of the Appeal Court. The hon. and learned Gentleman stated that Mr. Commissioner O'Brien and Mr. Commissioner Lynch were to disappear from the scene, and on that he based the necessity for appointing a qualified assessor. What was the necessity for appointing a qualified assessor? He assumed that Gentleman would receive a salary of £1,000 a year, or some considerable amount. This clause had one great vice which he thought no executive Government should ever indulge in. Commissioners had been excessively rewarded because they were supposed to have favoured one side in the various litigations which had come before them, while they expelled a man who had the confidence of the great mass of the people. That was a proceeding on the part of the Government which must tend to de-

Mr. T. M. Healy.

moralise the Judicial Bench in Ireland. He moved :

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 20, to leave out the word 'one,' and insert the words 'and Mr. Murrough O'Brien, two.'"—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'one' stand part of the clause."

MR. WYNDHAM said he had already endeavoured to state the general grounds that led the Government to adopt Part III. of the Bill. He thought in discussing this matter they might eliminate all personal questions. The point at issue really was whether the Government were right or wrong in selecting Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald for this post. He was responsible for that selection, and could assure the Committee that he should not have made it had he not felt that Mr. Fitzgerald was perfectly competent to discharge the duties which would devolve upon him. When attacks were made on servants of the Crown it was incumbent on the Minister as a matter of duty to defend them. He asked the Committee to take it from him that Mr. Fitzgerald was competent for the duties. In not appointing Mr. O'Brien or Mr. Lynch there was no slight whatever cast upon these gentlemen. He gathered that some hon. Members from Ireland were not satisfied that the Government in this manner had acted discreetly. He was there to defend the discretion which they exercised.

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 28, at end, to insert the words 'and shall be entitled to a superannuation allowance calculated on a salary of two thousand five hundred pounds and otherwise in accordance with the provisions of the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1887.'"—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DILLON said it was impossible to allow this transaction to go through without a word of protest. This was really a most scandalous job. It was not correct to say that Mr. Commissioner Fitzgerald under this Act was having any additional work placed on his shoulders. Why was he to get a provision? Under an arrangement come to in 1892 Mr. Fitzgerald received £500 a year extra per annum on the undertaking that he would not claim a pension. He had been drawing that extra sum for eleven years, and now the Government came forward and claimed that he should receive a pension. This clause was recommended to the Committee on the ground of economy, and yet the Government proposed this extraordinary job. The right hon. Gentleman in making the proposal had not said one word in justification of it? What was the ground for making it? They could only assume that it was a reward for services. It was a monstrous thing to propose to the House of Commons that Mr. Fitzgerald should be allowed to go back on the bargain made with the Treasury. To give him the right to a pension now after he had drawn for eleven years £500 a year extra for having agreed not to claim a pension was a most corrupt transaction. The very same considerations applied to Mr. Commissioner Wrench, who accepted a similar arrangement eleven years ago. Did anybody deny that under some future Bill Mr. Wrench would not also be given the right to a pension? Of course he would. Mr. O'Brien was practically dismissed because, he supposed, he did not give

satisfaction to the gang who controlled the Castle in Dublin.

MR. WYNDHAM would not reply to the remarks of the hon. Member, who was good enough to say that his action had been influenced by what he called "the gang who controlled the Castle," but would ask the Committee not to consider him discourteous if he did not repeat all he had endeavoured to explain on a former occasion as to the grounds affecting his action. It had been pointed out to him that the omission of Mr. O'Brien from the pension provision might be held to constitute a slight upon him; and although there was no precedent for a pension in this case he had secured one for him. He explained that he had recast the provisions of this clause and had gone to the Treasury in an endeavour to meet the Committee on the point. Mr. Wrench would serve under another tenure than that which he now enjoyed; additional pay was given to him for additional services, and the pension had been withdrawn. He regretted that these efforts had been futile, and he now felt that any further defence would not induce hon. Members to change their minds.

MR. TULLY said he had been calling for a division all the evening, but no one would support him. This was a sham battle, and he hoped the Committee would be allowed to proceed to another clause.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. HEMPHILL had the following notice of Amendment on the Paper—

"In page 35, line 19, at end, to insert the words 'and all Assistant Commissioners appointed under the said Act and holding office

at the date of the passing of this Act as permanent civil servants of the Crown shall be entitled to have all their periods of service under the Land Commission, whether the same shall have been continuous or otherwise, taken into account for all purposes of superannuation allowance.' "

*THE CHAIRMAN said he had again considered the Amendment in the amended form in which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to move it, and he was still of opinion that if those gentlemen on whose behalf he was acting were civil servants, they came within the Superannuation Acts, and no Amendment was necessary. If they were not civil servants then the right hon. Gentleman was proposing to extend the benefits of the Acts to gentlemen who did not comply with the conditions, thereby placing on the Exchequer a charge which he was not entitled to place upon it without having fortified himself with a Resolution of the House. The Amendment, therefore, would not be in order.

MR. HEMPHILL had also the following Amendment on the Paper :—

" In page 35, line 19, at end, to insert the words ' And all Assistant Commissioners appointed under the said Act and holding office at the date of the passing of this Act as permanent civil servants of the Crown shall be entitled to have all their periods of service under the Land Commission, whether the same shall have been continuous or otherwise, taken into account for all purposes of superannuation allowance, and any Assistant Commissioner appointed on the permanent staff of the Land Committee under the Land Law (Ireland) Acts, who in the opinion of the Judicial Commissioner is fully competent to discharge his duties shall not be compelled to retire by reason only of having attained any age limit of the Civil Service, without prejudice to the power of the Lord Lieutenant by Order in Council to remove such Assistant Commissioner pursuant to section forty-three of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.' "

*THE CHAIRMAN said that this proposed Amendment was open to the same objection as the first. The right hon. Gentleman's proposal would amend the Superannuation Act in respect of these particular gentlemen. That would be outside the scope of this Bill; it would require a special Act.

Amendment proposed—

" In page 35, line 26, at end, to insert the words, ' (4) The Right Honourable Frederick Stringer Wrench shall, if he is nominated as an Estates Commissioner, be paid, in addition to his present salary, a salary of £500 out of money provided by Parliament. (5) Murrough O'Brien, Esquire, one of the Land Commissioners, and the two Estates Commissioners appointed by His Majesty, shall be entitled to superannuation allowances in accordance with the provisions of the Superannuation Acts, 1834 to 1887.' "—(Mr. Wyndham.)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL said the Chief Secretary had undertaken to inquire if it were possible to find a method by which, without violating the Judicial Rules, the tenure of Mr. Finucane and Mr. Bailey could be made more secure than it was under the Bill?

MR. WYNDHAM said he could only effect that object when they came to the Report stage. He would then be prepared to move that the services of the Estates Commissioners, including Mr. Wrench, Mr. Bailey, and Mr. Finucane, could only be dispensed with by an Order in Council to be laid before Parliament.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that that was a very considerable concession, and they ought to mark their sense of it by giving

the Government the rest of the clauses.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 76, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 77 agreed to.

Clause 78.

*MR. BUTOHER (York) said that his hon. and gallant friend the Member for Yarmouth had stated that the view of the landlords was that it would be much better to delete this part of the Bill, but that he had accepted the position. Now, he was bound to say that the speech of the Chief Secretary had convinced him that the right hon. Gentleman had made with the Treasury the best bargain possible in the interests of both landlords and tenants. It was part of that bargain that the costs of the land-fixing Courts should be reduced, and, to effect that, Clause 78 had been introduced. He had put down on the Paper an Amendment for the purpose of preserving the existing system, but, after the explanation of the Chief Secretary, he did not think it would be right that he should move it. He therefore begged leave to withdraw his Amendment—"In Clause 78, page 35, line 33, leave out 'appeal,' and insert 'apply for a re-hearing.'"

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said he wanted to propose a proviso to the first sub-section of Clause 78, in the following terms—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 35, line 34, at end, to add the words 'Provided that in the case of a holding the rateable value of which does not exceed £20, no appeal shall be allowed under this Act except on a question of law.'"—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WYNDHAM said that the hon. Member was perfectly at liberty to raise that point now, but he should prefer that the hon. Member raised it on Report.

MR. CLANCY said there were so many matters left over for Report, that he proposed it with the object of obtaining the view of the Chief Secretary.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not give his view on an Amendment that he had not seen, even in manuscript.

MR. CLANCY said he did not wish to obstruct progress, and he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 78, agreed to.

Clauses 79 to 81 agreed to.

Clause 82.

MR. TULLY said he thought that the definition of labourer² in the clause, instead of being extended was rather restricted. He wished to move an Amendment to strike out the words "other than a domestic, or menial servant." He did not see why this invidious distinction should be brought in. The effect of it would be very unfair and would greatly limit an application of the Labourers Acts. In the West and also in the North of Ireland these Acts were a

dead letter until the Local Government Act came into force, when the people got some representation on the local authorities. With some amendment this section could be made a good working section, and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would also apply it to small towns. The labourers of Ireland were nearly as numerous a body as the tenant farmers, and he did not see why they should be deprived of the same legislation as the tenant farmers.

Amendment proposed--

"In page 37, line 15, to leave out the words 'other than a domestic or menial servant.'"
—(*Mr Tully.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

PUBLIC OFFICES (DUBLIN) (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment. Bill read the third time, and passed.

Mr. Tully.

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
(IRELAND) BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for this day.

GAS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 1)
BILL [LORDS].

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

GAS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 2)
BILL [LORDS.]

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

GAS AND WATER ORDERS CONFIRMATION BILL [LORDS].

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

WATER ORDERS CONFIRMATION
BILL [LORDS.]

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

Adjourned at eight minutes after Twelve o'clock.

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CXXIV.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Addenbrooke's Hospital		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724)
Allotments London [H.L.]	<i>Earl Carrington</i>	Second Reading (defeated) 7th July (1508)
Berwickshire County Town		Royal Assent 30th June (897)
*Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham [H.L.]	<i>Lord Belper</i>	Read 2 ^a 22nd June (31) Committee 26th June (649) Report 2nd July (1169) Read 3 ^a and passed 3rd July (1254)
*Board of Agriculture and Fisheries	<i>Earl of Onslow</i>	Read 2 ^a 23rd June (213) Committee 29th June (759) Report 3rd July (1254)
*Borough Funds	<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	Committee 23rd June (237) Report 2nd July (1169)
Coal Mines (Certificates)		Royal Assent 30th June (897)
*Contracts (India Office)	<i>Earl of Hardwicke</i>	Committee } 26th June (652) Report } Read 3 ^a and passed 2nd July (1169)
*County Councils (Bills in Parliament)	<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	Committee } 23rd June (225) Report } Read 3 ^a and passed 2nd July (1169)
County Courts Jurisdiction		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724)
Divorce [H.L.]	<i>Earl Russell</i>	Second Reading (defeated) 23rd June (202)
*Education Borrowing	<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	Read 2 ^a 23rd June (242) Committee } 25th June (493) Report } Read 3 ^a and passed 2nd July (1169)
Elementary Education (Amendment)	<i>Lord Reay</i>	Read 1 ^a 22nd July (37) Read 2 ^a 3rd July (1249) Committee 7th July (1516)

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress
*Finance	<i>Duke of Devonshire</i>	Read 1 ^a 25th June (493) Read 2 ^a Committee } Report } 29th June (724) Read 3 ^a and } passed } Royal Assent 30th June (897)
Guinea Postal Orders		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724) Read 2 ^a 30th June (905) Committee } Report } 6th July (1356) Read 3 ^a and passed 7th July (1516)
Incest		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724)
Lunacy Acts Amendment (London)	<i>Earl Carrington</i>	Read 2 ^a 7th July (1573)
*Local Government (Trans- fer of Powers)	<i>Lord Kenyon</i>	Read 2 ^a 23rd June (245)
Merchant Shipping Act 1894 Amendment [H.L.]	<i>Lord Muskerry</i>	Second Reading (defeated) 2nd July (1129)
*Military Lands		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724)
*Motor-Cars [H.L.]	<i>Lord Balfour of Burleigh</i>	Read 1 ^a 7th July (1499)
*Naval Forces	<i>Earl of Selborne</i>	Royal Assent 30th June (897)
Newcastle Chapter	<i>Bishop of St. Albans</i>	Read 2 ^a 23rd June (245) Committee } 6th July (1324) Report } Read 3 ^a and passed 7th July (1516)
Outdoor Relief Pensioners		Read 1 ^a 22nd June (37)
Pistols		Read 1 ^a 29th June (724)
Royal Declaration	<i>Earl Grey</i>	Second Reading (defeated) 25th June (494)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Addenbrooke's Hospital	<i>Sir Richard Jebb</i>	Consideration } Read 3 ^a and } 26th June (719) passed }
Ancient Lights	<i>Mr. Fletcher Moulton</i>	Read 1 ^a 22nd June (191)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—continued.

Title of Bill	Brought in by	Progress.
*Berwickshire County Town	<i>Mr. A. Graham Murray</i>	Royal Assent 30th June (897)
*Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham [H.L.]	<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	Read 1° 7th July (1534)
Canal Traffic	<i>Sir Wm. Holland</i>	Read 1° 23rd June (270)
Coal Mines Certificates	<i>Mr. Samuel Evans</i>	Royal Assent 30th June (897)
County Courts Jurisdiction Extension	<i>Sir Albert Rollet</i>	Read 3° and passed 26th June (686)
Day Industrial Schools (Ireland)	<i>Mr. Harrington</i>	Read 2° 7th July (1616)
*Employment of Children	<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	Consideration } 23rd June (326) (321) 3rd July (1282)
*Finance Bill	<i>Mr. Ritchie</i>	Committee 22nd June (88) (150) Committee } 23rd June (270) Report } Read 3° and passed 24th June (460) Royal Assent 30th June (897)
Guinea Postal Orders	<i>Mr. Henniker-Heaton</i>	Committee 23rd June (368) Report 24th June (488) Read 3° and passed 26th June (685)
Incest	<i>Col. Lockwood</i>	Consideration } Read 3° and } 26th June (698) passed }
Infant Life Protection Act (1897) Amendment	<i>Mr. Speur</i>	Read 1° 3rd July (1320)
Innkeepers Liability	<i>Sir Brampton Gurdon</i>	Consideration 26th June (706)
*Irish Land	<i>Mr. Wyndham</i>	Committee 24th June (401) (460) Committee 29th June (816) (868) Committee 30th June (931) (984) Committee 1st July (1035) (1095) Committee 6th July (1418) (1465) Committee 7th July (1535) (1589)
*Justices of the Peace [H.L.]	<i>Mr. Akers Douglas</i>	Read 1° 30th June (931)
Market Gardeners Compensation	<i>Col. Long</i>	Bill withdrawn 26th June (720)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
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Military Lands	<i>Mr. Chas. Allen</i>	Read 3 ^o and passed 26th June (691)
Municipal Corporations	<i>Mr. Cripps</i>	Read 1 ^o 6th July (1418)
*Naval Forces	<i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i>	Royal Assent 30 June (897)
*Naval Works	<i>Mr. Pretzman</i>	Read 1 ^o 6th July (1494)
*Patent Office Extension	<i>Mr. Arthur Elliot</i>	Read 2 ^o 24th June (487)
Pistols	<i>Mr. Helme</i>	Consideration } Read 3 ^o and } 26th June (719) passed }
*Poor Law (Dissolution of School Districts and Adjustments)	<i>Mr. Grant Lawson</i>	Read 1 ^o 3rd July (1320)
*Post Office Sites	<i>Mr. Austen Chamberlain</i>	Committee } Report } 29th June (896)
*Public Offices Dublin	<i>Mr. Arthur Elliot</i>	Committee, Report, } 7th July Read 3 ^o & passed } (1615)
*Statute Law Revision (Scotland)	<i>Mr. A. Graham Murray</i>	Read 1 ^o 25th June (558)

APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1903.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

[In continuation of List given in previous volume.]

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Factory and Workshop Acts (Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries).— Copy of Regulations, dated 19th June 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, for the process of file-cutting by hand [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 84]	22 June	40 days
Factory and Workshop Acts (Special Exception—Overtime Christmas Card Making).— Copy of Order, dated 18th June 1903, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with regard to the Overtime Employment of Women in the making of Christmas and New Year Cards [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	22 June	40 days
Public Records (Disposal of Documents).— Copy of Additional Rule under the Public Record Office Acts, 1877 and 1898, for the disposal of certain Documents [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	22 June	60 days
Public Records (Office of Land Revenue Records and Enrolments).— Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents from the Office of Land Revenue Records and Enrolments which are now in the Public Record Office but are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation therein [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	25 June	4 weeks
Inebriate Reformatories (Regulations).— Copy of Amended Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Church Army Newdigate Farm Home, Surrey, certified as an Inebriate Reformatory under The Inebriates Act, 1898 [61 and 62 Vic., c. 60, s. 21 (1)]	30 June	4 weeks (whilst the House is sitting)
Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act, 1898. — Copy of Draft Order in Council altering the Scale set out in the Second Schedule to the Act, for the purpose of the levying of Light Dues in pursuance of the Act [61 and 62 Vic., c. 41, s. 5 (3)]	2 July	30 sitting days
Intermediate Education (Ireland).— Copy of Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland determining the number of Centre Superintendents to be appointed for the Examinations, 1903 [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	3 July	40 days
Board of Education. — Copy of Minute of the Board of Education, dated 6th July 1903, withdrawing Article 102 and Articles 111 to 129, inclusive, of the Provisional Code, 1903 [33 and 34 Vic., c. 75, s. 97]	6 July	One month
Metropolitan Water Stock Regulations, 1903. — Copy of Order made by the Local Government Board prescribing Regulations with respect to the creation, issue, transfer, dealing with, and redemption of any Metropolitan Water Stock which the Metropolitan Water Board create under The Metropolis Water Act, 1902 [53 and 54 Vic., c. 59, s. 52 (3)]	6 July	30 days

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Gilhooly, Mr. J. [Cork Co., W.]

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Murray, June 29, 781.

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Q. Mr. Macreagh; A. Mr. Ritchie, July 6, 1396.

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Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, July 6, 1380.

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Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6, 1380.*

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. B. Law, *June 26, 661.*

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Goddard, Mr. D. F. [Ipswich]

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Gorst, Sir John [Cambridge University]

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Q. Mr. Houlst; A. Mr. Ritchie, *July 6, 1398.*

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Q. Mr. J. T. Ferrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 802.*

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Grangement Water Order Confirmation Bill

l. 3R.* *June 26, 646.*

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Grant, Mr. C. [Warwickshire, Rugby]

London University, Members of the Senate—Amendment of the University of London Act, rendering Members of Senate Ineligible for Positions as Proposed, *July 7, 1525.*

Grey, Mr. E. [West Ham, N.]

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Great Eastern Railway Bill

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l. Royal Assent, *June 30, 898.*

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Great Western Railway (Pension) Fund Bill

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Foreign Office and the Greek Government, Communications between, with regard to.

Q. Mr. Harwood; A. Lord Cranborne, *July 2, 1177.*

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Gretton, Mr. J. [Derbyshire, S.]

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Q. Mr. C. Wason; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *June 29*, 792.

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Q. Lieut.-Colonel Tufnell; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *June 24*, 377.**Iceland**

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Q. Mr. Doughty; *A.* Mr. B. Law, *June 24*, 391.**Imports**

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O. Lord Welby, *July 6*, 1362.**Imports and Exports**Colonies, Imports into, of Foreign Manufactures, during last Five Years, Statistics requested, *July 2*, 1176.

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Q. Mr. C. M'Arthur; *A.* Mr. A. Law, *July 2*, 1176.Return Presented, *June 22*, 41.**Incest Bill***Considered in Committee* [H.C.], *June 26*, 697.

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Q. Mr. W. Jones ; *A.* Mr. Elliot, *June 30, 922.*

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Q. Mr. Field ; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *July 2, 1186.*

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Q. Sir H. Vincent ; *A.* Lord Cranborne, *July 6, 1375.*

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Q. Mr. Carew ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 808.*

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Q. Colonel Welby ; *A.* Mr. Elliot, *June 23, 256.*

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Q. Mr. E. Wason ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1173.*

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Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1172.*

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Q. Master of Elibank ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 6, 1395.*

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Q. Sir C. Dilke ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1185.*

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Q. Master of Elibank ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 6, 1394.*

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Q. Mr. W. Churchill ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1186.*

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Q. Sir G. Bartley ; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *July 2, 1186.*

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Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1172.*

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Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord G. Hamilton, *July 2, 1173.*

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Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. G. Murray, *June 29*, 781.**Infant Life Protection Act (1897) Amendment Bill***c.* Ordered, *July 3*, 1320.*l.r.** *July 3*, 1320.**Infectious Diseases**

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Q. Mr. Soames; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *June 29*, 779.**Infirmaries**

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Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 2*, 1181.**Innkeepers' Liability Bill***Considered in Committee* [H.C.] *June 26*, 706.

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Q. Mr. Murphy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 6*, 1408.

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Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 1*, 1022.

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Q. Mr. Ffrench; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *June 29*, 785.

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Q. Colonel Wyndham-Quin; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 7, 1524.

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Q. M. O'Shaghnessy; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 6, 1383.

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Q. Mr. O'Shaghnessy; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 7, 1530.

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Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; A. Mr. Atkinson, June, 24, 392.

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Q. Mr. Gilhooly; A. Mr. Pretyman, June 30, 926.

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Q. Captain Donelan; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 6, 1407.

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Qs. Mr. Dillon; As. Mr. Wyndham, July 6, 1404.

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Q. Mr. O'Dowd; A. Mr. Atkinson, June 29, 809.

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Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 30, 918.

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Q. Sir J. Colomb; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 29, 784.

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Q. Mr. Lambert; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 22, 81.

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.

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Orders (No. 3) Bill**

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l. 1R. * June 30, 903.

c. 3R. * June 30, 907.

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional
Orders (No. 4) Bill**

l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.

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l. 1R. * July 6, 1323

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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 25, 491.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill

- c. Rep.* June 24, 370.*
- l. 1R.* July 6, 1323.*
- c. 3R.* July 6, 1369.*

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 25, 491.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill

- l. 3R.* June 26, 646.*
- c. Lords' Amends. con.* June 30, 907.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill

- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill

- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill

- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill

- l. 3R.* June 22, 3.*
- c. Lords' Amends. con.* June 24, 369.*
- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 23, 196.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 23, 196.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill

- c. Rep.* June 24, 370.*
- 3R.* June 25, 539.*
- 1R.* June 26, 646.*
- 2R.* July 7, 1498.*
- Com.* July 7, 1498.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill

- c. Rep.* June 26, 657.*
- l. 1R.* June 29, 723.*

- c. 3R.* June 29, 766.*
- l. 2R.* July 7, 1498.*
- Com.* July 7, 1498.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill

- l. Com.* June 23, 196.*
- 3R.* July 2, 1127.*
- 3R.* July 1, 1498.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 23, 196.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 898.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill

- l. Com.* June 23, 196.*
- Rep.* June 30, 902.*
- 3R.* July 2, 1127.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill

- c. Rep.* July 3, 1255.*
- con.* July 6, 1369.*
- l. 1R.* July 7, 1498.*
- c. 3R.* July 7, 1517.*

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14.) Bill

- l. Com.* June 23, 196.*
- 3R.* July 2, 1127.*
- 3R.* July 7, 1498.*

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- c. Rep.* July 7, 1519.*

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16.) Bill

- l. Com.* June 23, 196.*

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 17.) Bill

- c. Rep.* June 23, 251.*
- con.* June 24, 369.*
- 3R.* June 25, 539.*
- l. 1R.* June 26, 646.*
- 2R.* July 7, 1498.*
- Com.* July 7, 1498.*

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 18.) Bill

- c. 3R.* June 22, 38.*
- l. 1R.* June 23, 197.*
- 2R.* July 7, 1498.*
- Com.* July 7, 1498.*

Local Government Provisional Order (Gas) Bill

- l. Rep.* June 22, 3.*
- 3R.* June 23, 196.*
- Royal Assent, June 30, 898.*

Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of the Working Classes) Bill

- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.*

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- l. Com.* June 23, 186.*
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- l. Rep.* June 28, 489.*
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- Q. Mr. Causton; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, June 30, 915.*

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- Irregularities and Breaches of Board of Trade Regulations—Immediate Steps to enforce Regulations, proposed.*
Q. Dr. Thompson; A. Mr. B. Law, July 6, 1413.

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- Elementary Education Amendment Bill, July 3, 1251.*

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- c. Rep.* June 26, 657.*
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- l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.*

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- l. 2R.* June 23, 194.*
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- Members of the Senate—Amendment of the University of London Act, rendering Members of Senate Ineligible for Positions as Professors, etc., proposed.*
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- Labourers' Cottages Scheme—Delay in proceeding with. Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 30, 924.*
- Land Purchase in—Number of Estates for Sale—Number under Ashbourne Act, etc. Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 2, 1188.*

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- Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *July 6, 1470, 1471, 1473.*

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- British Guiana—Cost of Coolie Immigration—Burden on Taxpayers, Discussion of Question by Brussels Permanent Commission, *June 24, 386.*

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Qs. Mr. W. Redmond; As. Mr. W. Long, *June 22, 71.*Report of Commissioners Presented, *June 29, 723, 770.***Lundon, Mr. W. [Limerick, E.]**Gabbett Estate, Co. Limerick—Management of, in hands of Judges of the Land Court—Name of Receiver, Number of Years Purchase, etc., *June 30, 924.*Gun Licences in County Tipperary—Refusal of Licence to J. Coffey, *June 24, 393.*Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 30, 947.*Public Accounts, Ireland—Auditing of, Accounts Audited in Dublin and London, Work to be done exclusively in Dublin; proposed, Cost in Dublin and London, *June 29, 797.***MacIver, Mr. David [Liverpool, Kirkdale]**Finance Bill (*Committee*) *June 22, 133*, 134, 135, 136, 153, 159.***Macnamara, Dr. Thomas** [Camberwell, N.]
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McFadden, Mr. Edward [Donegal, E.]**Ireland.****Burtonport and Letterkenny Railway.**

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McKillop, Mr. William [Sligo, N.]**Sligo County.**

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Q. Mr. Murphy; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 29, 784.

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Q. Mr. C. Wason; A. Sir R. Finlay, June 29, 783.

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Q. Mr. C. Wason; A. Sir R. Finlay, July 6, 1400.

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Q. Mr. K. Harvie; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, June 25, 552.

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Qs. Mr. Boland; As. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, June 25, 552.

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Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; A. Lord Cranborne, June 29, 793.

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l. Rep.* June 26, 645.

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Q. Mr. O'Kelly; A. Mr. Atkinson, July 1, 1033.

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Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 801.*

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Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 799.*

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Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 800.*

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Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 801.*

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Q. Mr. O'Kelly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 6, 1409.*

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National Standard of Physical Health—*cont.*

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Q. Mr. Delany; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 799.*

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Q. Mr. J. Dewar; A. Mr. G. Murray, *June 24, 375.*

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Q. Mr. G. Bowles; A. Mr. Arnold-Foster, *June 29, 790.*

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Q. Major Rasch; A. Mr. Brodrick, *July 7, 1525.*

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Q. Mr. H. Johnson; A. Mr. Ritchie, *June 25, 544.*

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Q. Mr. C. McArthur; A. Mr. R. Law, *July 2, 1176.*

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Order in Council, Altering Scale in Second Schedule of Act, for Purpose of Levying Light Dues, Presented, *July 2*, 1128.

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l. Rep. July 7*, 1497.

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 899.

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Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A. Mr. Brodrick*, *July 3* 1261.

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Q. Colonel Denny; *A. Mr. Arnold-Forster*, *July 6*, 1391.

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Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; *A. Mr. Wyndham*, *June 29*, 807.

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Q. Mr. Toulmin; *A. Mr. Ritchie*, *June 23*, 258.

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Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Lord Cranborne, *June 22*, 68.

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Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Lord Cranborne, *June 24*, 389.

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Elementary Education—Pupil Teachers, Employment of Children of Twelve Years old as—Modification of Provisional Code, 1903, proposed, *June 25*, 548.

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Qs. General Laurie; *As.* Mr. Akers Douglas, *June 23*, 263.

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Qs. Mr. Leamy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Atkinson, *June 23*, 266; *June 25*, 556; *June 29*, 807; *July 1*, 1031.

Highlands—Employment of Motor Cars, for Assistance of Fishing Industry, proposed.

Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. S. Dickson, *June 25*, 553.

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Q. Dr. Ambrose; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *June 22*, 50.

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Qs. Mr. J. Ellis; *As.* Mr. W. Long, *June 24*, 392.

Q. Earl of Camperdown; *A.* Lord Balfour of Burleigh, *June 25*, 538.

Wimbledon, Outrage at—Offer of Further Reward for Evidence leading to Conviction of Offender, proposed.

Q. Mr. C. Wason; *A.* Mr. Akers Douglas, *July 6*, 1399.

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Female Workers in Ireland—Necessity for Appointment of Female Inspectors, *June 25, 609.*

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Q. Mr. T. L. Corbett; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 23, 258.

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Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 22, 50.

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Q. Mr. S. Young; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 29, 784.

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Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 24, 394.

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Q. Mr. O'Mara; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 29, 806.

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Deterioration in Physique amongst Population, as shown by Army Returns and Results of Scottish Commission—Decrease of Birth Rate both at Home and in the Colonies—Statistics, *July 6, 1324.*

Facts revealed by the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, as to degeneration of Individuals of Classes where food and environment are defective—Applicability of remarks to England, Statistics as to Diseased, mentally deficient children, etc. Report of Inspector of Recruiting, Statistics, Attitude of H.M. Government as to issuing Royal Commission or Committee of Inquiry, with a view to ascertaining whether the poorer populations in our large towns are exposed to conditions which must inevitably contribute to a low national standard of physical health and strength, *July 6, 1324.*

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New System of Cadetships—Grant of Nomination for Cadetships under New Scheme of entry, Information requested.

Q. Earl of Chesterfield; A. Earl of Selborne, July 6, 1356.

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 897.

Naval Works (Consolidated Fund) Bill

c. Ordered, July 6, 1494.

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1268, 1270, 1281.Firth of Forth Naval Base, 1266,
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Q. Sir J. Colomb; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour,
*June 22, 87.*Q. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman; A.
Mr. A. J. Balfour, *June 24, 384.*Expenditure—Amount of, for which Pro-
vision will be made in.Q. Mr. E. Robertson; A. Mr.
Pretyman, *July 2, 1184.*c. 1 R.* *July 6, 1494.***Naval Works Provisional Order Bill**l. Rep.,* *June 22, 3.*3 R.* *June 23, 196.*Royal Assent, *June 30, 898.***Navy.**Armaments—Gun Wharfs, Number of men
employed in—Os. Mr. R. Lucas, Mr. Arnold-
Forster, *July 2, 1232.*American Vessels subsidised, *see* Morgan
Combine, Cunard Co., White Star
Line.Canadian Pacific Company, Contracts
with—Os. Mr. Caldwell, *July 2, 1216.*Coal—Value of Coal exported for Use of
Navy.Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. Arnold-
Forster, *June 30, 919.*

Compensation for Accidents.

Os. Mr. R. Lucas, Mr. Arnold-Forster,
July 2, 1232.

Controller to the Navy, Work of.

Os. Mr. Lough, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Mr.
Buchanan, *July 2, 1234.*

Cunard Company Subsidies.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *July 2, 1208, 1222;*
Mr. Kearley, 1219; Mr. E. Robert-
son, 1221.Dockyards, *see* subheading Shipbuilding.

Education—Schoolmasters.

Os. Mr. R. Lucas, Mr. Arnold-Forster,
July 2, 1232.

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Colonial Contributions.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *July 2, 1194,*
1223; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 1223;
Mr. Buchanan, 1233.

Foreign Powers, Conference with.

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *July 2, 1193.***Navy—cont.**

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Russian Programme, Affected by—

Os. Mr. E. Robertson, *July 2, 1193;*
Mr. Yerburch, 1195; Mr. R.
Lucas, 1200; Sir Charles Dilke,
1203; Mr. Lough, 1206; Mr.
Arnold-Forster, 1224; Sir J.
Flannery, 1227.Gunnery—Inefficiency of, as shown in
Returns of Prize-firing, steps taken to
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Forster, *June 23, 257.*International Mercantile Marine Associa-
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Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *July 2, 1208.*

Naval Attachés—Appointment of.

Os. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 2, 1200;* Sir C.
Dilke, 1204; Sir F. Flannery, 1227.

Navigating Officers of the Navy.

Os. Lord Muskerry, *June 26, 646;* Earl
of Selbourne, 648.New Naval Base at St. Margaret's Hope—
Completion of Arrangements for
Acquisition of Land, Extent, Rental
of, etc.Q. Mr. Black; A. Mr. Pretyman,
June 25, 549.

P. & O. Line, Contracts with.

Os. Mr. Caldwell, *July 2, 1216.*

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Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 2, 1223,*
1231; Mr. Kearley, 1229.Return of Naval Expenditure, ordered,
June 29, 770.

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Q. Mr. Yoxall; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster,
June 25, 542.

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Circular Boilers.

Os. Sir W. Allan, *July 2, 1200.*

Coal Consumption due to Boilers.

Os. Sir W. Allan, *July 2, 1198.*

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Os. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 2, 1202;*
Mr. Arnold-Forster, 1225, 1230,
1235; Mr. Kearley, 1229; Mr.
Lough, 1235.New Battle-ships and Armoured Cruis-
ers—Construction of, Date of
Inviting Tenders for.Q. Mr. J. Hope; A. Mr. Arnold-
Forster, *June 26, 662.*

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Os. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 2, 1201.*

Undergunning of Ships.

Os. Sir W. Allan, *July 2, 1199.*

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Os. Sir W. Allan, *July 2, 1197;*
Mr. Reginald Lucas, 1201; Sir
F. Flannery, 1228.

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Q. Mr. R. Lucas; A. Mr. Arnold Forster, *June 29*, 783.

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Q. Mr. R. Lucas; A. Mr. Arnold Forster, *June 23*, 254.

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Os. Mr. Gibson Bowles, *July 2*, 1203, 1221, 1222; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 1211, 1212, 1217, 1225; Sir F. Flannery, 1212, 1213, 1217; Mr. Renwick, 1212; Mr. W. Churchill, 1213, 1220; Mr. E. Robertson, 1213, 1214, 1218, 1221; Mr. Caldwell, 1216; Mr. E. Cecil, 1217; Sir J. Colomb, 1218; Sir C. Cayzer, 1218; Mr. Kearley, 1219; Mr. Labouchere, 1220.

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White Star Line Subsidies.

Os. Mr. G. Bowles, *July 2*, 1210; Mr. E. Robertson, 1214; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 1214.

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O. The Lord Bishop of St. Albans, *June 23*, 245.

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Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 7*, 1527.

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Q. Lord Hawkesbury; A. Earl of Halsbury, *June 26*, 652.

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Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. J. Chamberlain, *June 22*, 60.

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Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. J. Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1387.

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Woolwich Royal Arsenal Explosion—Previous Explosion due to want of Proper Superintendence, alleged. Cause of Recent Lyddite Explosion, Coroner's Jury. opinion on, *July 6*, 1391.

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Lord Cranborne, *June 25*, 554.

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Murray, *June 29*, 782.**Norton, Captain [Newington, W.]**Army Clothing Contractor—Evasion of Fair Wage Clause by, alleged, *June 29*, 787.Customs Watchers, Salaries of—Extension of Increased Salary to Men joining Service since 1896, proposed, *June 24*, 375.Disorderly Houses in Southwark—Difficulties experienced by Borough Council in dealing with, Complaints, *July 7*, 1523.Police in London, Grievances of—Inadequate Pay—Question of Pensions—Rent-Money, *June 25*, 632, 642.Post Office Pensions—Boy-Sorter Service, Counting such Service for Pension, *July 6*, 1381.Post Office Sorters and Official Papers—Privilege of perusing Official Papers denied to Sorters, Reason for, *July 6*, 1378.Woolwich Arsenal Explosion—Widows and Families of Victims of, Granting Special Pensions, proposed, *June 22*, 59.**Norton, Lord**Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill, *June 22*, 36; (*Committee*), *June 26*, 651.**Nottingham**

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Q. Mr. J. Ellis; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 24*, 392.**Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Tramways Bill**c. *2R.* Com.* June 24*, 369.**O'Brien, Mr. J. F. X. [Cork]**Cork Police Inquiry—Imposition of Fine on Mr. Riordan for refusing to be Examined, *July 6*, 1402.**O'Brien, Mr. Murrough**

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O'Brien, Mr. William [Cork]Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 24*, 402, 423, 430, 446, 447, 463, 468; *June 29*, 847, 869, 870, 877; *June 30*, 931, 935, 936; *July 6*, 1475, 1480, 1483; *July 7*, 1540, 1542, 1566, 1581, 1583.**O'Connor, Mr. J. [Wicklow, W.]**

Glasgow Post Office.

Clerical and Sorting Duties—Sorting Clerks engaged on Clerical Duties, Removal to Sorting Office, proposed, *July 6*, 1380.Employees' Wages—Number receiving 14s. per week or under, *July 6*, 1380.Overtime payments, Amount of, *July 6*, 1380.Staff-Revision of, under Consideration, *July 6*, 1380.Irish Land Bill—Borrowing Money at 3½ per cent. for Purpose of Dwellings, Embodying Modification of 31st Section of Irish Land Act, 1881, in Land Bill, proposed, *July 2*, 1180.Post Office—Sorting and Telegraph Clerks. Resignations of Clerks during last Five years, Number of, Number resigning to enter other Branches of the Civil Service, etc., *June 23*, 236.Public Holiday—Treatment of *June 26th* as, Payment for work done at Post Office on that Date, *June 25*, 647.Shanklin Camp, Wicklow Co.—Maintenance of Road to, Increase of War Department Contribution, proposed, *June 30*, 914.**O'Connor, Mr. T. P. [Liverpool, Scotland]**Convent Laundries, Inspection of—Application of Factory Acts to Dockers, *June 25*, 592.Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 24*, 457, 469, 470, 471, 473, 475, 478, 482; *June 29*, 845, 883; *July 7*, 1601.Vivisection Act—Administration of, Benefits derived from Vivisection, *June 25*, 630.**O'Doherty, Mr. W. [Donegal, N.]**

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O'Donnell, Mr. John [Mayo, S.]

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Prisons, Ireland.

Cells with Flagged Floors, Substitution of Boarded Flooring proposed, *June 25, 555.*

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Necessity for New Pier—Inquiry of Congested Districts Board, *June 30, 925.*

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Tenant Purchaser, Mr. S. Gillmor—Affidavit of Mr. S. Gillmor to the effect that he was Tenant of the Lands of "The Acres" for purpose of obtaining Advance from the Land Commission; intervention of the Crown, proposed, *June 29, 809.*

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O'Kelly, Mr. C. [Mayo, N.]

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Cast'ebur Prison—Governorship—Appointment from Ranks of Prison Service, proposed, *June 30, 926.*

Claremorris Union—Valuation of, Return of, Preparation of Similar Returns for all Unions in Connaught, proposed, *June 25, 555.*

Marine Works (Ireland) Act—Schemes under, Acceptance of, by County Councils, *July 1, 1033.*

Piers, Erection of in County Mayo—Date of Commencement of Work, Proportion of Unexpended Grants of County to be expended on Schemes, *July 6, 1409.*

Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *July 6, 1492; July 7, 1546, 1572, 1581.*

O'Kelly, Mr. J. [Roscommon, N.]

Kealoe Post Office—Business carried on on Licensed Premises, Removal to more Suitable Location, proposed, *July 6, 1411.*

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O'Malley, Mr. W. [Galway, Connemara]

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Salmon Hauling at the mouth of the Erriff River—Point at which Salmon Hauling is Legal undefined by Fishery Conservators, Protection of Interests of Fishermen, proposed, *July 3, 1260.*

O'Mara, Mr. J. [Kilkenny, S.]

Carrigeen National School Teachers—Delays in Payment of Salaries, Date on which Arrears will be payable, *June 29, 806.*

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Q. Mr. Crooks; A. Sir W. Anson, June 29, 796.

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Q. Mr. Kennedy; A. Mr. W. Long, June 25, 543.

Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Seymour [Lincolnshire, Gainsborough]

Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *July 1, 1072, 1092, 1120; July 6, 1439, 1441, 1442.*

Statistical Abstract for 1902 out of print—Date of Issue of Reprint, *June 22, 69.*

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. P. J. [Limerick, W.]

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Poor Rate Returns of *Nulla Bona*, Writing off such Returns as Irrecoverable, *July 6, 1383.*

Bruree, Limerick—Extra Police Stationed at, *July 6, 1409.*

Rents in County Limerick—Appeal case of J. O'Connell, Delay in hearing, alleged, *July 6, 1383.*

Irish Land Bill—Insertion of Clause in, giving Tenants who purchased Holdings under Headrent right to Purchase Headrent at Price fixed by Commission, proposed, *July 7, 1530.*

O'Shee, Mr. J. J. [Waterford, W.]

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Q. Mr. Wylie; A. Mr. V. Cavendish, July 7, 1522.

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Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 6, 1391.*

Pelican and British Empire Life Office Bill

l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

Pembroke Dock

Admiralty Gifts of Stone for Church Building at—Value of, Authority by which given, etc.

Q. Mr. Philipps; A. Mr. Pretymam, *July 6, 1376.*

Pentillie Estate Bill

l. Rep. July 2, 1125.*

3R. July 6, 1322.*

c. 1R. July 6, 1370.*

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Suggested Extraction from Irish Beet and Potatoes—Experiments proposed.

Q. Mr. Boland; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 7, 1524.*

Philipps, Mr. [Pembroke]

Admiralty Gifts of Stone for Church Building at Pembroke Dock, Authority by which given, *July 6, 1376.*

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill

c. Rep. June 23, 251.*

3R. June 24, 369.*

l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill

c. Rep. June 23, 251.*

con. June 24, 369.*

3R. June 25, 539.*

l. 1R. June 25, 490.*

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill

c. Rep. June 23, 251.*

con. June 24, 369.*

3R. June 25, 540.*

l. 1R. June 22, 490.*

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c. Rep. June 23, 251.*

con. June 24, 369.*

3R. June 25, 540.*

l. 1R. June 25, 490.*

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill

c. Rep. June 26, 657.*

con. June 29, 766.*

3R. June 30, 907.*

l. 1R. June 30, 803.*

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c. Rep. June 23, 251.*

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Ballyconnell, County Sligo, Erection of Pier, proposed.

Q. Mr. W. M'Killop; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 29, 785.*

County Mayo Piers, Erection of—Date of Commencing Work, Proportion of Unexpended Grants of County to be Expended on schemes.

Q. Mr. O'Kelly; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 6, 1409.*

Smerwick Harbour Pier—Expediting Construction of, proposed.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 22, 78.*

Smerwick Dingle Pier—Necessity for New Pier, Inquiry of Congested Districts Board.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 30, 925.*

Smerwick Pier—Extension of, Urgency of Case, Special Consideration, proposed.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 6, 1402.*

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Pirie, Mr. D. V. [Aberdeen, N.]

Army Rations Destroyed in South Africa

—Value of Rations destroyed, Firms supplying Rations, Laying Report of General Officer Commanding South Africa on Table, proposed, *June 24, 381.*

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l. 1R. June 29, 724.*

Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas Bill

l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

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Q. Mr. L. Sinclair; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, *June 23, 255.*

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Q. Mr. Mansfield; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 24, 372.*

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Q. Marquess of Hamilton; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 30*, 917.

Relief, England and Wales—Statement of Number of Persons in Receipt from Boards of Guardians of Indoor and Out-door Relief, ordered, *July 1*, 1018.

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c. Ordered, *July 3*, 1320.

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Metropolitan Schools—Expenditure on Buildings in Schools for which Expenditure has been Sanctioned, Amount Expended, since 1896.

Q. Sir J. Gorst; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 29*, 774.

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Q. Mr. Crooks; A. Sir W. Anson, *June 29*, 796.

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Q. Mr. Sloan; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 24*, 375.

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Q. Mr. Fuller; A. Mr. Brodrick, *July 2*, 1181.

• Portsmouth

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Q. Mr. P. Lucas; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *June 22*, 54.

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Q. Mr. F. Thomas; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1379.

Rural Postmen—Distance to be Walked per Day in Order to be Classified as a Full-time Man.

Q. Mr. F. Thomas; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1379.

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Sorters and Official Papers, Privilege of perusing Official Papers denied to Sorters, reason for.

Q. Captain Norton; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1378.

Sorting and Telegraphist Positions—Resignations of Clerks during last Five Years, Number of, Number Resigning to enter other Branches of Civil Service, etc.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 23*, 256.

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Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 1*, 1029.

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Emigration Notices Exhibited in Post Office Windows—Discontinuance of Practice, proposed.

Q. Mr. T. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1411.

Keadue Post Office—Business carried on on Licensed Premises, Removal to more Suitable Location, proposed.

Q. Mr. J. O'Kelly; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1411.

Pensions—Boy-Sorter Service, Counting such Service for Pension.

Q. Captain Norton; A. Mr. Elliot, *July 6*, 1381.

Postal Services Committee—Representation of Employees, proposed.

Q. Mr. T. Chamberlayne; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 22*, 49.

Wages Committee, Names of Members, Date of First Sitting.

Q. Mr. Schwann; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 6*, 1400.

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Irish Postal Order Accounts kept in London—Transfer to Dublin, proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 1*, 1028.

Issue of Irish Postal Orders with Separate Series of Numbers and of Distinctive Colour, proposed.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 1*, 1028.

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*June 23, 327, 339, 343; July 3, 1285, 1290.*Victoria and Albert Museum, Plans of—
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*June 22, 80.*Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 29, 831;*
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preciation of Visit of President.*Q.* Mr. Lambert. *A.* Mr. A. J.
Balfour. *July 6, 1415.***Pretyman, Mr., Civil Lord of the Admiralty**
(Suffolk, Woodbridge)Admiralty Gifts of Stone for Church
Building at Pembroke Dock—
Authority by which given, *July 6,*
*1376.*Evicted Farm—Negotiations in Progress
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*928.*Keyham Dockyard—Different Scale of
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fusal to grant Yacht "Bona" facilities
for Anchorage, alleged, Reconsidera-
tion proposed, *June 25, 550.***Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Amend-
ment) Bill***c.* IR.* *July 6, 1418.***Prisoners**

Average cost of.

Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Akers
Douglas, *June 22, 53.***Prisons**

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Assistant Matrons.—Equalisation of
Salaries, Dietary, in English and
Irish Prisons, proposed.*Q.* Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr.
Wyndham, *July 6, 1405.*Assistant Matrons.—Scale of Salaries,
Dietary, etc., of Matrons in
English Prisons, Adoption of
Uniform Scale for both countries.
Reasons against.*Q.* Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Akers
Douglas, *June 29, 796.*Matrons, Scale of Salaries of—
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Wyndham, *June 24, 395.*Prisons having Cells with Flagged
Floors—Substitution of Boarded
Flooring, proposed.*Q.* Mr. J. O'Donnell; *A.* Mr.
Wyndham, *June 25, 555.*Warders' Holidays, Extension of,
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Wyndham, *June 25, 265.***Private Members' Bills**Motion for Standing Order on Subject of
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passed the Second Reading by large
majority—Acceptance of, proposed.*Q.* Mr. Channing; *A.* Mr. A. J.
Balfour, *July 1, 1034.*Private Bills—Enabling Members to carry
Bills through subsequent stages after
Second Readings have been obtained,
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Balfour, *June 29, 814.***Privy Council for Trade**Railways—Agricultural Produce, Rates
for.*Os.* Sir E. Strachey, *July 2, 1237.***Protection***See* Finance Bill.**Public Accounts**Irish Accounts Auditing of—Accounts
Audited in Dublin and London, Work
to be done Exclusively in Dublin, pro-
posed, Cost in London and Dublin.*Q.* Mr. Landon; *A.* Mr. Elliot,
*June 29, 797.***Public Buildings**London—Completion of Buildings in
Whitehall, etc., Date of.*Q.* Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. V. Caven-
dish, *June 25, 545.*

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June 28th—Treatment of, as Public Holiday. Payment for work done at Post Office on that date.

Q. Mr. J. O'Connor ; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 25, 547.*

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Board—Annual Report with Appendices Presented, *June 30, 910 ; June 2, 1128.*

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

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Harbour, Moorings in—Refusal to grant yacht "Bona" facilities for Anchorage, alleged, Reconsideration proposed.

Q. Captain Donelan ; A. Mr. Pretyman, *June 25, 550.*

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Church Bazaars — Raffles suppressed at Perth and allowed at Bazaar in connection with Wallacetown Parish Church, Dundee, Reason for Different Treatment.

Q. Mr. Sloan ; A. Mr. G. Murray, *June 25, 545.*

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Birr and Portumna Line—Expenditure on, by whom Owned, Looting of Line, alleged.

Qs. Mr. Roche ; As. Mr. Wyndham, *June 22, 75.*

Continuous Brakes—Return Presented, *July 3, 1247.*

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Ballyrone and Newcastle Railway. Construction of—Date of Commencement of, by the Great Northern and the Belfast and County Down Railway Companies.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh ; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 26, 664.*

Excessive Rates, placing Irish Farmer at a Disadvantage with respect to Foreign Competition.

Q. Mr. C. E. Devlin ; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 6, 1409.*

Limerick and Cork Mail Trains—Proposed Alteration of Time of Express Boat leaving Dublin, putting on Early Train to catch 11 a.m. Express Boat, proposed.

Q. Mr. Joyce ; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 22, 78.*

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Q. Mr. C. Devlin ; A. Mr. Wyndham, *July 6, 1409.*

Light Railways—Procedure under the Light Railways Act, 1896, Expediting Procedure, proposed ; Alleged Delays ; Confirmation of County of Middlesex Light Railways Order, 1903, during present Session.

Q. Mr. Bigwood ; A. Mr. B. Law, *June 29, 773.*

Railway Companies Powers Act, 1864—Report on Application made under Act and Proceedings of the Board of Trade Presented, *June 25, 492, 541.*

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Randles, Mr. John S. [Cumberland, Cockermouth]

Railway Development in India—Report of Mr. T. Robertson on, Carrying out Recommendations of, *July 2, 1174.*

Rasch, Major [Essex, Chelmsford]

Aldershot Review—Accommodation for Members of Parliament at, *July 7, 1525.*

Argentine Cattle Importation into England—Foot and Mouth Disease Animals, Number of Cargoes landed subsequent to Order prohibiting further importation, Number carrying infected animals, Precautions against Spread of Infection, *June 22, 42.*

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Additional Rule for Disposal of certain Documents—Copy Presented, *June 23, 201.*

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Q. Sir. T. Esmonde ; A. Mr. Elliot, *June 25, 554.*

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Beddy, Mr. [King's County, Birr]

Frankford, King's County.

Proposed Change of Name, Allowing County Council to effect change without interference of Local Government Board, proposed, *June 24*, 378.

Restoration of Ancient Name of "Kilcormac" to—Refusal of Local Government Board to accept Latter Name, Grounds for, *June 29*, 805.

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Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 24*, 405, 406, 407, 413, 449, 451, 465, 486, 487; *June 29*, 829, 836, 837, 844, 852, 855, 865; *June 30*, 957, 958, 966, 967, 968, 972, 996, 1010; *July 1*, 1042, 1056, 1080, 1105, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1123; *July 6*, 1419, 1421; *July 7*, 1583.

Redmond, Mr. William [Clare, E.]

Crime in County Clare—Absence of, Withdrawal of Proclamation under Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, proposed, *June 24*, 394; *July 1*, 1030.

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Irish Gold Ornaments—Transfer from British Museum to Dublin Museum, *June 24*, 400.

Life Assurance Premiums paid to Colonial Companies—Deduction granted to Taxpayer in Respect of, *July 1*, 1025.

Middlesex County Asylum—Treatment of C. J. Smart—Inquiry proposed, *June 22*, 71.

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Russia and China—Agreement between, in Reference to Manchuria and Niuchwang, Terms of, *June 25*, 554.

Servian Revolution—Remonstrance on part of British Government with regard to Recent Murders, *June 22*, 64.

South Australia—Attitude of, with regard to proposal that in matters relating to Foreign Governments H.M. Government should refer to the Government of the Commonwealth, and not the State Governments, *June 25*, 351.

Tennyson, Lord, Term of Office in Australia—Extension of, Truth of Statement with regard to, *June 22*, 61.

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Vandeleur Estate, Co. Clare—Settlement created between Landlord and Tenant by the late Lord Russell, Settlement still in force, *June 22*, 79.

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Q. Mr. Bill; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 1*, 1023.

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Renwick, Mr. [Newcastle-upon-Tyne]

Naval Subsidies, *July 2*, 1212.

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Disadvantages of British Traders in Competition with those of Foreign Nations.
Os. Lord Muskerry, *June 25*, 529, 538; Lord Wolverton, 536; Marquess of Lansdowne, 538.

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Lendy Estate—Sum shown to Credit of estate, forwarding of, to Mother of late James McGowan, proposed.

Qs. Mr. J. P. Farrell; *As.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *July 2*, 1184.

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Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *June 29*, 787.

Richards, Mr. H. C. [Finsbury, E.]

Cape Ragging Case—Alleged Breach of Parole by Officers, Steps to be taken by War Office, *July 6*, 1386.

"Ragging" in the Army—Civilians tried by Court-Martial, Steps to prevent Repetition of such Trials, Issue of General Orders, in View of the Cape Ragging Case, *June 29*, 786.

Rickmansworth Gas Bill

c. 3R.* *June 23*, 250.

l. Royal Assent, *June 30*, 899.

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Rifle Practice—Encouragement of Shooting from the Saddle, proposed.

Q. Mr. E. Cecil; *A.* Mr. Elliot, *June 25*, 549.

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Great Indian Peninsular Annuities—Decision of House of Lords on, No Alteration of Law Contemplated, *July 2, 1186.*

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Income Tax Appeal Cases—Practice with regard to Hearing of, in Ireland, *July 2, 1186.*

Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *July 1, 1121, 1123.*

Life Assurance Premiums paid to Colonial Companies—No Deduction Granted to Taxpayer in Respect of, *July 1, 1025.*

Lunacy and Drunkenness in Glasgow—Inquiry instituted by Corporation of Glasgow, No Official Information received with regard to, *July 6, 1396.*

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Whisky Distillation—Proposed Returns with regard to, Not to be granted, *July 6, 1397.*

Roberts, Mr. H. [Denbighshire, W.]

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Bombay, Licensed Premises in—Increase of, Reason for, *June 22, 45.*

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South African Garrison—Proposed Charge on India for Maintenance of, Consideration of Indian Opinion, *June 24, 397.*

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Robinson, Mr. B. [Dudley.]

Performing Bears in Public Streets—Removal of, proposed, *July 7, 1523.*

Roche Mr. [Galway, E.]

Birr and Portumna Line—Expenditure on, by whom owned, Looting of Line, alleged, *June 22, 78.*

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Irish Education Grants—Action of Commissioners in Neutralising Rule dealing with grants in aid of Local Contributions to existing Vested Schools, Request to Commissioners to carry out Rule, propose 1, *June 22, 74.*

Irish Land Bill (*Committee*), *June 24, 460; July 7, 1538.*

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Rollit, Sir Albert [Islington, S.]

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Boyle, Plains of—Application of Descendants of Evicted Tenants for Land on, refused, Scheduling Plains of Boyle under the Congested Districts Clause of Land Bill, proposed.

Q. Mr. J. P. Farrell; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 6, 1401.

Rate Collections—Refusal of County Council to sanction Payment of Fees to Persons having exceeded Prescribed Period for making Lodgments, Reconsideration of Decision, proposed.

Q. Mr. Hayden; A. Mr. Wyndham, June 22, 75.

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Alaska Boundary Tribunal—Negotiations between H.M. Government and Canada and United States for Renewal of Reciprocity Treaty, Suspension of, Reason for, *July 2, 1185.*

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Holyrood Palace—Condition of Drainage, Inadequacy of Statement of First Commissioner of Works, Unfavourable Report of Expert, Desirability of effecting Immediate Improvement, *June 22, 27.*

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Q. Mr. Tully; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 6, 1405.

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Great Britian and Belgium--Maritime Law, Proposed Submission of Draft Treaties to Diplomatic Conference, Attitude of H.M. Government towards proposal, *July 6, 1376.*

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Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Lord Cranborne, June 25, 554.

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Q. Mr. Yerburgh; A. Mr. Arnold-Forster, July 23, 257.

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Rutland, Duke ofInquiry into our Fiscal System, *July 2*, 1166.**Sadler, Colonel S. A.** [Middlesbrough].Customs Department, Promotion in—Method of Selection of Officers for Upper Section of Preventive Officers and Higher Posts of Waterguard Department, *June 29*, 781.Long-Service Volunteer Quartermasters—Consideration of Claims of, to Honorary Rank, proposed, *June 30*, 917.**St. Albans, Lord Bishop of**Newcastle Chapter (Amendment) Bill, *June 23*, 245.**St. Botolph, Bishopsgate**

Value of Benefice of—Communications between Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Bishop of London, as to Surrender of Part of Income, Purpose to which Surrendered Portion would be Applied, etc.

Q. Mr. Channing; A. Mr. L. Knowles, *July 7*, 1520.**St. Luke's Church and Parish Quoad Sacra Edinburgh Order Confirmation Bill**l. Royal Assent, *June 30*, 898.**S. Philip's Chapel (Regent Street) Bill.**c. *June 26*, 658.**Salford Corporation Bill**l. 3R.* *June 22*, 1.c. 1R.* *June 22*, 40.2R.* Com.* *July 6*, 1369.**Salmon Fisheries**

Ireland—Salmon Hauling at the mouth of the Erriff River—Point at which Salmon Hauling is Legal, undefined by Fishery Conservators, Protection of Interests of Fishermen, proposed.

Q. Mr. O'Malley; A. Mr. Atkinson, *July 3*, 1260.**Samuel, Mr. Herbert** [Yorkshire, Cleveland]British Imports into Self-governing Colonies—Value per head of aggregate population, *July 2*, 1177.Congo Free State—Communications to Signatories of the Berlin Act on subject of Countries to which despatched, *June 29*, 795.Finance Bill (Committee), *June 22*, 92Ships built in United Kingdom, Export of—Entrance of Exports in Statistical Abstract previous to 1899—under which heading, etc., *July 1*, 1020.Tobacco Returned from South Africa—Amount Returned, Purchase and Sale Price, Facilities given to Traders wishing to offer Tenders, *July 1*, 1021.Treaties giving Preferential Treatment to Foreign States—Nature of, Articles affected by such preference, etc., *June 26*, 661.**Samuel, Mr. Herbert—cont.**Uganda Railway, Management of—Intentions of H. M. Government with regard to, *June 26*, 663.**Sassoon, Sir E. A.** [Hythe]Co-operative Unions—Free Advertisement in Army Regulations for, *June 24*, 382.Fiscal Policy—inclusion of Inquiry of Indian Commercial and Fiscal relations with United Kingdom, etc., *June 24*, 398.Greek Currant Monopoly, Proposed Establishment of—Protest of H. M. Government, *June 24*, 388.**Saunderson, Colonel. Rt. Hon. E. J.**

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Depositors in England and Ireland respectively—Cause of smallness of numbers in Ireland.

Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 30*, 926.Deposits received and paid during year ended 31st December, 1902—Accounts presented *July 1*, 1018; *July 2*, 128.

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Q. Mr. Field; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *June 30*, 928.

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Q. Sir H. Vincent; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 2*, 1171.**Savings Bank and Friendly Societies**Accounts for 1902, presented *June 29*, 723, 770.**Scarborough Gas Bill.**l. Royal Assent, *June 30*, 899.**Schools.**

Public Elementary Schools, Religious Instruction in—Alteration of By-laws with regard to Attendance of Children during time of Religious Instruction, proposed.

Q. Mr. Mansfield; A. Sir W. Anson. *July 7*, 1596.**Schwann, Mr. C. E.** (Manchester, N.)Fiscal Inquiry—Hearing of Representatives of Classes living on Fixed Incomes, *June 29*, 811.

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Gulf of Pechili—Assembly of Ships of War in, number of British, American and Japanese fleets. Reason for gathering of fleets, *July 6, 1391.*

Insanitary Cottages at Beeston, Bedfordshire—Opinion of Expert Inspector on Condition of Cottages, Action of Local Government Board, *July 1, 1026.*

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Telegraph Department—Concessions to Operators and the Public, Return giving Annual Expenditure on, *June 25, 547.*

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Q. Mr. Crumvie; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 6, 1386.*

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*Rep.** *July 3, 1255.*

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l. *Com.** *June 23, 195.*

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l. *Com.** *June 25, 489.*

*Rep.** *June 30, 900.*

*3R.** *July 6, 1322.*

c. 1R.* *July 6, 1370.*

Scunthorpe Urban District Water Bill

c. *com.** *June 26, 655.*

*3R.** *June 30, 907.*

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Workhouse Infirmary—Treatment of Phthisical Patients in, New Regulations, proposed.

Q. Mr. Mansfield; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 24*, 372.**Tufnell, Lieut.-Colonel**Serpentine—Erection of Bathing Shed, proposed, *June 24*, 377.**Tullamore**

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Qs. Mr. J. O'Donnell; As. Mr. Wyndham, *June 22*, 77.**Tullamore Gaol (Ireland)**

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Q. Mr. J. O'Donnell; A. Mr. Wyndham, *June 25*, 556.**Tully, Mr. J. [Leitrim, S.]**Ballymote Fair—Rent—Appeal heard without Due Notice being Served, Case of Mr. Killoran, Result of Investigation, *July 7*, 1529.**Tully, Mr. J. —cont.**Boyle Working-Class Housing Scheme—Application for Supplemental Loan for Erection of Cottages, Cause of Delay in Sanctioning Loan, *July 6*, 1406.Canadian Mails—Making Galway a Port of Call for New Transatlantic Steamers subsidised by Canadian Government, Negotiations with regard to, *July 6*, 1394.County Council Accounts, Ireland—Issue by Local Government Board of Form of Ledger suitable for altered requirements of County Councils, proposed, *July 7*, 1529.Irish Land Bill (*Committee*) *June 24*, 439, 441, 442, 476, 479, 481, 482, 487; *June 29*, 816, 822, 829, 836, 837, 838, 837, 872, 873, 883, 884, 885, 996, 1005; *July 1*, 1095, 1101, 1102, 1108; *July 6*, 1422, 1425, 1433, 1441, 1446, 1450, 1456, 1457, 1459, 1490; *July 7*, 1553, 1562, 1563, 1588, 1610, 1614.Killashee Dispensary Doctor—Non-compliance of Doctor with Condition of Appointment, as to Residence at Killashee, alleged, *July 6*, 1407.Lung Grazing Lands—Number of Horses Built, farms made out of lands, Cost of transaction, etc., *July 6*, 1406.Rostrevor, Orange Demonstration at—Permission granted for Holding of grounds for, Complaints from Roman Catholics in District with regard to proposed Demonstration, *July 6*, 1405.**Turbary Question***see* Irish Land Bill.**Tweedmouth, Lord**Allotments (London) Bill, *July 7*, 1510.Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Bill, *June 22*, 33.Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill, *June 23*, 223.County Councils (Bill in Parliament) Bill (*Committee*), *June 23*, 237.Fiscal Policy, *June 29*, 758.Inquiry into our Fiscal System, *July 4*, 1162.**Tynemouth and District Tramways Bill**c. Rep. * *June 23*, 251.con. * *June 24*, 766.**Uganda**Concessions in—Return presented, *July 4*, 1247.**Uganda Railway**

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Q. Mr. H. Samuel; A. Lord Cranborne, *June 26*, 663.**Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill**c. con. * *June 24*, 369.3R. * *June 29*, 7660.l. 1R. * *June 30*, 8901.

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Underground Kitchens

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Q. Mr. K. Hardie; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, *July 6, 1378.***United Property Owners and Ratepayers Association***see* County Councils (Bills in Parliament) Bill.**United States of America**Fiscal Position of, *see* Imperial Fiscal Policy.Foodstuffs, Supply of, *see* Finance Bill.Shipping Combine, *see* Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, Amendment Bill.Subventions for Hire of Vessels, *see* Navy, Morgan Combine, etc.**Urban District Councils Association***see* Borough Funds Bill.**Vaccination**

Prosecutions—Failure of Vaccination, Officers of the Trowbridge and Melksham Union to take proceedings against defaulters under the Vaccination Acts, Warning of Local Government Board Medical Inspector, Authority for Action.

Q. Mr. Fuller; A. Mr. W. Long, *July 6, 1382.***Scotland.**

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 29, 777.*

Vaccine Lymph, Payment to Dr. Cadell for—Reason for employing Vaccine Lymph.

Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. G. Murray, *June 29, 779.***Valuation**

Law of Valuation—Introduction of Fresh Legislation, Date of.

Q. Mr. L. White; A. Mr. W. Long, *July 7, 1522.***Veterinary Department***see* Board of Agriculture and Fisheries Bill.**Victoria and Albert Museum**

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Q. Sir F. Powell; A. Sir W. Anson, *June 22, 73.***“Victorian”**

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 26, 662.***Vincent, Sir E. [Exeter]**British Exports—Average Duties on, *June 22, 70.*British Treaty Rights with Foreign Countries—Names of Countries allowing England and British Colonies Most-favoured-nation Treatment, etc., *June 22, 64.*Commercial Treaties—Most-favoured-nation Treatment, Countries refusing such Treatment to Great Britain, Character of Advantages given to other Countries, *June 24, 376.*Fiscal Inquiry—Commercial Retaliation on the Continent, Appointment of Select Committee to Ascertain the Results of, proposed, *July 2, 1189.*Imports into Self-Governing Colonies of Foreign Manufactures during last Five Years requested, *July 2, 1176.*Tariff Wars between Foreign Countries—Reports on, requested, *June 24, 377.***Vincent, Sir Howard [Sheffield, Central]**Alien Immigration, Increase of—Expediting Legislation on Subject, proposed, *June 22, 70.*Alien Immigration Returns—Respect in which Inaccurate, Source from which Figures are Derived, Penalty for False Returns, etc., *July 6, 1373.*British Exports for 1902.—Proportion of Exports consisting of Manufactured Goods, Coal, and other Raw Material, Ships and Machinery, Value of each Class of Goods taken by British Colonies and Foreign Countries, respectively, *July 6, 1374.*British Trade with the Colonies—Amount of, in Years 1846 and 1902, *June 24, 373.*Income Tax in France, Imposition of—Basis of Calculation, *July 6, 1375.*India Army Officers' Chargers—Granting Officers of Indian Cavalry similar Privileges as Officers of British Cavalry with Regard to Chargers, proposed, *June 24, 374.*India, Wheat Cultivation in—Land suitable for, acreage of, Land at present under cultivation, Export for years 1846, 1902, *June 22, 44.*London Streets, Breaking up of, Inconvenience caused by—Carrying on work at night, proposed, *June 24, 374.*Post Office Savings Bank—Savings of Working Classes at Home and Abroad, Statistics enabling Comparison to be made between, requested, *July 2, 1171.*Prisoners—Average Cost of, *June 22, 53.*Statistical Abstract—Expediting Issue of, proposed, *July 6, 1374.*Wheat Cultivation in Canada and Australia—Acreage under cultivation, Average Yield per Acre, *June 22, 53.*

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Wheat exports from Canada and the United States—Proportion of Exports of Canada and not United States growth, Area of Land suitable for Cultivation of wheat in Canada and United States, respectively, *July 7, 1521.*

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Q. Mr. Weir; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, *July 6, 1378.*

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Q. Sir J. Rolleston; A. Mr. Aker Douglas, *June 26, 659.*

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Q. Dr. Shipman; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, *June 26, 689.*

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Q. Sir J. Rolleston; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, *June 30, 915.*

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Q. Mr. Yoxall; A. Sir W. Anson, *July 1, 1021.*

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Q. Colonel Sadler; A. Mr. Brodrick, *June 30, 917.*

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Q. Mr. J. Ellis; A. Mr. W. Long, *June 29, 779.*

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Gravel Lane Post Office—Inconvenience of Site—Negotiations for Site West of Wapping Bridge.

Q. Sir T. Dewar; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, *July 15, 1028.*

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Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; A. Mr. Brodrick, *June 26, 665.*

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l. Royal Assent, June 30, 898.

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Q. Mr. Lough; A. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, July 6, 1392.

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Q. Mr. Ffrench; A. Mr. B. Law, June 29, 811.

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Q. Colonel Denny; A. Mr. B. Law, July 2, 1175.

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Q. Mr. Crombie; A. Mr. B. Law, July 6, 1375.

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Q. Mr. Power; A. Mr. Wyndham, July 2, 1180.

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Q. Mr. MacVeagh; A. Mr. Ritchie, July 6, 1397.

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Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Mr. Elliot, *June 30, 914.*

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Q. Mr. C. Wason; *A.* Mr. Akers Douglas, *July 6, 1399.*

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Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Lord Cranborne, *June 25, 554.*

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Q. Mr. Bayley; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *June 30, 920.*

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Qs. Mr. Crooks; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *June 24, 382.*

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Q. Colonel Nolan; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 6, 1390.*

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Qs. Major Evans - Gordon; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 2, 1182.*

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Q. Mr. Crooks; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 3, 1261.*

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Q. Mr. Crooks; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *June 24, 384.*

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Q. Mr. Crooks; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 6, 1390.*

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Q. Colonel Nolan; A. Mr. Brodrick, *July 6, 1391.*

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